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Visualizing the Past:
Collecting and Representing Chinese Antiquities
in Late Chosŏn Korea

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

Ja Won Lee

2018

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Visualizing the Past:
Collecting and Representing Chinese Antiquities
in Late Chosŏn Korea

by

Ja Won Lee

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History
University of California, Los Angeles, 2018
Professor Burglind Jungmann, Chair

This dissertation examines collecting Chinese antiquities in Korea during the Chosŏn 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1910) and its impact on visual and material culture. Through investigation of textual records and visual sources, it becomes apparent how collectors' passions for Chinese bronzes contributed to new types of pictorial objects and how painters incorporated aspects of Chinese bronzes in their paintings and embroidery in response to increasing demands and shifts in artistic conventions. The aim is to offer insight into the cultural significance of acquiring Chinese bronzes and to illuminate the intellectual and artistic motivations of literati during the late Chosŏn dynasty.

Chapter One investigates the circumstances in which Chinese ritual bronzes were imported and revered, from the Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) through the Chosŏn dynasties. Ritual handbooks and illustrated catalogs reveal characteristics of Koryŏ and Chosŏn vessels, of bronze,

celadon, and brass, that integrated ancient and archaistic models from Ming 明 (1368–1644) and Qing 清 (1644–1911) China. Chapter Two discusses the appreciation of Chinese antiques by the elite in Korea, who enriched their collections for their scholarly pursuits. Thus, collectors were a force in shaping the sociocultural environment along with the aesthetics that promoted new painting genres in the late Chosŏn dynasty. Chapter Three analyzes the ways in which Chosŏn artists appropriated motifs of Chinese bronzes and visualized patrons' desire for Chinese antiquities, focusing on screens of *Antiques* that feature Chinese bronze vessels and on screens of *Books And Scholarly Utensils*, also known as *ch'aekkŏri*. Chapter Four considers Chinese bronzes in collectors' portraits and in paintings of antiques and flowers. By comparing objects in these paintings to those in Chinese illustrated catalogs and archaistic bronzes, these two chapters explore possible pictorial sources, modified visual elements, and cultural transmission. Depicting Chinese antiquities enabled patrons to demonstrate their knowledge of Chinese culture as part of their own high cultivation and thereby to enhance their social prestige. The Chosŏn elite sought to claim their standing within their own society and to secure their status in East Asia through the reception of selected elements of Chinese culture and through the adaptation of these to their own traditions.

The dissertation of Ja Won Lee is approved.

John Duncan

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Burglind Jungmann, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

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- Fig. 4-37. Detail of Chang Sǔngǒp's MMA screen (Fig. 4-35).
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Fig. 4-50. Detail of Chang Sŭngŏp's MMA screen (Fig. 4-35).

Fig. 4-51. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-52. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-53. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-54. *You*, early Western Zhou dynasty, bronze, H: 23.9 cm; W: 20.2 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

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Fig. 4-60. An Chungsik, *Flowers and Antiques*, before 1898, ten-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 137.0 x 360.0 cm, Private Collection, Korea.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines a trend in collecting Chinese antiquities in the Chosŏn 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1910) from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries and its impact on visual and material culture. The exchange of material culture in East Asia, particularly the collecting of Chinese bronzes in pre-modern Korea and their visualization in paintings and embroidery, is at the center of my studies. Chosŏn artists began to depict Chinese antiques in their paintings when the Chosŏn ruling class and the educated elite became interested in collecting such antiques. Thus, it is critical to investigate how collectors acquired art objects and shaped cultural patterns, and how painters incorporated certain aspects of Chinese bronzes in response to changes in taste, cultural and social behavior. A thorough analysis of this trend offers insights into the cultural significance of collecting Chinese antiquities and the understanding of the aesthetic principles that were shaped and shared by collectors and artists at that time.

One of the main goals of this dissertation is to provide a way to understand how, during a time of intensive contact with Qing China 清 (1644–1911), the passion for antiquities among royalty and the educated elite played a role in the development of visual culture. Inspired by the pursuit of antiquity of their Chinese colleagues, Chosŏn literati appreciated the idea of “returning to the ancients” (Korean: *pokko*; Chinese: *fugu* 復古) through their acceptance and importation of Chinese material culture from the seventeenth century onward.¹ It took the Chosŏn elite more

¹ The term *fugu* has been translated in English in several ways depending on specific historical circumstances: “returning to the ancients,” “returning to antiquity,” “returning to the archaic,” and “recovering the past.” For further discussion of historical patterns of *fugu* see Wu Hung, “Patterns of Returning to the Ancients in Chinese Art and Visual Culture,” in idem, ed., *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2010), 16–42. In terms of modes of artistic expression, prominent artists,

than a century after the fall of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644) to overcome their aversion to the Manchu rulers who had established the Qing dynasty in 1644, and whom they regarded as barbarian. During the reign of King Chǒngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800), Chosŏn scholar officials who visited China as envoys began to embrace Qing culture more actively, as well as other innovative trends such as European scientific ideas and artistic techniques.²

Scholars emerging within the intellectual movements of *sirhak* 實學 (Practical Learning, Reform Confucianism) and *pukhak* 北學 (Northern Learning), particularly Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737–1805) and Pak Chega 朴齊家 (1750–1815), accepted new ideas and technologies from Qing China in order to advance Chosŏn society.³ They showed a special interest in antiquarian

including Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), Wang Meng 王蒙 (ca.1308–1385), Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), and Shitao 石濤 (1642–1707), developed new artistic forms relying on old styles and the idea of *gu* 古 (antiquity). Roderick Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse* (Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969).

² Chǒng Okcha, *Chǒngjo ūi munye sasang kwa kyujanggak* (Seoul: Hyohyŏng ch'ulp'an, 2001); Chǒng Min, *Chosŏn chisigin ūi palgyŏn* (Seoul: Hymŏnist, 2007); Jung Jaehoon, "Meeting the World through Eighteenth-century Yonhaeng," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 23.1 (June 2010): 51–69. For early contacts between Chosŏn envoys and Jesuit priests see also Donald L. Baker, "Jesuit Science through Korean Eyes," *Journal of Korean Studies* 4 (1982/83): 219–220 and Burglind Jungmann, "Munhwa pŏnyŏk: sŏgu ūi illujŏnijŭm (hwanyŏng chuŭi) e taehan Chosŏn sidae hwaga tŭl ūi taeŭng," *Minsulsa nondan* 37 (2013): 59–80. For the acceptance of European artistic techniques in the late Chosŏn dynasty see Yi Sŏngmi, *Chosŏn sidae kŭrim sok ūi sŏyang hwapŏp* (Seoul: Taewŏnsa, 2000) and by the same author, *Searching for Modernity: Western Influence and True-View Landscape in Korean Painting of the Late Chosŏn Period* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

³ By emphasizing practical ways of reforming society economically, socially, and politically, *sirhak* scholars contributed significantly to intellectual history between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. For instance, Chǒng Yagyong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836), one of the major figures of the movement, discussed geography, economics, and medicine. *Pukhak* is considered a part of the *sirhak* movement, which paid more attention to innovative Chinese technologies and objects in order to advance their own society. Scholars such as Pak Chiwŏn, Hong Taeyong, and Pak Chega further focused on economic development and argued the necessity of advanced techniques through the active acceptance of Qing culture and technology. Yi Usŏng, "Sirhak p'a ūi sŏhwa kodongnon," *Han'guk ūi yŏksasang: Yi Usŏng*

ideas of *kaozheng xue* 考證學 (evidential scholarship, K: *kojŭng hak*) and *jinshi xue* 金石學 (study of metal and stone, K: *kŭmsŏk hak*), and turned their attention to collecting Chinese antiquities.⁴ In line with Lothar von Falkenhausen’s notion of antiquarianism in Eastern Zhou visual culture, I define the antiquarianism of late Chosŏn intellectuals as “the conscious rediscovery of something already lost, guided by a veneration of the antique as such.”⁵ Enthusiasm for materials of the past functioned as important forces for establishing cultural phenomena in East Asia.⁶ By eagerly acquiring Chinese antiques, such as ancient bronze vessels and ink rubbings of ancient stone stelae, Chosŏn collectors intended to establish their aesthetic values and to promote their social prestige.

Another goal of this dissertation is to illustrate the way in which Chosŏn artists appropriated and transmitted the motifs of Chinese antiques depending on their own artistic traditions and cultural environments. It is notable that the antiquarian movement and the intense interest in Chinese antiques among Chosŏn collectors enabled artists to use the motifs of such antiques as a source of inspiration. Their depiction of Chinese bronzes can be divided into four

yŏksa nonjip (Seoul: Ch’angjak kwa pip’yŏngsa, 1982), 81–114; Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, Translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

⁴ Kim Chŏnghŭi 金正喜 (1786–1856) played a pivotal role in the development of *kojŭng hak* and *kŭmsŏk hak* in late Chosŏn Korea, which will be discussed in Chapter Two. For a discussion of *kojŭng hak* and *kŭmsŏk hak* in late Chosŏn Korea see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 188–191; *Kim Chŏnghŭi wa Han Chung mugyŏn* (Kwach’ŏn: Kwach’ŏn Munhwawŏn, 2009).

⁵ Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Antiquarianism in Eastern Zhou Bronzes and Its Significance,” in Wu Hung ed., *Reinventing the Past*, 77.

⁶ For a survey and analysis of East Asian antiquarianism and its contribution to world antiquarianism, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Antiquarianism in East Asia: A Preliminary Overview,” in Alain Schnapp, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Peter N. Miller, and Tim Murray, eds., *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives* (Los Angeles, California: Getty Research Institute, 2013), 35–66.

distinct genres: screens that almost exclusively render Chinese collectibles, screens of books and scholarly utensils which contain bronzes among other treasured objects, portraits with antiques as attributes for the sitters, and paintings of flowers and antiques. Through a close examination of the motifs of Chinese bronzes featured in these paintings, this dissertation aims to explore the dynamics of ‘cultural translation’ with regard to appreciating, collecting, illustrating, and appropriating Chinese bronzes in Korea.⁷

During the past decades, scholarly attention in South Korea has been placed on the history of art collecting and on the collectors’ role in the development of visual culture. Yi Usöng is a leading scholar who first introduced the idea of collecting and appreciating art among *sirhak* scholars.⁸ An Hwijun paid particular attention to Prince Anp’yöng’s 安平大君 (1418–1453) collection of Chinese art in relation to his patronage of the Chosön court painter An Kyön 安堅 (act. ca.1440–ca.1470).⁹ Since the 1990s, scholars have done in-depth research on art collecting practices in conjunction with trends in art appreciation and evaluation that emerged in

⁷ For the definition of ‘cultural translation’ and its application to art, see Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage in association with the Open University, 1997); Marina Köppel-Yang, *Semiotic Warfare: A Semiotic Analysis, the Chinese Avant-Garde, 1979-1998* (Hong Kong: Timezone 8 Limited, 2003), 18–23; Burglind Jungmann, “Literati Ideals and Social Reorganisation in the Early Chosön Period,” in Burglind Jungmann, Melanie Trede, and Adele Schlombs, eds., *Shifting Paradigms in East Asian Visual Culture: A Festschrift in Honour of Lothar Ledderose* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag GmbH, 2012), 313–329; Burglind Junamann, *Pathways to Korean Culture: Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392–1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 9–14; Yoonjung Seo, “Connecting Across Boundaries: The Use of Chinese Images in Late Chosön Court Art from Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2014).

⁸ Yi Usöng, “*Sirhak* p’a üi söhwa kodongnon,” 81–114.

⁹ An Hwijun (Ahn Hwijoon), “An Kyön kwa kü üi hwap’ung,” (1974) in *Han’guk hoehwa sa yön’gu* (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000), 343–379. Kim Hongnam further examined Chinese calligraphy in Prince Anp’yöng’s collection. Kim Hongnam, “Anp’öyng taegun sojang Chungguk söye,” *Misulsa nondan* 8 (1999): 76–102.

seventeenth-century Chosŏn. Hong Sŏnp'yo has argued that the economic growth and urbanization in late Chosŏn Korea, in close resemblance to earlier Ming cultural trends, resulted in a boom of art appreciation and collecting activities among both the *yangban* 兩班 elites and the *chungin* 中人 ('middle people'), a secondary status group composed primarily of technical officials such as translators and physicians.¹⁰ He explored collectors and connoisseurs such as Yi Hangbok 李恒福 (1556–1618), Yi Hagon 李夏坤 (1677–1724), and Kim Kwanguk 金光國 (1727–1797), who propagated a reclusive lifestyle enjoying their collections of art and antiquities.

Following Hong Sŏnp'yo's pioneering research, Hwang Chŏngyŏn further examined various aspects of the collecting practice in Chosŏn Korea and offered a remarkably comprehensive survey.¹¹ Her investigation of the theory of collecting and appreciating, as well as her attention to individual collectors, contributed to the understanding of changes in perspectives of art collecting throughout the Chosŏn dynasty.¹² Other scholars also provided valuable insight

¹⁰ Hong Sŏnp'yo, "Chosŏn hugi hoehwa ūi p'ungjo wa kamp'ŏng hwaltong," *Chosŏn sidae hoehwa saron* (Seoul: Munye ch'ulp'ansa, 1999), 231–254. For discussion of status system of Chosŏn period see Hwang Kyung Moon (Hwang Kyŏngmun), *Beyond Birth: Social Status in the Emergence of Modern Korea* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2004).

¹¹ Hwang Chŏngyŏn, *Chosŏn sidae sŏhwa sujang yŏn'gu* (Songnam: Sin'gu munhwasa, 2012).

¹² Hwang Chŏngyŏn, "Sŏhwa sujang e taehan insik kwa silch'e," *Changsŏgak* 24 (2010): 193–231; "19 segi Chosŏn ūi sŏhwa sujang kwa Chungguk sŏhwa ūi yuip," *Kyujanggak* 38 (2011): 63–96; Hwang Jungyon (Hwang Chŏngyŏn), "Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty: Perceptions and Practices," *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* (2012): 102–113. For Hwang Chŏngyŏn's examination of individual collectors see Hwang Chŏngyŏn, "Sŏngnong Kim Kwanguk ūi saengae wa sŏhwa sujang hwaltong," *Misulshak yŏn'gu* (2002): 61–85; "Nangsŏn'gun Yi U ūi sŏhwa sujang kwa p'yŏnch'an," *Changsŏgak* 9 (2003): 5–44; "15 segi sŏhwa sujip ūi chungsim, Anp'yŏngdaegun," *Naeil ūl yŏnŭn yŏksa* (2009): 202–221; "Chosŏn munhwa ūi imyŏn ūl umjigin sŏhwa sujangga tŭl," *Naeil ūl yŏnŭn yŏksa* (2009): 226–245; "18 segi kyŏnghwa sajok ūi sŏhwa sujang kwa yesul ch'wihyang: Yu Manju wa *Hŭmyŏng*," *Naeil ūl yŏnŭn yŏksa* (2010): 160–175; "Hŏnjong kwa 19 segi kungjung sŏhwa sujang," *Naeil ūl yŏnŭn yŏksa* (2010): 166–181; "Chosŏn hugi kungga ūi misulsa tosi inmunhakchŏk ūimi: Kyŏngŭigung ūi changso sŏng kwa sŏhwa k'olleksŏn ūl chungsim ūro," *Misul charyo* (2017): 45–77.

into the understanding of the role of collectors as art patrons in the advancement of eighteenth-century Chosŏn paintings. Pointing out Chinese paintings in the collection of Kim Kwangguk, Pak Hyoŭn analyzed the collector's role in enriching the knowledge of Chinese art and in inspiring new trends in Chosŏn art.¹³

In regard understanding the antiquarian movement of the early Chosŏn period, Burglind Jungmann has opened a new window in connection with collecting practice. She argues that Prince Anp'yŏng's Chinese painting collection, and its description by the powerful politician and scholar Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417–1475) in his *Hwagi* 畫記 (*Record on painting*), promoted the idea of antiquarianism on the basis of a strong political agenda.¹⁴ As Jungmann points out,

¹³ Pak Hyoŭn examined Kim Kwangguk's role and significant aspects of his collecting practice in comparison with such practice in the Ming and the Qing dynasties based on extant parts of his painting collections in the Kansong Art Museum and the National Museum of Korea. Pak Hyoŭn, "18 segi Chosŏn munindŭl ūi hoehwa sujip hwaltong kwa hwadan," *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* 233/234 (2002): 139–185; "Sŏngnong hwawŏn' ūl t'onghae pon Han-Chung hoehwa huwŏn yangsang," (PhD diss., Hongik University, 2013); "Sŏngnong hwawŏn' kwa 17-18 segi Han'guk hwadan ūi huwŏn munje," *Sungsil sahak* 34 (2015): 97–152; "Kaein ūi ch'wihyang: Chosŏn hugi misul huwŏn kwa Kim Kwangguk ūi hoehwa pip'yŏng," *Han'guk munhwa yŏn'gu*, 29 (2015): 61–103. For a discussion of other patrons, collectors, and the art market, see Kang Myŏnggwan, *Chosŏn sidae munhak yesul ūi saengsŏng konggan* (Seoul: Somyŏng ch'ulp'an, 1999); Pak Ŭnsun, "Sŏ Yugu ūi sŏhwa kamsanghak kwa *Imwon kyŏngjeji*," *Han'gukhak nonjip* 34 (2000): 209–239; Pak Hyoŭn, "17-19 segi Chosŏn hwadan kwa misul sijang ūi tawŏnsŏng," *Kŭndae misul yŏn'gu* (2006): 121–147; Kim Ch'wijŏng, "Kaehwagi hwadan ūi sin kyŏnghyang kwa chaphwa pyŏng," *Misulsa nondan* (2008): 253–287; Kim Ch'wijŏng, "Han'guk kŭndae ki ūi hwadan kwa sŏhwa suyo yŏn'gu" (PhD diss., Korea University, 2014); Kim Sangyŏp, *Misulp'um k'ŏllekt'ŏ tŭil: Han'guk ūi kŭndae sujangga wa sujip ūi munhwasa* (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2015); *Kwangt'onggyo sŏhwasa* (Seoul: Seoul yŏksa pangmulgwan, 2016); *Misul sok tosi, tosi sok misul* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2016). For discussions of individual collectors, including Nam Kongch'ŏl 南公轍 (1760–1840) and Hong Kyŏngmo 洪敬謨 (1774–1851), see Mun Tŏkhŭi, "Nam Kongch'ŏl ūi sŏhwa kwan," *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* 213 (1997): 85–116; Son Hyeri, "18-19 segi ch'opan munindŭl ūi sŏhwa kamsang kwa pip'yŏng e kwanhan yŏn'gu: Sŏng Haeŭng ūi *Sŏhwa chapchi* wa Nam Kongch'ŏl ūi *Sŏhwa palmi* chungsim ūiro," *Hanmun hakpo* 19 (2008): 747–778; Yi Chongmuk, "Chosŏn hugi kyŏnghwa sejok ūi chugŏ munhwa wa Saŭidang," *Hanmun hakpo* 19 (2008): 568–592.

¹⁴ Burglind Jungmann, "Sin Sukju's Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism," *Archives of Asian Art* 61 (2011): 107–126 and by the same author, *Pathways to*

although they derived from Northern Song scholar-painting theory, in particular that by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), Sin Sukchu's remarks illustrated intellectual and cultural patterns of antiquarianism that characterized the power play of the period. In addition, Chang Chin-Sung has addressed the antiquarianism among scholars of the late Chosŏn dynasty.¹⁵ He emphasized that Chosŏn collectors fashioned themselves as scholar-recluses, presenting their refined and cultured taste through the collecting and display of antiquities.

Yet, previous scholarship on the history of art collecting in the Chosŏn dynasty has, while undoubtedly contributing to our understanding of the institutional systems and the shifts in taste, almost exclusively concentrated on the collecting of paintings and calligraphy. The role of antiquities and of their collectors in the emergence of new pictorial objects as well as the interactions between collectors and artists has been neglected. For the history of late Chosŏn paintings, it is thus important to examine how Chosŏn collectors' enthusiastic passion for Chinese bronzes played a critical role in the development of a new style of art.

Key questions discussed in this dissertation include: In what context did Chosŏn collectors begin to appreciate and accumulate Chinese antiques, particularly bronzes? What kind of cultural significance did the collecting of Chinese antiques have in late Chosŏn Korea? What were the sources that inspired painters and patrons to portray Chinese collectables? What is the relationship between the collecting of antiques and the representation of Chinese bronzes in

Korean Culture, 17–36. According to Jungmann, An Kyŏn's painting not only expressed the patron's personal taste, but also reflected contemporaneous cultural trends and sociopolitical conditions.

¹⁵ Chang Chinsŏng (Chang Chin-Sung), "Chosŏn hugi kodong sŏhwa sujib yŏlgi ūi sŏnggyŏk: Kim Hongdo ūi *P'oui p'unngnyu to wa Sain ch'osang e taehan kŏmt'o*," *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 3 (2004): 154–203, and by the same author, "Ambivalence and Indulgence: The Moral Geography of Collectors in Late Joseon Korea," in Elizabeth Lillehoj ed., *Archaism and Antiquarianism in Korean and Japanese Art* (Chicago: The Center for the Art of East Asia, Department of Art History, University of Chicago, 2013), 118–142.

nineteenth- and early twentieth-century paintings? How did the antiquarian movement and aesthetic experience shape the character of late Chosŏn visual and material culture? What impact did the circulation and appropriation of images of ancient objects have on artistic developments? By answering these questions, this dissertation aims to reconstruct the cultural significance of the collecting of Chinese bronzes and to recapture the intellectual and artistic motivations of collectors, connoisseurs, artists, and patrons.

This dissertation consists of four chapters: 1) Discovering Antiquites; 2) Collecting and Appreciating Antiquites; 3) Illustrating Antiquites; and 4) Staging Antiquites. Chapter One explores the cultural topography in which appreciating Chinese bronzes emerged during the Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) and Chosŏn dynasties. Particular attention is placed on Koryŏ celadon vessels in the shape of ancient Chinese bronzes and on Chosŏn ritual vessels produced for and consumed by the ruling class. The main purpose is to provide the background information for the examination of Chinese bronzes depicted in Chosŏn paintings, which will be thoroughly discussed in Chapters Three and Four. After a brief discussion of the characteristics of ancient and archaistic Chinese bronzes, I investigate the variations in shapes and decorations of ritual vessels from the eleventh through the nineteenth centuries. An analysis of Chinese ritual bronzes venerated and used on the Korean peninsula indicates how the ruling elite engaged in the appropriation of Chinese bronzes in accordance with their political, social, and cultural demands.

Chapter Two examines the patterns and the scope of collecting Chinese antiquites, focusing on collectors of antiquites, ranging from the royal family and scholar officials to the affluent *chungin* class. To illustrate the critical features of collectors of antiques, I will investigate primarily how King Chŏngjo (r. 1776–1800), Nam Kongch'ŏl 南公轍 (1760–1840), and O Kyŏngsŏk 吳慶錫 (1831–1879) expressed their concepts and attitudes toward Chinese

antiquites and regarded them as cultural symbols. Through a close examination of the extant textual records and Chinese bronzes in Chosŏn collections, this chapter investigates how collecting activities functioned as a distinctive gesture for the Chosŏn elite's cultural and social identity. The aim of this chapter is to illuminate the role of collectors as an important force in shaping the socio-cultural environment along with the aesthetic principles that promoted new painting genres in the late Chosŏn dynasty.

The second half of this dissertation contains detailed analyses of Chosŏn paintings and embroidery featuring Chinese bronzes in order to demonstrate how they reflect a growing contemporaneous trend in collecting and appreciating Chinese bronzes. Chapter Three explores the way in which Chosŏn artists appropriated motifs of Chinese bronzes using various sources and thus visualized their patrons' desires for Chinese antiquites. Two genres, screens of *Antiques* featuring Chinese bronze vessels almost exclusively and screens of *Books And Scholarly Utensils*, also known as *ch'aekkŏri*, are the main objects of this chapter. By comparing objects depicted in these paintings to those recorded in Chinese illustrated catalogs and to archaic bronzes, this chapter discusses the possible pictorial sources, the modification of visual elements, and their cultural adaptation. This chapter demonstrates that these paintings signify both an appreciation of ancient Chinese culture and their owners' quests for social prestige.

Chapter Four examines the representation of Chinese bronzes in collectors' portraits, such as *Portrait of Yi Haŏng* of 1869, and in paintings of antiques and flowers by Chang Sŏngŏp 張承業 (1843–1897) and An Chungsik 安中植 (1861–1919). It will allow an understanding of how collectors represented themselves amidst their collection and thereby encouraged artistic developments as well as how painters appropriated certain motifs of Chinese bronzes in accordance with increasing demands and artistic conventions. A thorough analysis of these

paintings illustrates how the cultural trends in appreciating and collecting Chinese antiquites established a new fashion of presenting such antiquites in late Chosŏn paintings.

A growing knowledge and interest in Chinese bronzes among late Chosŏn collectors of antiquites, ranging from the cultural elite to commoners aspiring to a higher social status, generated these new genres of paintings that rendered a wide variety of bronzes from ancient times to contemporary Qing China. Together with extant textual sources, these paintings can serve as records of material culture and knowledge during the late Chosŏn dynasty. This dissertation aims to highlight the way in which Chosŏn elite were able to assert their standing within their own society and within East Asia through a process of reception of selected elements of Chinese culture in the form of texts, images, and thought, and through the adaptation of these to their own traditions and aesthetics.

CHAPTER ONE. Discovering Antiquities: Chinese Bronzes as Ritual Vessels

1. Chapter Introduction

The close diplomatic relationship of the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties to their counterparts in China, Song 宋 (960–1297), Yuan 元 (1279–1644), Ming 明 (1368–1644), and Qing 清 (1644–1911) was vital for the discovery of ancient Chinese bronzes, both as objects used in ritual and as collectibles. A complicating factor in tracing the acceptance of Chinese ideas and visual models is the Chinese practice of recreating the past, namely of constantly recreating ancient bronzes in various media. Consequently, both actual bronzes of the ancient Xia 夏 (2070–1600 BCE), Shang 商 (ca. 1600–1045 BCE), and Zhou 周 (ca. 1046–221 BCE) dynasties – including later visual records of such bronzes – and their ‘antiquarian’ imitations of later dynasties were received and considered as models on the Korean peninsula. Throughout the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties we thus find an intertwining reception of both the ‘originals’ and the later Chinese imitations, a multilayered group of objects and textual materials, which then served as basis for Korea’s own recreation.

Another complicating factor is the relationship and correspondence between objects created for ritual use and those, which served as collectibles. Both were ‘precious items’ in their own rights and the groups often overlap: ancient ritual bronzes became collectibles in China at least since the Bronze Age and functioned as testimonies of understanding history from the Song dynasty onward, as well as contemporaneously made bronze vessels served as objects used in

rituals.¹ Unfortunately, there is little knowledge about the collecting and scholarly appreciation of Chinese bronzes during the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn dynasties. Therefore and because of the aforementioned intertwining of the two spheres this chapter will mainly be concerned with bronzes produced for ritual. However, there are a few indications, both in textual and in visual material, that already during the Koryŏ dynasty the court and scholar officials regarded bronzes as objects of aesthetic appreciation. For instance the Song envoy Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091–1153) mentions in the record of his visit to Koryŏ of 1123 that he appreciated some precious objects, including bronzes, which he had brought along together with Koryŏ officials. In addition, a Koryŏ celadon incense burner, now in the Nezu Museum (fig. 1–20), combines the shape of a ritual vessel with a peony design. The design quite obviously would have been inappropriate for ritual use, and the vessel therefore has to be regarded as an object of appreciation and collecting by a member of the Koryŏ elite. Both will be discussed later in this chapter.

This chapter explores the historical circumstances in which Chinese ritual bronzes were imported, consumed, and venerated from the Koryŏ through the Chosŏn dynasties. Chinese ritual bronzes were transported to the Korean peninsula for the ritual settings in the royal ancestral shrines. Along with the actual bronzes, the influx of illustrated catalogs and ritual handbooks from China played a significant role in the publication of ritual protocols and the manufacture of ritual vessels in Korea. By investigating the ritual vessels produced and used in Korea in comparison with Chinese bronze prototypes, this chapter aims to provide insights into the complex dynamics of political, social, and cultural aspiration behind the collecting of Chinese bronzes.

¹ For a discussion of the antiquarian behavior from the Shang to the Song dynasties, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Antiquarianism in East Asia: A Preliminary Overview,” 45–50.

Building on previous scholarship, which contributed to an understanding of the role of Chinese ritual bronzes in the production of ritual objects in the Koryŏ and the Chosŏn dynasties, I investigate the possible sources used to recreate Chinese ritual bronzes in Korea from the eleventh through the nineteenth centuries.² Although the focus of this dissertation is on paintings depicting Chinese antiques in the late Chosŏn dynasty, it is critical to understand how Chinese ritual bronzes were venerated and used in Korea in the earlier periods. In this regard, I will trace the way in which the Koryŏ and the Chosŏn courts modified and transformed shapes and decorations of ritual vessels through an analysis of textual sources and visual references.

Although Koryŏ is known for its highly sophisticated production of metal vessels and ornaments, only those connected to Buddhist culture have been thoroughly investigated and preserved.³ In contrast, it seems that extremely few imitations of ritual vessels following ancient Chinese models are extant, one of which will be discussed later in this chapter (fig. 1–15). The scarcity of the material is probably due to the fact that bronze was often re-melted and recast under different conditions, for instance, into weapons for warfare or objects serving different religious or state ceremonial. Interestingly, a Shang dynasty bronze vessel has been found near present-day Kaesŏng (fig. 1–12). However, it is not clear when it was brought to the Korean

² For an extended discussion of the ritual vessels of the Koryŏ and the Chosŏn dynasties and its relation to Chinese models, see Yi Yongjin, “Koryŏ sidae chŏnghyŏng ch’ŏngja yŏn’gu,” *Misulsahak yŏn’gu* (2006): 153–190; Yi Yongjin, “Chosŏn hugi chŏnghyŏng hyangno yŏn’gu,” *Tongak misul sahak* (2002): 325–343; Yi Yongjin, “Koryŏ sidae chŏnghyŏng ch’ŏngja yŏn’gu,” *Misulsahak yŏn’gu* (2006): 153–190; Sin Suk, “Koryŏ kongyep’um e poinŏn Song tae ‘panggo kimul’ ŏi yŏnghyang,” *Misulsa yŏn’gu* 25 (2011): 161–184; Hsu Ya-hwei, “Songdai fugu tongqi feng zhi yuwai chuanbo chu tan yi shier zhi shiwu zhiji de Hanguo weili,” *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 32 (2012): 101–170; Kim Chongim, “Chosŏn wangsil kŏmsok chegi yŏn’gu: Chongmyo chegi rŏl chungsim ŏro,” *Misulsahak yŏn’gu* 277 (2013): 133–165; Sagong Yŏngae, “Chosŏn wangsil chŏnghyŏng hyangno yŏn’gu,” *Misulsa yŏn’gu* 28 (2014): 259–281.

³ An Kwisuk, “Koryŏsidae kŏmsok kongye ŏi taejung kyosŏp,” *Koryŏ misul ŏi taeoe kyosŏp* (Seoul: Yegyŏng, 2004), 153–192; *Sinansŏn sogŏi kŏmsok kongye* (Seoul: Kungnip haeyang yumul chŏnsigwan, 2007); Yi Yongjin, “Samguk sidae hyangno yŏn’gu,” *Han’guk kodaesa t’amgu* 5 (2010): 159–216.

peninsula.⁴ We therefore have to rely on imitations in another medium, the famous bluish green ceramic ware of Koryŏ celadon, of which most objects have been preserved in tombs.

As a point of departure, this chapter considers first how royalty and the scholar-official class (*yangban* 兩班) initiated the production and use of Koryŏ celadons in the shape of ancient Chinese bronzes. Secondly, it examines the relationship between the phenomenon of the revival of ritual bronzes in China and Chosŏn vessels manufactured for and used in ritual ceremony. I will examine the critical role of ritual handbooks and illustrated catalogs, which provided the models for producing ritual ceramics and bronzes on the Korean peninsula. Given that Koryŏ and Chosŏn ritual vessels show characteristics of both ancient and later archaic bronzes, I will start by briefly discussing the characteristics of ancient and archaic bronzes in terms of their shapes and decorative motifs. By then investigating the variations in shapes and decorative patterns of ritual vessels produced during the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods, I will demonstrate how the ruling elite together with the artisans involved in the production process appropriated Chinese ancient bronze forms relying on the social and cultural demands of successive time periods. A thorough visual analysis of this earlier material will provide the background for better understanding the representation of Chinese bronzes in Chosŏn paintings, which will be closely examined in Chapters Three and Four.

⁴ The NMK *Square Cauldron* vessel was discovered in the Kaesŏng area. The Yi Royal Family Museum purchased this vessel in 1908 from a Japanese art dealer. Yi Royal Family Museum collection was later integrated into that of the National Museum of Korea. Yi Yongjin, “Koryŏ sidae chŏnghyŏng ch’ŏngja yŏn’gu,” 159.

2. Characteristics of Ancient and Archaistic Bronzes

In China, the manufacture of ritual vessels was not only associated with the needs and interest in antiques that manifested political power, it was also related to the collection and the imitation of Chinese ancient bronzes during the Golden Age of the Three Dynasties: Xia, Shang, and Zhou. In the ancient periods, bronze vessels functioned as a means to enhance and glorify the owner's political and social power due to their materiality. In particular, the divine Nine Tripods of the Xia dynasty are considered as emblems of political legitimacy. The legend of the discovery of the Nine Tripod reveals the desire for the mandate for Heaven of the First Emperor of Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝 (r. 221–207 BCE), an illegitimate successor of the Zhou.⁵ This myth became prevalent until the Song dynasty when antiquarians discovered, collected, and studied ancient bronze vessel with the development of antiquarianism.⁶

Since the Song dynasty Chinese scholars regarded Chinese antiques as must-have items in their pursuit of scholarly virtue and social prestige because ancient objects offered material mediation and helped their intension to make ritual contact with the ancients.⁷ According to the

⁵ The First Emperor of Qin Shihuangdi eventually was not able to obtain the Nine Tripod, which also indicates the loss of power in a short term. The story of the Nine Tripod see Sima Qian, *Shi ji* 史記 [Records of the grand historian] (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), 248.

⁶ Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Antiquarianism in East Asia: A Preliminary Overview," 35–66. For an extended discussion, see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); James C. Y. Watt, "Antiquarianism and Naturalism," *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996).

⁷ In order to pursue authentic the classical texts, Song scholars embarked on scientific and systematic research of historical studies based on ancient inscriptions found on bronzes and stones. They investigated antiquity through literary texts and objects in order to restore the essence of Chinese culture. The most eminent scholar in this regard was historian and antiquarian Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072). Recognizing the importance of ancient inscriptions he acquired more than one thousand ink rubbings of bronzes and stones and wrote commentaries on them. For details on the Song antiquarian movement, see

Treatise on Incense (Xiang pu 香譜), Song literati also placed bronze censers in their studios to burn incense.⁸ The original ritual meaning that ancient bronzes were imbued with was already lost in the Song dynasty. Rather, for both practical function and aesthetic purpose, the incense burner became an essential element for the scholarly studio. This shows a significant turn in the appreciation of ancient Chinese bronzes from the ritual function to use as scholarly objects. During the Ming dynasty, books on the philosophy of taste regarding the shapes and functions of bronze vessels were published in response to a shift in the academic climate in which scholars paid attention to the aesthetic value of antiquities as collectibles, *wangu* 玩古 (“treating antiquity as a plaything”). In his *Gegu yaolun* 格古要論 (Essential criteria of antiques), the Ming scholar Cao Zhao 曹昭 (late 14th c.) notes that ancient vessels such as *yi* 彝 (sacrificial vessel) or *ding* 鼎 (tripod) were used not for sacrificial purposes but as incense burners along with the writing brush, ink, inkstone, and paper—the so-called four treasures of the study.⁹

Zhangwuzhi 長物志 (Treatise on superfluous things) written by the late Ming connoisseur and scholar Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585–1645) offers evidence as to what types of Chinese bronze vessels were recommended for the knowledgeable and cultivated collector. In his book, Wen Zhenheng evaluates ancient bronzes and ranks them on the basis of the desirability of

Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, “Ouyang Xiu’s Conceptual Collection of Antiquity,” and Ya-hwei Hsu, “Antiquaries and Politics: Antiquarian Culture of the Northern Song, 960–1127,” in Schnapp, Alain, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Peter N. Miller, and Tim Murray eds., *World Antiquarianism*, 212–248.

⁸ Hong Chu, *Xiang pu* (Xianggang: Cheng zhen lou, 2015).

⁹ Cao Zhao, *Gegu yaolun* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983). During the Ming dynasty, the scholar’s studio had to be equipped with the right complement of antiques and contemporary work. James C. Y. Watt, “The Antique-Elegant: Decorative Arts for the Ch’ing Court” in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 503–553.

owning bronzes:

Regarding bronzes, the most valued are *ding*, *yi*, *zun*, *li* and *dui*; then come *yi*, *you*, *lei*, and *zhen*; then come *fu*, *qui*, *zhong*, *zhu*, ‘bloodoath basins,’ *lian hua nana*, and such things. The difference between the Three Ages is that Shang pieces are plain and have no inscriptions, Zhou pieces have fine and dense inscriptions in seal script, and Xia pieces are inlaid with gold and silver of a hair-like fineness.¹⁰

In a discussion of the role of objects of the past in the late Ming dynasty, Clunas notes that Wen Zhenheng ranked ancient bronzes based on their value and desirability and identified the characteristics of bronzes of the Golden Age. Wen considered that Xia bronzes should be inlaid with gold and silver. Yet, as Clunas points out, Wen Zhenheng and his contemporaries misunderstood certain characteristics of bronzes in the Xia dynasty. He remarks: “The stress is on the possessor, and any sign of interest in the object as intrinsically important testimonies to ancient times is missing.” Indeed, the surviving inlaid bronzes were mostly produced during the Yuan or Ming dynasty, Wen’s own time, at the latest. The Chosŏn elite had great respect for Ming material culture and collectors referred to guidebooks such as *Zhangwuzhi* for their own collecting activities, which will be discussed in Chapter Two.

The emulation of Chinese ritual vessels was not apparent until the Koryŏ dynasty when the court carried out a ritual reform. Given that the production of ritual vessels during the Koryŏ

¹⁰ 又次之銅器鼎彝觚尊敦鬲 最貴匱卣罍解次之簠簋鍾注斝血盆奩花囊之屬 又次之三代之辨商則質素無文周則雕篆細密夏則嵌金銀細巧如髮款識. Wen Zhenheng, *Zhangwuzhi* (Beijing: Zijincheng chuban shi, 2012), 316–317. English translation cited from Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 98.

and Chosŏn dynasties was closely connected with Chinese models, particularly archaistic ones, it is important to understand the significant differences between the ancient and the archaistic bronzes before analyzing the characteristics of ritual bronzes produced and consumed on the Korean peninsula. Here, the archaistic bronzes encompass bronze vessels produced during the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties when possessing ancient ritual vessels became essential for scholars and collectors. Archaistic vessels can be clearly distinguished from those made during the ancient periods, particularly the Shang and the Zhou dynasties, which were considered the golden age of Chinese civilization.¹¹ Because the *ding* vessels, which can be in the form of tripods or square cauldrons (*fangding* 方鼎), were the most popular type in Korea among diverse other types of Chinese bronzes, such as *zun* 尊 (beaker), *jue* 角 (double-mouthed cup), *pan* 盤 (basin platter), *dui* 敦 (tureen), and *jue* 爵 (goblet)—I will explain the distinctive characteristics between ancient prototypes and later archaistic bronzes focusing on two *ding* vessels, *Zhenghe ding* 政和鼎 (*Tripod of the Zhenghe Reign*, fig. 1–1) and *Zhou Wen Wang ding* 周文王鼎 (*Square Cauldron for King Wen of the Zhou*, fig. 1–4).

It was not until the Song dynasty that Chinese artisans produced a considerable number of objects imitating and transforming the shape of ancient ritual vessels in response to political interests and to a growing demand, due to the collecting and appreciation of antiques among

¹¹ My account of the fundamental characteristics of ancient bronzes is based on *The Great Bronze Age of China* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980); Robert W. Bagley, Jessica Rawson, and Jenny So, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Washington, D.C: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1990); *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993); Li Xueqin, *Chinese Bronzes a General Introduction* (Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 1995). For an analysis of archaistic bronzes, see Rose Kerr, *Later Chinese Bronzes* (London: Bamboo Pub. in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990); Robert D. Mowry, *China's Renaissance in Bronze: The Robert H. Clague Collection of Later Chinese Bronzes, 1100-1911* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1993); Philip K. Hu, Robert D. Mowry, Steven D. Owyong, and Laura Gorman, *Later Chinese Bronzes: The Saint Louis Art Museum and Robert E. Kresko Collections* (Saint Louis, MO: Saint Louis Art Museum, 2008).

scholars and collectors.¹² While they attempted to maintain the key aspects of ancient forms of the Shang and the Zhou dynasties, artisans of later periods slightly transformed certain features of shapes and common motifs. The earliest examples of archaistic bronzes appeared in the Northern Song dynasty when Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1101–1125) commissioned a considerable number of ritual bronzes modeled after ancient ones to solidify his reign by restoring the glories of the past. For instance, a ritual tripod vessel, entitled *Zhenghe ding* (fig. 1–1), which was commissioned by Emperor Huizong in 1116, represents the emulation and appropriation of a bronze vessel of the Shang dynasty.¹³ Compared to *Shang xiang xing taotie ding* 商象形饗饗鼎 (*Ding with taotie motif and elephant shape of the Shang*) from the Emperor’s catalogue *Xuanhe bogu tulu* 宣和博古圖錄 (Illustrations of Antiques in the *Xuanhe* period) (fig. 1–2), also known by its abbreviated title *Bogu tu* 博古圖 (Illustrations of Antiques),

¹² For an extended discussion of the cultural environment of the birth of antiquarian movement from the Song through the Qing dynasties, see Chen Fangmei, “Song gu qi wu xue de xingqi yu Song fanggu tongqi,” *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 10 (2001): 37–160; Li Yumin and Peijin Yu, eds., *Guse: Shiliu zhi shiba shiji yishu de fanggufeng* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2003); Jessica Rawson, “Novelties in Antiquarian Revivals: The Case of the Chinese Bronze,” *Gugong xueye jikan* 22.1 (2004): 1–34; Chen Fangmei, “Zhui Sandai yu dingyi zhijian,” *Gugong xueye jikan* 23.1 (2005): 267–332; Chen Fangmei, *Qingtongqi yu Songdai wenhua shi* (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2016); Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, “Pursuing Antiquity: Chinese Antiquarianism from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2007); Ya-hwei Hsu, “Reshaping Chinese Material Culture: The Revival of Antiquity in the Era of Print, 960-1279” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2010); Jeffery C. Moser, “Recasting Antiquity: Ancient Bronzes and Ritual Hermeneutics in the Song Dynasty” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010); Wu Hung ed., *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2010).

¹³ The Ritual Bureau was charged with casting new ritual bronzes from 1113 through 1120. This vessel was given to the worthy official Tong Guan, the Concurrent Controller of the Bureau of Military Affairs, for his ancestral shrine. For an original text and English translation of inscription, see *Emperors’ Treasures: Chinese Art from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2016), 55. Together with the *Zhenghe ding* and a bell set, entitled *Dasheng* 大晟 or Great Brightness, a *ding* vessel with ox-head is one of the most important ritual vessels for Emperor Huizong’s projects in the light of antiquarianism. It is notable that this type of *ding* vessel appeared in the Chosŏn court productions in diverse formats. I will discuss a *ding* vessel with ox-head in the following section of this chapter.

this vessel recreates most of the formal characteristics of the illustrated *Zhenghe ding* tripod.¹⁴ It has two upright handles and a round body supported by three cylindrical legs. The body is decorated with a frontal animal mask with swirling horns, known as *taotie* since the Song dynasty, one of the most common motifs Shang and Zhou dynasties ritual vessels (fig. 1–3).¹⁵ As for the ancient bronzes, it is common that the entire body is divided into six registers by flanges and decorated with low-relief animal face against spiral motifs. By replacing the central flange with a subtle ridge, however, the newly cast *Zhenghe ding* alters and reinterprets the decoration of the ancient vessel combining the two sides of the zoomorphic motif into a more coherent face. This modification is characteristic for the process of copying and recreating ancient vessels.

As another example, an admired type of square cauldron of the Zhou dynasty, called *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, offers more clues to understanding how new elements of archaistic vessels

¹⁴ The *Bogu tu*, commissioned by Emperor Huizong and compiled between 1119 and 1125, contains ancient objects from the imperial collection. It consists of the title, line drawings, and ink rubbings of inscriptions of diverse types of ancient objects from the imperial collection. For an analysis of the *Bogu tu*, see Patricia B. Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, “Cataloguing Antiquity: A Comparative Study of *Kaogu tu* and *Bogu tu*,” in Wu Hung ed., *Reinventing the Past*, 200–228. For the comparison between the *Zhenghe ding* and the *Bogu tu*, see Yun-Chiahn C. Sena, “Pursuing Antiquity: Chinese Antiquarianism from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century,” 139–140.

¹⁵ The *taotie* motif was originally found on Chinese bronzes during the Anyang period (ca. thirteenth century–ca. 1027 BC) of the Shang dynasty. Although this mystical creature featured on the ritual bronzes in the ancient times, the term, *taotie* from the ancient text, was first recorded in a painter and antiquarian Li Gonglin’s 李公麟 (ca. 1041–1106) essay appearing in the *Kaogu tu* 考古圖 [Investigations of Antiquities Illustrated] compiled by Lu Dalin 呂大臨 (1044–1093) in 1092. For the meaning of the *taotie* motif, see Ladislav Kesner, “The Taotie Reconsidered: Meanings and Functions of the Shang Theriomorphic Imagery,” *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 51, no. 1/2 (1991): 29–53; Roderick Whitfield ed., *The Problem of Meaning in Early Chinese Ritual Bronzes* (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993).

distinguish them from ancient ones.¹⁶ One of the extant examples of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* manufactured in the late Ming dynasty is now in the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei (hereafter NPM *Wen Wang ding*, fig. 1–4). It has a squared body supported by four dragon-shaped flat legs and two upright handles on a rectangular rim. The body is adorned with beaked dragons depicted in profile on the upper register and *taotie* motifs on the lower. Compared to *Zhou Wen Wang ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu* (fig. 1–5), the NPM *Wen Wang ding* presents the principal characteristic of the *Wen Wang ding* from the Zhou dynasty in terms of the shape of the body, the legs and the surface decoration.¹⁷ Yet, although the vessel bears an inscription referring to the Zhou dynasty, additions that characterize it as an archaistic bronze are quite obvious. These are, in particular, the lid with a carved jade knob and the wooden stand. In the section of “Vessels and Utensils” in *Zhangwuzhi*, Wen Zhenheng notes that “The knobs of the lids should be Song dynasty jade buttons, mythical animals or sea beasts, and of a size appropriate to the incense burner.”¹⁸ Wen Zhenheng’s commentary confirms that the lid accompanied by jade knobs became essential part of making archaic bronzes. Detached from their original function as ritual objects, scholars from the Song dynasty onward used *ding* vessels

¹⁶ It is important to note that the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* with ancient and archaistic forms is one of the bronzes, which is frequently featured in Korean paintings. I will examine the characteristics and the use of Chinese models to render *Zhou Wen Wang ding* in Korean art in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹⁷ Because it was one of the most highly valued ancient ritual vessels a number of copies of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* were produced from the Song dynasty onward. Emperor Huizong also had a *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, considered to be authentic, in his imperial collection. For an in-depth discussion of *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, see Zhang Rensheng, “*Wen Wang Fang ding he Zhong Gu Fu Gui*,” *Gugong xueye jikan* 15.1 (2001): 1–44.

¹⁸ Wen Zhenheng, *Zhangwuzhi* (Beijing: Zijincheng chuban shi, 2012), 21. For English translation see Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 43.

as incense burners and displayed them in their studios.¹⁹

While the lid was a result of the newly assigned function of the vessel as an incense burner, the paring with a stand which became popular in the Ming and Qing dynasties gives evidence of its display and appreciation, hence signifying the bronze vessel's status as collectable item.²⁰ A handscroll, *Pictures of Ancient Playthings* (*Guwan tu* 古玩圖), now at the British Museum, offers some insight into this change in function of archaistic bronzes (fig. 1–6).²¹ *Pictures of Ancient Playthings*, dated to 1728 and 1729, includes detailed illusionistic pictures of approximately 250 objects from Emperor Yongzheng's 雍正 (r. 1723–1735) collection, consisting of jades, bronzes, and ceramics from the Neolithic through the Qing periods. Positioned on a rectangular stand, the green rectangular cauldron shown in this scroll with its lid, carved jade knob, and wooden stand is another example of a characteristic archaistic bronze vessel produced during later periods.

In sum, it is apparent that archaistic bronzes produced in later periods in China show certain modifications of common decorative motifs in the process of imitating ancient bronzes. Moreover, these archaistic bronzes have new elements added, such as a lid with a jade-carved knob and a pedestal, as their function has changed from ritual practice to objects prestige and scholarly appreciation. Because Chinese ritual vessels, regardless of their periods, served as

¹⁹ For an in-depth discussion of Chinese bronzes as incense burners, see Chapter Two.

²⁰ Jan Stuart, "Practice of Display: The Significance of Stands for Chinese Art Objects," in Jerome Silbergeld et al., eds., *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 695.

²¹ The last section of the scroll depicts an empty throne surrounded by a five-panel screen with antiques. This indicates that a screen with antiques was installed behind throne, which emphasizes the cultural significance of antiques. Shane McCausland, "The Emperor's Old Toys: Rethinking the Yongzheng (r.1723–1735) *Scroll of Antiquities* in the Percival David Foundation," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 66 (2001–2002): 65–75.

valuable models for Korean artisans it is necessary to distinguish these differences between ancient and archaic bronzes in order to investigate the ritual vessels produced and depicted in Koryŏ and Chosŏn Korea.

3. Koryŏ Bronzes and Celadons in the Shape of Ritual Vessels

As already mentioned, it is not surprising that the Koryŏ elite drew inspiration from both the ritual use and the collecting of Chinese bronzes due to the close diplomatic relations and cultural exchange between Koryŏ and Song and Yuan China.²² As a consequence of this exchange, the fashion for creating ritual vessels developed from the Koryŏ dynasty onward. As also noted earlier, due to the lack of extant Koryŏ imitations in bronze we have to turn to ceramics, a medium that was also used in China early on for imitating bronze ware. One of the representative examples of the early stage of copying ancient forms of Chinese ritual bronzes in celadon ware is a *Square Cauldron Incense Burner* (hereafter NMK *Square Cauldron 1*, fig. 1–7), now at the National Museum of Korea.²³ This well-balanced *fangding* vessel with its soft greenish glaze and low-relief patterns across the entire body is a prime example of the fine techniques of celadon production achieved in the twelfth century.²⁴ The ceramic vessel has two

²² For a discussion of the diplomatic relationship and cultural exchanges between Korea and China during the Koryŏ dynasty, see Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge, Mass: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1984), 110–162; Na Minsu, “Koryŏ ūi taeye kyoyŏk e taehayŏ,” *Yŏnse kyŏngje yŏn’gu* 8 (2001): 16–29; Yi Chŏngsin, *Koryŏ sidae ūi chŏngch’i pyŏndong kwa taeye chŏngch’aek* (Seoul: Kyŏngin munhwasa, 2004); *Koryŏ misul ūi taeye kyosŏp* (Seoul: Yegyŏng, 2004).

²³ Another *fangding* vessel with similar shape and decorative pattern to NMK *Square Cauldron 1* is now located in the Horim Museum in Seoul. For an illustration, see *Koryŏ ch’ŏngja* (Seoul: Horim pangmulgwan, 2009), 78, fig. 59.

²⁴ The technology for producing Koryŏ celadon was particularly developed during the reigns of King Munjong 文宗 (r.1046–1082) and King Injong 仁宗 (r.1122–1146). For an overview of Korean ceramics, see Yun Yongi, *Han’guk tojasa yŏn’gu* (Seoul: Munye ch’ulp’ansa, 1993); Kang Kyŏngsuk, *Han’guk tojasa ūi yŏn’gu* (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000). For an extended discussion of Koryŏ celadon, see Chang Namwŏn, *Koryŏ chunggi ch’ŏngja yŏn’gu* (Seoul: Hyeon, 2006); *Koryŏ wangsil ūi tojagi* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2008); Chang Namwŏn, “The Development of Koryŏ Porcelain and the Chinese Ceramic Industry in the Tenth Century,” in Younmi Kim ed., *New Perspectives on Early Korean Art* (Cambridge, MA: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2013), 193–242.

upright handles on the rectangular mouth rim, a square body with flanges in the center, and four lobe-legs decorated with blade motifs. As commonly found on ancient bronzes, the frontal animal masks with swirling horns on the main body can, due to the flange at the center, also be recognized as two confronting creatures in profile. The narrow band above shows beaked birds with slender bodies in side-view, which are also a familiar feature of the bronze vessels of ancient periods (fig. 1–8). A most interesting aspect of this celadon vessel is the two-character inscription “Zhao Fu 召夫 (Father Zhao),” which indicates that it is supposed to be a copy of a vessel dedicated to Father Zhao of the Shang dynasty (fig. 1–9).

The visual appearance and inscription of the NMK *Square Cauldron 1* offer a clue to possible pictorial references. With regard to its inscription, shape, and decorative patterns, it is almost identical to the *Shang Zhao Fu ding* 商召夫鼎 (*Square Cauldron for Father Zhao of Shang*), a rectangular cauldron of the Shang dynasty reproduced in the illustrated catalog, *Bogu tu* (fig. 1–10).²⁵ However, there are still some slight differences, particularly in the decoration of the legs. While the blade motifs on the legs of *Shang Zhao Fu ding* illustrated in the *Bogu tu* are only indicated by a few short lines, the NMK *Square Cauldron 1* shows a much more elaborate blade pattern. This pattern is, in fact, reminiscent of another *ding* vessel, entitled *Shang Fu Gui ding* 商父癸鼎 (*Ding for Father Gui of Shang*), which is also recorded in the *Bogu tu* (fig. 1–11). Thus, the comparative examination of the NMK *Square Cauldron 1* and the *Shang Zhao Fu ding* in the *Bogu tu* suggests that the *Bogu tu* functioned as a critical visual source for Koryŏ artisans

²⁵ Yi Yongjin acknowledges that the inscription engraved on the NMK *Square Cauldron 1* is identical to that of the *Shang Zhao Fu ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu*, yet asserts that there is no record to prove that the *Bogu tu* was available in the Koryŏ dynasty. However, in my mind, this comparison offers enough evidence to consider the book as a key source for Koryŏ artisans. See Yi Yongjin, “Koryŏ sidae chŏnghyŏng ch’ŏngja yŏn’gu,” 159–160; *Koryŏ sidae hyangno* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2013), 14–28. The *Bogu tu* continued to serve as a critical reference for Chosŏn artists whose works will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

to produce ritual vessels. It is evident that the influx of illustrated catalogs made a significant impact on the production of ceramics in the shape of bronzes in the Koryō dynasty, just as they had a significant impact on the manufacture of archaistic objects in Southern Song China.²⁶

In addition to illustrated books, actual Chinese bronzes imported from the Song China may have functioned as source for Koryō artisans and their patrons. In order to establish his political legitimacy Emperor Huizong initiated a ritual reform and ordered to cast the Nine Tripods, which symbolize imperial authority in relation with the Golden Age of the Three Dynasties.²⁷ According to the *History of the Song*, in 1117 when Emperor Huizong constructed the Bright Hall 明堂 for the ritual ceremony and commanded to produce new ritual vessels to celebrate the new era the Song court granted some ritual vessels, such as *dou* 豆 (raised dish), *gui* 簋 (a two-handled food vessel), *ding* 鼎 (tripod or square cauldron), and *zun* 尊 (a wine vessel) to Koryō.²⁸

²⁶ In Southern Song China, the *Bogu tu* functioned as a reference for imitating the ancient forms of ritual vessels. Ya-hwei Hsu analyzed later Song copies of bronzes from Hangzhou and Huzhou, which faithfully followed the *Bogu tu*. Yet Song artisans sometimes also combined different decorative patterns. For imitations of Chinese bronzes in various media, such as bronze, ceramic, gold and silver, jade, and stone discovered in Hangzhou and Sichuan, see Ya-hwei Hsu, “Reshaping Chinese Material Culture: The Revival of Antiquity in the Era of Print, 960–1279,” 207–211; *Wenyi shaoxing: Nan Song yishu yu wenhua* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2010).

²⁷ For a study on the arts and politics of Huizong’s reign, see James C. Y. Watt, “Antiquarianism and Naturalism,” *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 219–228; Peter K. Bol, “Emperors can Claim Antiquity too: Emperorship and Autocracy Under the New Policies,” in Patricia B. Ebrey and Maggie Bickford eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 173–205.

²⁸ The Song court offered a blueprint for the ritual reform of the Koryō court. In the course of this reform, the Koryō court acquired textual and visual material, such as *Illustrations of Great Ancestral Temples* (*Taimiaotang tu* 太廟堂圖), *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* (*Jiqi tu* 祭器圖), and *Illustrations to the Three Rites* (*Sanli tu* 三禮圖) from Song China. *The History of Koryō*, vol.3, year of 983, the eighth month.

More evidence is provided by the Song envoy Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091–1153) in his *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* 宣和奉使高麗圖經 (Illustrated Records of Koryŏ in the Xuanhe period) of 1123. There Xu mentions that he brought some antiques to Koryŏ along with paintings, calligraphy, incense, and tea, and appreciated those gifts together with Koryŏ officials, including Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075–1151), who compiled the *History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk sagi* 三國史記).²⁹ In addition, a Shang bronze vessel (fig. 1–12) thought to have been excavated in the Kaesŏng area, where NMK *Square Cauldron 1* was also found, may be representative of the import of Chinese bronzes from the Song dynasty and therefore could have had an impact on the production of Koryŏ celadon. However, more proof is needed to confirm that this vessel reached the peninsula during the Koryŏ dynasty.³⁰ Nevertheless, it is more than likely that original Chinese bronze vessels also served as models for Koryŏ artists and their patrons.

Another Koryŏ celadon in the shape of a Chinese ritual vessel, entitled *Ding Cauldron* in the Museum of Oriental Ceramics in Osaka (hereafter *Osaka Cauldron*, fig. 1–13), offers more evidence of the combined use of illustrations and contemporaneous Chinese objects.³¹ This green-glazed *ding* vessel has two upright handles on a round mouth rim and the bowl-shaped body supported by three cylindrical undecorated legs. The upper body is decorated with beaked-shaped dragons while the lower body is embellished with *taotie* masks. This celadon vessel

²⁹ *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* vol. 26 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937). The *Samguk sagi* was published in 1145 and is the earliest extant history of the Korean peninsula based on the model of Chinese historiography.

³⁰ Since Shang dynasty bronzes must have been rare and precious during the Song dynasty, it is unlikely that they were easily given away.

³¹ The incense burner collected in the shares the identical configuration with one in the Kansong Art Museum. *Kansong munhwa* 31 (Seoul: Han'guk minjok misul yŏn'guso, 1986), fig. 9; *Kōrai seiji e no izanai* (Ōsaka: Ōsaka shiritsu tōyō tōji bijutsukan, 1992), 46, fig. 34.

resembles, in its overall shape and the distinction between upper and lower register on the body, one of the archaic bronze vessels produced in Yuan China (fig. 1–14) and discovered in the Chinese merchant ship of 1323 that was found at the coast of Sinan in Korea.³² On the other hand, it is also reminiscent of the *Shang Fu Gui ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu* (fig. 1–11). From the comparison, it is evident that the Koryŏ artisans attempted to maintain the particular characteristics of Yuan bronzes by presenting a bowl-shaped body and elongated legs.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Koryŏ imitations of Chinese ritual vessels using bronze are extremely scarce. The only known object relevant to this discussion is the *Incense Burner* in the National Museum of Korea (fig. 1–15).³³ It has two handles attached to the sides of the neck, which bears a pattern of angular spirals (*leiwen* 雷紋), a globular shaped body with geometric patterns, and three legs.³⁴ The shape of the mouth suggests that it was originally paired with a lid. Its somewhat exaggerated bulky body the round end of the legs, and geometric

³² The artifacts in the Sinan shipwreck present a wide range of Chinese objects, including ceramics and bronzes, meant to be sent to Japan during the Yuan dynasty. Important studies of the Sinan shipwreck include Kim Yŏngmi, *Sinan-sŏn kwa tojagi kil* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2005); *14 segi Asia ūi haesang kyoyŏk kwa Sinan haejŏ yumul* (Mokp'o: Kungnip haeyang yumul chŏnsigwan, 2006); *Maŭm ūl tamŭn kŭrŭt, Sinan hyangno* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2008); Kim Sŏnga, "Sinan-sŏn ch'ulsu pang kodonggi ūi kihyŏng kwa yongdo," *Misulsahak* 29 (2015): 103–134; *Sinan haejŏsŏn esŏ ch'ajanaen kŏttŭl: Palgul 40 chunyŏn kinyŏm t'ŭkpyŏlchŏn* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2016); *Han'guk ūi pomulsŏn: T'aim k'aepsyul ūl yŏlda* (Seoul: Kongmyŏng, 2016).

³³ While the main material for ritual vessels was celadon in the Koryŏ period, there exist some ritual bronzes including *pan* 盤 (basin platter) vessel with flower and cloud patterns, currently housed in the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art of Cornell University in addition to the *Ding-shaped Incense Burner* in the National Museum of Korea. *Miguk K'onel taehakkyo Hŏbbŏt'ŭ F. Chonsŭn misulgwan Han'guk munhwajae* (Taejŏn: Kungnip munhwajae yŏn'guso, 2009), 365.

³⁴ This pattern of squared spiral bands, commonly referred to as 'key fret pattern' in the West, is known as 'thunder pattern' in China. The term 'thunder pattern' is based on the geometric elements of the Chinese character for thunder (*lei* 雷), which carries symbolic meaning for agricultural people. For the pattern of Chinese bronzes, see Li Song, *Chinese Bronze Ware* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

patterns on the upper part of the body are reminiscent of archaic bronze vessels, as exemplified by the *Bronze Censer Decorated with Dragons Chasing a Flaming Pearl* (fig. 1–16), dated from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Compared to our earlier examples, both vessels are, in fact, already quite remote in their shapes and decoration from those ancient models discussed before. Such growing independence from ‘orthodox’ models suggests a possible change in function.

While the high degree of likeness suggests that the NMK *Square Cauldron 1* and the Osaka *Cauldron* were faithful to the Chinese prototypes, such gain of independence from orthodoxy can also be observed in celadon production. Koryō artisans introduced innovative designs by modifying shapes and decorative patterns.³⁵ A representative example in this regard is another *Square Cauldron Incense Burner* housed in the National Museum of Korea (hereafter NMK *Square Cauldron 2*, fig. 1–17). The NMK *Square Cauldron 2* can easily be recognized as a ceramic following ‘ancient’ Chinese models with its two upright handles and rectangular body decorated with *taotie* masks against a ground of angular thunder patterns. Yet, the mythical animal mask has been transformed into swirling ornaments, their origin hardly recognizable. The registers, divided by flanges in more orthodox examples, have been altered into even decorative sections. Moreover, the very short feet bear small holes, and a squared spiral pattern encircling the narrow band of mouth can hardly be compared with the beaked-dragon design (see fig. 1–8) from which it most likely derived. While NMK *Square Cauldron 1* may well have served as a ritual vessel, it is quite unlikely that NMK *Square Cauldron 2* had the same function. The transformation rather seems signify its function as collectible, made for display and appreciation

³⁵ In addition to NMK *Square Cauldron 2*, several incense burners featuring diverse patterns and short legs are currently located in the Leeum Samsung Museum of Art, the Horim Museum, and the Museum of Oriental Ceramics in Osaka. For a further discussion of these cauldrons, see Yi Yongjin, “Koryō sidae chōnghyōng ch’ōngja yōn’gu,” 167–177.

in the studio of the Koryŏ elite.

This suggestion is further supported by other vessels like the *Celadon Incense Burner with Impressed Taotie Design*, now at the Horim Museum (hereafter *Horim Cauldron*, fig. 1–18), which, while relating to a different shape, bears a very similar design and has similarly short handles and feet. Comparison with the more orthodox design on the fragment of a ceramic censer with a similar shape excavated in Kangjin, where the finest ceramics for the Koryŏ court were produced (fig. 1–19), gives an idea of the transformation of the ancient decor. Even further remote from, yet still referring to the *ding* shape is the *Incense Burner with Applied Peony Scroll Design* in the Nezu Museum (hereafter *Nezu Incense Burner*, fig. 1–20). Its peony design on the body completely separates it from any of the ceramics discussed earlier, strongly indicating its decorative use, and signifies its connection with other items for the scholar's studio produced in celadon at the time, such as inkstones, water droppers, or brush holders (fig. 1–21).

Coming back to the more faithful copies of Chinese ritual vessel in the medium of celadon discussed at the beginning of this chapter we may ask: Why did the Koryŏ court commission its artisans to produce celadons in the shape of Chinese ritual bronzes? The answer can be found in the circumstances in which the Koryŏ court established a new ritual system and emphasized the importance of rites.³⁶ The production of these objects is linked to their role in the context of ritual reform, initiated as a means of establishing political power. In addition, the highly developed ceramic technology and the influx of Chinese materials, both in the form of books and objects, made it possible to produce Koryŏ celadon copying ancient forms. Although further research on the collecting of antiques needs to be done, a similar constellation could be

³⁶ The new ritual system refers to the Confucian rites that urged ancestor worship during the last decades of Koryŏ. Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), 134–136.

suggested in the private realm based on the examination of those incense burners that show strongly modified shapes and innovative designs. The collecting of antiquities among the cultured elite of Song and Yuan China may have encouraged a similar fashion in Koryŏ Korea, and ceramics like the NMK *Square Cauldron 2*, the Horim *Cauldron*, and the Nezu *Incense Burner* answered to its demands.

After the fall of the Koryŏ dynasty the newly established Chosŏn royal court continued to produce and use ritual vessels based on Chinese models. Yet, it is necessary to notice that the motivations for producing ritual vessels in the Chosŏn period were different. The following section will discuss the characteristics of Chosŏn ritual vessels with particular attention to visual sources, function, and meaning in the ritual context.

4. Chosŏn Ritual Vessels at Court

After the founding of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1392, the court of King T'aejo 太祖 (r. 1392–1398) emphasized the significance of ancestral rites as they became an essential element to declare the dynasty's legitimacy and its foundation on Confucianism. The court proclaimed state rituals and built the Royal Ancestral Temple (*Chongmyo* 宗廟) to perform ancestral rites.¹ Illustrated publications of the reigns of Kings Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450) and Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494), namely *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* (*Chegi tosŏl* 祭器圖說) in a section of “Five Rites (Orye 五禮)” of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong* (*Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄) of 1454 and *The Five Rites of State* (*Kukcho orye ūi* 國朝五禮儀) of 1474 show early examples of ritual vessels used at court.² After the Japanese invasion of 1592 (*Imjin Waeran* 壬辰倭亂), the court reorganized the ritual rites through the establishment of the Superintendency for Ritual Vessels

¹ *Veritable Records of King T'aejo*, vol. 2, year of 1392, the ninth month, the twenty-fourth day; *Veritable Records of King T'aejo*, vol. 8, year of 1395, the ninth month, the twenty-ninth day; *Veritable Records of King T'aejo*, vol. 8, year of 1395, the tenth month, the fifth day. According to the *Veritable Records of King T'aejong*, King T'aejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418), the successor of King T'aejo, had the *Illustrations of the Order of Ancestral Rites* (*Chesa sŏrye to* 諸祀序例圖) produced which probably showed ritual vessels similar to those recorded in the *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* of the reign of King Sejong. *Veritable Records of King T'aejong*, vol. 20, year of 1410, the eighth month, the twenty-eighth day; *Veritable Records of King T'aejong*, vol. 29, year of 1415, the third month, the third day. The text of these records is provided by Kim Chongim, “Chosŏn wangsil kŭmsok chegi yŏn'gu,” 135–137.

² According to *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, King Sejong commanded to produce ritual vessels when he took the throne. The court even imported brass from Japan to manufacture ritual vessels. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 1, year of 1418, the tenth month, the thirteenth day. In addition to brass, the Chosŏn court commissioned ritual vessel using ceramic in the early Chosŏn dynasty. For examples of ritual vessels in ceramic, see Chŏng Sora, “Chosŏn chŏn'gi kilye yong punch'ŏng chegi yŏn'gu,” *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* 223 (1999): 5–33; An Sŏnghŭi, “16-17 segi Chosŏn paekcha chegi ūi saeroun kyŏnghyang,” *Misulsahak* 22 (2008): 7–41; *Punch'ŏng sagi chegi* (Seoul: Horim pangmulgwan, 2010); *Hŭk ūro pijŏn Chosŏn ūi chegi* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2016).

(*Chegi togam* 祭器都監) and ordered the production of a considerable amount of ritual vessels.

The *Protocol of the Superintendency for Ritual Vessels* (*Chegi togam üigwe* 祭器都監儀軌),

published in 1611, and the *Protocol of Royal Ancestral Shrine* (*Chongmyo üigwe* 宗廟儀軌)

published under King Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674–1720) in 1706 are extant and enable us to get a

glimpse at ritual vessels for ancestral rites of the time.³ The scale of the production of ritual

vessels was usually accelerated when the legitimacy of a king was at stake, particularly during

the reigns of King Yöngjo 英祖 (r. 1724–1776), King Chöngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800) and Emperor

Kojong 高宗 (r. 1863–1907).⁴ As a result, a fairly large amount of diverse types of ritual vessels,

such as *yi* 彝 (wine vessel), *jue*-cup, and *ding*-cauldron, are currently housed in the National

Palace Museum of Korea. Since ritual objects were critical components for carrying out proper

ceremonies, these extant textual and visual sources provide significant insights into the

³ *Veritable Records of King Sönjo*, vol. 134, year of 1600, the second month, the twenty-eighth day; *Veritable Records of King Sönjo*, vol. 180, year of 1603, the tenth month, the twentieth day; see Kim Munsik, “Chosön sidae kukka chölyesö üi p’yönch’an yangsang,” *Changsögak* 21 (2009): 79–104; Chang Kyönghui (Jang Kyunghee), “Chongmyo chegi üi chejak,” *Chosön wangsil üi kungnüng üimul* (Seoul: Minsogwön, 2013), 368–390. King Sukchong ordered a reprint of *Da Ming ji li* 大明集禮 [The Collected Rites of the Great Ming] in 1692 which was completed in 1694. *Veritable Records of King Sukchong*, vol. 24, the year of 1692, the first month, the twenty-first day; see Kim Munsik, “Sukchong i chunggan han Taemyöng chimnye,” *Munhön kwa haesök* 28 (2004): 203–215. The *Da Ming ji li* continued to the model for the production of ritual vessels until the end of the Chosön dynasty. In fact, ritual vessels produced during the reign of Emperor Kojong were closer the *Da Ming ji li* than those of the previous reigns, see Kim Chongim, “Chosön wangsil kümsok chegi yön’gu,” 155–158.

⁴ *Veritable Records of King Yöngjo*, vol. 69, the year of 1749, the fifth month, and the second day; *Veritable Records of King Yöngjo*, vol. 69, the year of 1749, the sixth month, and twenty-seventh day. *Veritable Records of King Chöngjo*, vol. 34, the year of 1792, the third month and the first day. The *Royal Protocol of Sajiksö* (*Sajiksö üigwe* 社稷署儀軌) of 1783 and the *Royal Protocol of Kyöngmo Palace* (*Kyöngmo gung üigwe* 景慕宮儀軌) of 1784 were compiled during the reign of King Chöngjo. For an analysis of these records, see Chang Kyönghui, “Chöngjo tae Kyöngmo gung üi wangsil kongyep’um yön’gu,” *Han’guk kongye nonch’ong* 12 no. 2 (2009): 1–21 and by the same author, “Chosön hugi chongmyo chegi wa ch’öngdae t’aemyo chegi üi pigyo,” *Ch’önnnyön üi iyagi: Horongpul arae chakka waüi mannam* (Seoul: Munhwajaech’öng chongmyo kwalliso, 2010).

appropriation and modification of ancient models for ritual vessels throughout the Chosŏn dynasty.

It is significant to note that the illustrations of ritual vessels from the Chosŏn dynasty indicate trends that differ from those of the Koryŏ dynasty. In order to answer questions such as what types of ritual vessels were produced for the Chosŏn court and what kinds of visual references were used, this section investigates *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* published under King Sejong, extant ritual vessels for the Royal Ancestral Temple produced in the late Chosŏn dynasty, and the *Screen of Ritual Procedures at Chongmyo* (Chongmyo ch'inje kyuje tosŏl pyŏmgp'ung 宗廟親祭規制圖說屏風, fig. 1–30). For comparison earlier and contemporaneous Chinese illustrated publications will be used, namely *Sanli tu* 三禮圖 (Illustrations for the Three Rites) compiled by Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 (fl. 948–964), a dean of studies at the Imperial Academy of the Later Zhou Dynasty, *Huangyou xinyue tuji* 皇祐新樂圖記 (Illustrated Records of the New Musical Instruments during the Huangyou Reign) by Song scholars Ruan Yi 阮逸 (?–?) and Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993–1059), and the *Da Ming ji li* 大明集禮 (The Collected Rites of the Great Ming) of 1369–1370, a ritual handbook commissioned by Emperor Taizu 太祖 (r. 1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty.

It was not until King Sejong's reign that the Chosŏn court started to officially produce ritual vessels using brass and ceramics.⁵ Building on the state rituals established by previous

⁵ Kim Chongim notes that the Chosŏn court used the Koryŏ ritual vessels until the reign of King T'aejo. According to *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, the Chosŏn court imported copper from Japan in order to produce ritual vessels since there was not enough material in Korea. It is unclear why most Chosŏn ritual vessels were made of brass, which consists of copper and zinc. The lack of technology and materiality might have resulted in the production of brass vessels instead of bronze ones. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 34, the year of 1419, the tenth month and the thirteenth day. For the process of making brass see An Kwisuk, *Yugijang: Chungyo muhyŏng munhwajae che 77 ho* (Seoul: Hwasan munhwa, 2002), 9; Kim Chongim, "Chosŏn wangsil kŭmsok chegi yŏn'gu," 135.

kings, King Sejong further reinforced the ritual practice through the manufacture and the publication of such vessels. The early examples of ritual vessels recorded in the *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* in a section of “Five Rites” of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, continued to serve as prototypes for vessels throughout the Chosŏn dynasty. Within the sets of illustrated ritual vessels which included *fu* 簋 (grain container), *zun* 尊 (wine vessel), and *yi* 彝 (sacrificial vessel), the most intriguing objects are tripods with ox-heads 牛鼎 (K: *u chŏng*, C: *wu ding*) (fig. 1–22), with pig-heads 豕鼎 (K: *si chŏng*, C: *shi ding*) (fig. 1–23), and with sheep-heads 羊鼎 (K: *yang chŏng*, C: *yang ding*) (fig. 1–24).⁶

Among them, tripods with ox-heads have two handles on the rim and a cylindrical body with a flat belly supported by three short legs in the shape of ox feet and with sculpted ox-heads applied at their top ends. The narrow band encircling the neck is decorated with spiral patterns and bow-strings whereas the lower body remains undecorated. Interestingly, with its elongated shape and short legs this *ding* vessel resembles the one recorded in the *Huangyou xinyue tuji* (fig. 1–25) of the Northern Song more closely, than its contemporaneous Chinese counterpart shown in the *Da Ming ji li* (fig. 1–26) does.⁷ Yet, the illustration in the *Da Ming ji li* with its bowl-like rounded bottom and higher legs seems to be directly related to an actual bronze of the Northern Song dynasty (fig. 1–27) As is well known, early Chosŏn scholars, in their quest for building a

⁶ The animal design on *ding* vessels refer to their function in ritual ceremony, namely to the repective animals’ sacrifices. While tripods with ox-heads were set to serve ox, tripods with pig-heads functioned as a container for pig, etc. These three types of tripods appeared in the *Royal Protocol* and ritual handbooks throughout the Chosŏn dynasty. Kim Chongim, “Chosŏn wangsil kŭmsok chegi yŏn’gu,” 141–142; Chang Kyŏnghŭi, *Chosŏn wangsil ŭi kungnŏng ūmul* (Seoul: Minsogwŏn, 2013).

⁷ According to *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, King Sejong requested to purchase the *Da Ming ji li* from Ming China. *Veritable Records of King Sejong*, vol. 88, year of 1439, the first month, the eighth day. For detailed information on the relationship between early Chosŏn ritual vessels and Chinese ones, Hsu Ya-hwei, “Songdai fugu tongqi feng zhi yuwai chuanbo chu tan yi shier zhi shiwu zhiji de Hanguo weili,” 119–120.

‘sage kingdom’ dug deep into history and related to Zhou and Song sources, alongside studying their Ming neighbors.⁸ It is thus not surprising to find references to examples from earlier periods alongside contemporaneous sources.

Extant vessels produced for the Royal Ancestral Temple and currently housed in the National Palace Museum of Korea also seem to be more faithful to earlier Chinese manuals and thus offer insights into a specific Chosŏn antiquarianism.⁹ As an example, I will discuss a *ding* vessel with animal heads (hereafter NPM *Tripod with Ox-heads*, fig. 1–28). It is apparent that its shape and decoration do not correspond to the extant vessel with ox-heads of the Northern Song period, currently located in the Culture Relics Protection Center in the Hebei Province (fig. 1–27) nor the *ding* recorded in the *Da Ming ji li* (fig. 1–26). It rather relates to those recorded both in the *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* (fig. 1–22) and in the Chinese ritual handbooks of the Northern Song (fig. 1–25). All three cauldrons have two upright handles attached to the narrow band on both sides of the body. The drum-shaped body is supported by three short legs with ox-heads at the top end of the legs. The upper body of the NPM *Cauldron with Ox-heads* is

⁸ For instance, during the reign of King Sejong, a standardized measurement system was introduced, the Zhou-dynasty foot (*juch’ŏk*), following ancient Chinese models. See Gari Ledyard, “Cartography in Korea,” in J. B. Harley and David Woodward eds., *The History of Cartography* vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 285; Jahyun Kim Haboush, “Creating a Society of Civil Culture: The Early Joseon, 1392–1592,” in *Art of the Korean Renaissance* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 3–14; Burglind Jungmann, “Sin Sukju’s Record on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism,” *Archives of Asian Art* 61 (2011): 116 and 123. These measures were, of course, part of the overall concept of creating a state that accorded with the Confucian concept of the Mandate of Heaven.

⁹ For an in-depth discussion of ritual vessels for the *Chongmyo*, see Yun Pangŏn, *Chosŏn wangjo Chongmyo wa cherye* (Taejŏn: Munhwajaech’ŏng, 2002); Ch’oe Sun’gwŏn, “Chongmyo chegi ko,” *Chongmyo taeje munmul* (Seoul: Kungjung yumul chŏnsigwan, 2004); *Chongmyo* (Seoul: Kungnip kogung pangmulgwan, 2014). Scholars point to the impact of Chinese texts related to rites on the production of ritual vessels of the Chosŏn dynasty. For a comparison between the Chosŏn ritual vessels and those appearing in Chinese ritual books, see Hsu Ya-hwei, “Songdai fugu tongqi feng zhi yuwai chuanbo chu tan yi shier zhi shiwu zhiji de Hanguo weili,” 119–130.

embellished with complex patterns while the lower body remains undecorated. In addition, the name of the vessel “*u chǒng*” 午鼎 (C: *wu ding*, “*ding* with ox-head”), referring to its function in ritual, is engraved on the surface of the lid of the late Chosŏn vessel (fig. 1–29). The only major difference is that the NPM *Ding with Ox-heads* does not have any inscription on the body whereas the one in the *Huangyou xinyue tuji* bears inscriptions, including its name, on the main body. Although slightly different in motifs, the location of decorative patterns on the upper body of the NPM *Cauldron with Ox-heads* is reminiscent of one in the *Da Ming ji li*. This comparison suggests that the Chosŏn court took some liberty to have artisans modify patterns and details while taking Chinese ritual handbooks as general guidance.

In addition to illustrations in ritual texts and extant ritual vessels, vessels depicted in the *Screen of Ritual Procedures at Chongmyo* (*Chongmyo ch'inje kyuje tosŏl pyŏmgp'ung* 宗廟親祭規制圖說屏風) can provide a clue to understanding the characteristics of the Chosŏn ritual vessels (hereafter NPM *Screen of Ritual Procedures*, fig. 1–30). The nineteenth-century screen gives detailed information on ceremonies held in the Royal Ancestral Temple.¹⁰ Three *ding* vessels shown on the sixth panel of the NPM *Screen of Ritual Procedures* (fig. 1–31) have of two handles on the round rim, a cylindrical body and three feet. The feet of each vessel are adorned with heads of oxen, pigs, and sheep respectively, while the two characters referring to the vessels' names and functions are noted above their images. Through imitation of forms and decorations, these *ding* vessels convey formal modification derived from diverse sources from

¹⁰ This screen is thought to have been produced after 1866, under the reign of King Kojong, because the first panel includes a shrine dedicated to King Chŏlchong 哲宗 (r. 1849–1863), Kojong's predecessor. Kŭm Changt'ae, *Yugyo ūi sasang kwa ūiryŏ* (Seoul: Yemun sŏwŏn, 2000); Chi Tuhwan, *Segye munhwa yusan, Chongmyo iyagi* (Seoul: Chimmundang, 2004); *Kungjung sŏhwa* (Seoul: Kungnip kogung pangmulgwan, 2012), 202–203; Chang Kyŏnghŭi, “Chongmyo chegi ūi chejak,” *Chosŏn wangsil ūi kungnŭng ūimul* (Seoul: Minsogwŏn, 2013).

China and Korea. These include the *Sanli tu* compiled by Nie Chongyi for the Imperial Academy of the Later Zhou Dynasty, the *Da Ming ji li*, and the *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* in “Five Rites.”¹¹

The *ding* vessel with ox-heads rendered in the NPM Screen of *Ritual Procedures* shares with the one recorded in the *Sanli tu* its simplistic mode of representation and the two characters located at the top of the vessel (fig. 1–32), which is also a common format for Chosŏn illustrations of ceremonial in general. This comparison indicates that various ritual handbooks functioned as references for the production of court ritual objects throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, but also that the Chosŏn court modified aspects of ritual vessels according to their needs. In addition, it is quite possible that artisans may also have transformed shapes and decorations in the process of copying those ritual manuals.

¹¹ The original text of the *Sanli tu* was written in the second century and Nie Chongyi compiled his version of the ritual manual using six different versions available at this time. Nie Chongyi, *Xinding Sanli tu*, 3–4. For relationship between text and image in the *Sanli tu*, see Ya-hwei Hsu, “Reshaping Chinese Material Culture: The Revival of Antiquity in the Era of Print, 960-1279,” 139–156.

5. Chapter Conclusion

An examination of the formal characteristics of ritual vessels produced in the Koryŏ and the Chosŏn dynasties provides critical insights into the understanding of the adaptation of models of Chinese ritual vessels. My examination of Koryŏ and Chosŏn vessels, made of bronze, celadon, and brass brought to light that artisans who imitated Chinese bronzes incorporated elements of both ancient and more recent archaistic models in order to create new designs. While the NMK *Square Cauldron 1* resembles one recorded in the *Bogu tu*, the *Osaka Cauldron* presents a shape and pattern modified from the Chinese prototype. Yet, the NMK *Square Cauldron 2* and the *Horim Cauldron* show noticeable unique features, such as the combination of short feet with diverse shapes of the body.

In context of ascertaining its legitimacy and founding on Confucian ideas, the Chosŏn court emphasized the significance of rituals and continued to manufacture ritual vessels bestowed by the King for ancestral ceremonies. Yet, the different visions of state rituals in the Koryŏ and the Chosŏn dynasties resulted in various ways of incorporating forms of Chinese ritual vessels. It seems that the Chosŏn ritual vessels mostly resemble those recorded in ritual handbooks rather than actual bronzes of ancient times. Scholars at the Chosŏn court often preferred to go back to the roots of Confucian ceremonies and therefore put more emphasis on the study of ritual texts than on actual available Chinese vessels.

My analysis of Koryŏ celadon imitations of bronzes indicated that it is quite possible that ancient and archaistic bronzes were also appreciated as collectibles during this period. In contrast, it is more difficult to find textual information or visual material for the early Chosŏn dynasty that refers to any other use of bronzes than ritual. It is therefore important to note that in the eighteenth century a shift in the approach to Chinese bronzes occurred from its original ritual

function to that of objects of scholarly appreciation. Late Chosŏn scholars, who visited Qing China, started to admire the culture of the Manchu court, which they had looked upon as ‘barbarian’ after the fall of the Ming, and actively sought to revitalize Chosŏn society and conventions. The extant text and visual sources show their impact on the increased demands for Chinese antiques as scholarly objects in Korea. The following chapter will discuss the shift in the perception of Chinese ritual vessels in Korea, focusing on the influx of Chinese material culture through active involvement of Chosŏn envoys and the role of collectors who enriched their collections of antiques seeking to emphasize their identity as literati.

CHAPTER TWO. Appreciating and Collecting Antiquities: Chinese Bronzes as a Scholarly Pursuit

1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter explores certain types of Chinese bronzes that were especially appreciated by Chosŏn envoys and collectors as objects for their collections and for display in their studios. The eighteenth century marked a distinctive period in the history of collecting art and antiquities in conjunction with growing trends of art appreciation and evaluation.¹ Confucian scholars of the early Chosŏn period had warned against an “obsession with objects,” *wanmul sangji* 玩物喪志, based on the Confucian classics, *Shangshu* 尚書 (*Venerated Documents*, also called *Shujing* 書經, *The Book of Documents*), which says that attachment to goods leads to the loss of a Confucian scholar’s mind and spirit.² However, textual sources documenting the appreciation of Chinese antiques in the pursuit of a scholarly lifestyle reveal the positive regard toward antiques in the late Chosŏn dynasty in spite of the strict Confucian values concerning the obsession with objects.³

¹ Hong Sŏnp’yo sees a concrete connection between collectors and their impact on artistic developments and discusses collectors and connoisseurs, including Yi Hangbok 李恒福 (1556–1618), Yi Hagon 李夏坤 (1677–1724), Kim Kwangsu 金光遂 (1696–1770), and Kim Kwanguk 金光國 (1727–1797), based on primary sources. Hong Sŏnp’yo, “Chosŏn hugi hoehwa ūi p’ungjo wa kamp’ŏng hwaltong,” 231–254.

² Hwang Chŏngyŏn points out that Dong Qichang’s book allowed Pak Chiwŏn, Yi Tŏngmu, and Nam Kongch’ŏl 南公轍 (1760–1840) to establish the positive attitude toward collecting activities. For the concept of *wanmul sangji*, see Hwang Jungyon (Hwang Chŏngyŏn), “Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynast,” 102–103; Chang Chin-Sung, “Ambivalence and Indulgence: The Moral Geography of Collectors in Late Joseon Korea,” 118–142.

³ Hwang Chŏngyŏn examines the theory of collecting, appreciating, and authenticating, and investigates the changes in art collecting. Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “Sŏhwa sujang e taehan insik kwa silch’e,” 193–231.

As mentioned in Chapter One, from the Song dynasty onward the function and aesthetic value of bronze vessels changed from food containers or drinking vessels for rituals and thus symbols of rulership in the ancient periods to incense burners or collectibles for the private use. A similar change in the use and appreciation of bronzes from ritual vessels to collectibles was also found in eighteenth-century Chosŏn Korea. Due to the emphasis on the aesthetic value of antiques, Chosŏn royalty and scholars focused on collecting and displaying Chinese bronzes in their studios in order to demonstrate their cultivation and their pursuit of scholarship.

The import of Chinese bronzes and the circulation of illustrated catalogs containing images of bronzes became vital for the growth of interest in Chinese antiques. I therefore explore in this chapter how Chosŏn envoys, who accompanied regular embassies to Yanjing 燕京 (present-day Beijing 北京), established the fashion for appreciating and collecting Chinese antiquities through their acceptance of Qing visual and material culture. Focusing on extant textual accounts and bronzes that once belonged to Chosŏn collectors, I further examine the patterns of collecting Chinese antiquities among the ruling elite (*yangban*) and affluent members of the secondary social group of the *chungin*.⁴ Understanding how late Chosŏn collectors perceived Chinese bronzes in the course of their cultural exchanges also provides insights into the cultural environment that helped to establish the new painting genres in which antiquities played a major role.

⁴ The *chungin* class, particularly interpreters, who regularly traveled to Qing China, were able to accumulate wealth through private trade and to advance their social position in the late eighteenth century. Other *chungin* groups, for instance merchants who engaged in medical herbs trade with China, were similarly able to profit. Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 250–251.

2. Appreciating Chinese Antiquites: The Role of Chosŏn Envoys

As is well-known, after the fall of the Ming dynasty in China most Chosŏn intellectuals regarded the new Manchu rulers, who established the Qing dynasty, with disdain. However, scholar officials who visited China from the reign of King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800) onward sought more intensive contact with Qing scholars and became increasingly interested in Qing culture. Scholars of the *Pukhak* movement who attempted to reinvigorate Chosŏn intellectual life and culture particularly sought innovative knowledge and technologies and developed a penchant for accumulating Chinese art and cultural objects.¹

Chosŏn envoys, who provided information about Chinese antiquities in their travel records (*Yŏnhaengnok* 燕行錄, “Records of the Journey to Beijing”), played a critical role in introducing the fashion of collecting ancient bronzes, a fashion that had become widely practiced in China in the late Ming dynasty and continued into the Qing dynasty.² Pak Chega 朴齊家 (1750–1815), a prominent *Pukhak* scholar, reported on his visits to the shops at *Liulichang* 琉璃廠, the major market of antiquities in Beijing. According to his book *Pukhagŭi* 北學議 (Principles of Northern Learning), he observed a great variety of ritual bronzes, antique jades, and paintings, and

¹ For further information, see Jung Jaehoon, “Meeting the World through Eighteenth-century Yonhaeng,” 51–69; Ko Donghwan (Ko Tonghwan), “Development of Commerce and Commercial Policy during the Reign of King Chŏngjo,” *Korea Journal* 40.4 (2000): 202–226.

² Most extant records by Chosŏn envoys on their visits to Qing China have been compiled under the title *Yŏnhaengnok*. The most important records were written by Hong Taeyong, Pak Chiwŏn, Yi Tŏngmu, and Pak Chega. Hong Taeyong, *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengrok* (Seoul: Tol pegae, 2001); Pak Chiwŏn, *The Jehol Diary: Yŏrha ilgi of Pak Chiwŏn*, partly translated by Choe Yang Hi and Wall Folkestone (Kent: Global Oriental, 2010); Yi Tŏngmu, *Kugyŏk ch’ŏngjanggwan chŏnsŏ* (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe, 1986). See also Gari Ledyard, “Korean Travellers in China over Four Hundred Years, 1488–1887,” *Occasional Papers on Korea* (March, 1974): 1–42, and by the same author, “Hong Taeyong and his Peking Memoir,” *Korean Studies* 6 (1982): 63–103.

emphasized the importance of collecting these materials for cultural education.³ Another prominent scholar, Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737–1805), described and recorded the names, forms, and values of Chinese bronzes after he had examined such vessels at antique stores in Beijing. He also took notice of the fake bronzes that were prevalent on the market and emphasized that one should be equipped with knowledge and a discerning eye in order to truly appreciate artworks and antiques.⁴

Chosŏn envoys also roamed the bookstores of the Chinese capital and brought large numbers of books home, ranging from literature, including manuals on collectibles, to catalogues. These books include the aforementioned *Gegu yaolun* by Cao Zhao, Gao Lian's 高濂 (16th century) 尊生八箋 *Zunsheng bajian* (Eight treaties on the nurturing of life), Wen Zhenheng's 文震亨 (1585–1645) *Zhangwuzhi* 長物志 (Treatise on superfluous things), Zhang Chou's 張丑 (1577–1643) *Qinghe shuhuafang* 清河書畫舫 (Clear river boat of painting and calligraphy), Chen Jiru's 陳繼儒 (1558–1639) *Meigong miji* 眉公秘笈 (Meigong's secret satchel) and Dong Qichang's 董其昌 (1555–1636) *Gudong shisan shuo* 古董十三說 (Thirteen comments on antiques).⁵ These books contain guidance on the topics of mounting, authentication, preservation, and display, as well as detailed information about antiquities, paper, brushes, ink, seals, and silk. By emphasizing the benefits of collecting and appreciating art, they promoted art collecting and changed the evaluation of the practice of collecting from the negative idea of an “obsession with objects” to a more positive attitude.

³ Pak Chega, *Pukhagŭi* (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2003), 128–129.

⁴ Pak Chiwŏn, *Yŏnam chip* (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2007), 113–117.

⁵ For a list of the imported books, see Hwang Jungyon, “Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty: Perceptions and Practices,” 105.

Chinese wood-block printed illustrated catalogues that Chosŏn envoys brought include among others the *Xiqing gujian* 西清古鑒 of 1749 (Catalogue of Xiqing antiques) commissioned by Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736–1795), who amassed the largest collections of all time.⁶ Pak Chiwŏn underscored the significance of *Xiqing gujian* as essential reference for collecting Chinese antiques and gave advice on the purchase of bronze vessels in China:

Zhou [ritual vessels] Shiwang *dui* (ritual food container with cover), Si *dui*, Yi *dui*, the Shang Mother Yi *li* (food vessel), the Zhou Mian Ao *li*, the Shang tiger-head sacrificial vessel, the Zhou Xin sacrificial vessel, are all found in the *Bogu tu*. However, the recent publication, the *Xiqing gujian* has far better illustrations. Therefore, one should first look for this publication. Look at the names [of vessels], then examine the illustrations carefully. First choose refined vessels, [then] go to the workshop [directly] or to Yingfusi and Baoguosi (districts in Beijing where well-established antique shops were located) on market day, you will definitely find them.⁷

⁶ In response to a growing interest in antiques, Qing scholars established a system of cataloging ancient bronze vessels based on period, format, and type, as well as transcribing the inscriptions on antiquities in the imperial collection. For a discussion of Emperor Qianlong's collections and the illustrated catalogs, see Thomas Lawton, "An Imperial Legacy Revisited: Bronze Vessels from the Qing Palace Collection," *Asian Art* 1, no. 1 (1987-88): 50–59; Rose Kerr, "Sources for the Study of Chinese Bronze," in *Later Chinese Bronzes* (London: Bamboo Pub. in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990), 13–29; Feng Mingzhu, *Qianlong huangdi de wenhua daye* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2002); Ho Chuimei, *Splendors of China's Forbidden City: The Glorious Reign of Emperor Qianlong* (London, New York: Merrell, 2004); Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, "Between Printing and Rubbing: Chu Jun's Illustrated Catalogues of Ancient Monuments in Eighteenth-Century China," in Wu Hung ed., *Reinventing the Past*, 255–290.

⁷ 周師望敦, 兕敦, 翼敦, 商母乙鬲, 周蔑敖鬲, 商虎首彝, 周辛彝 已上 俱載博古圖中, 近日新刻 西清古鑒 製式尤精 先於書肆 索見 西清古鑒, 按名審圖, 先講其式樣 精雅入賞者, 次於廠中 或隆福報國寺市日, 索之俱有不爽. Pak Chiwŏn, "Kodongnok 古董錄 [Record of Antiquities]," *Yŏrha ilgi* (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2009), 146. Modified English translation from Youngsook Pak, "Ch'aekgado—A Joseon

Another leading scholar Yi Tōngmu 李德懋 (1741–1793), who visited China in 1778, also emphasized the importance of *Xiqing gujian* for collecting Chinese antiques in his book *Ch'ōngjanggwan chōnsō* 靑莊館全書 (Collected Writings of Chōngjanggwan).⁸ As both scholars mentioned, the *Xiqing gujian* records the inscriptions on ancient bronzes in regular script, in addition to reproducing their shape and surface decoration (fig. 2–1).

Due to the combination of the transcriptions with the rubbings from the actual vessels that accurately reproduced the original inscriptions Chinese illustrated catalogs became valuable guides for acquiring Chinese antiques in Chosŏn Korea. The Chief State Councilor (*Yōngŭijōng* 領議政) Yi Yuwōn 李裕元 (1814–1888), who gathered a great number of books and antiques himself, compiled a list of Chinese books available at the court and in private collections at the time which also included the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian*.⁹ For our investigation of Chinese bronzes that appear on Chosŏn screens the fine-line drawings which reproduce the shapes and decorations of bronzes in these two catalogues are particularly important, together with the records of the inscriptions on the actual bronzes. Thus, the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian* provided Chosŏn painters with most valuable models for representing Chinese antiques.¹⁰

Conundrum,” *Art in Translation* 5.2 (2013): 201.

⁸ Yi Tōngmu, *Ch'ōngjanggwan chōnsō* (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1986), 134.

⁹ Yi Yuwōn, *Imha pi'lggi* 林下筆記 [Collected works by Yi Yuwōn at Imha] vol. 3 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujin wiwōn hoe, 2000), 152. For Yi Yuwōn's collection, see Hwang Chōngyōn, *Chosŏn sidae sōhwa sujang yōn'gu*, 769–74. King Hōnjong and King Kojong's book collections also consisted of Chinese illustrated catalogues, including the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian*. Hwang Jongyun, “Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty,” 102–113.

¹⁰ The use of the illustrated catalogs in Chosŏn paintings depicting Chinese bronzes will be discussed in Chapter Three and Four.

3. The Encounters of Collectors with Chinese Bronzes

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Chosŏn dynasty experienced economic growth and urbanization, a circumstance that provided collectors with the financial means to acquire rare books, paintings, and other precious objects from China that were brought along by envoys. Because wealthy Chosŏn collectors including royalty and high officials sought to imitate their Chinese peers in demonstrating their cultivation through the appreciation of art and antiques, the boom of collecting Chinese antiques reached its apex at this time.¹¹

While Pak Chiwŏn's above-mentioned text was apparently meant as information and advice, other members of the Chosŏn elite showed a growing interest in collecting. The eighteenth-century scholar Kim Kwangsu's 金光遂 (1696–1770) collection is a fairly early example of an interest in Chinese antiques. He notes:

Ever since I was young, I have had an extreme liking for antiques... Even though my family was affluent, I disdained wealth; I only liked art. When I acquired a rare book or epigraph, I could not help betraying my delight on my face.¹²

Although he did not mention specific objects or types of antiques that he acquired, this statement gives evidence of the collecting of Chinese antiques from the eighteenth century onward. Another collector is the renowned calligrapher, epigraphist, and collector Hong Yangho

¹¹ Hong Sŏnp'yo, "Chosŏn hugi hoehwa ūi p'ungjo wa kamp'ŏng hwaltong," 231–254.

¹² 自少有好古癖...尚古生紈綺而薄榮利獨嗜書畫金石異書文物時有獲喜浮鬚眉. For original text and Korean translation see Kim Kwangsu's "*Sanggodang yujŏk*," *Komun yŏn'gu* (1991): 315–331. English translation cited from Hwang Jungyon, "Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty," 103.

洪良浩 (1725–1802). He obtained several antiques from the eminent Qing scholar Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) when he visited Beijing in 1782 and 1794.¹³ Hong Kyöngmo 洪敬謨 (1774–1851) expanded his grandfather’s collection of antiques when he travelled to Beijing in 1830 and 1834. He also built a pavilion called 四宜堂 *Sauidang* (Pavilion of Four Proprieties) where he displayed his collection of paintings, calligraphy, and antiques. Through his interaction with the famous calligrapher Kim Chönghui 金正喜 (1786–1856), whose study of ancient script on metal and stone (*kümsök hak*) was vital for the antiquarian movement in the nineteenth century, and Sin Wi 申緯 (1769–1845), Hong Kyöngmo obtained a considerable knowledge of epigraphic study.¹⁴ He focused on collecting ink rubbings of stone stelae both from China and Korea, including *Shigu wen* 石鼓文, *Stele for King Chinhüng* (r. 540–576) 眞興王巡狩碑, and *Stele for King Munmu* (r. 661–681) 文武王陵碑.¹⁵ The ultimate goal of his collecting activities was to provide accurate and valuable sources for historical research.

In addition, Chief State Councilor Nam Kongch’öl 南公轍 (1760–1840) acquired a great number of Chinese books, paintings, and antiques throughout his life. According to his *Kümnüng chip* 金陵集 (Collected works of *Kümnüng*) of 1815, his collection included works by Wang

¹³ For Hong Yangho paintings represented “disciplines of high quality and standard” since they shared the same roots with calligraphy. As a calligrapher, he was also interested in epigraphy and ancient scripts, thereby discovering a number of stone stelae with Kim Chönghui. Hong Yangho, *Yigyejip* 耳溪集 [Collected works by Yigye] in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* vol. 241 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujin wiwön hoe, 2000); Yi Chongmuk, “Chosön hugi kyöngghwa sejok üi chugö munhwa wa Sauidang,” *Hanmun hakpo* 19 (2008): 568–592.

¹⁴ Emphasizing the importance of the study of authentic materials, he conducted systematic historical research on ancient inscriptions found on stone stelae. Hwang Chöngyön, *Chosön sidae söhwa sujang yön’gu*, 523–536.

¹⁵ Hong Kyöngmo, *Sauidang chi, uri chip üil mal handa: 18 segi sadaebu ka ui chugö munhwa*, Translated by Yi Chongmuk (Seoul: Hyumönisüt’ü, 2009), 103–236.

Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361), Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107), Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), and Dong Qichang.¹⁶ A large number of Chinese paintings and calligraphy derived from the collecting activities of his grandfather Nam Yongik 南龍翼 (1628–1692) and his father Nam Yuyong 南有容 (1698–1773), while at the same time Nam Kongch’öl himself also accumulated art and antiques through his own acquisitions.¹⁷ He put paintings, calligraphy, and ancient bronzes on display in his pavilion named *Kodong söhwagak* 古董書畫閣 (Pavilion of Antiques,

¹⁶ Nam Kongch’öl wrote 116 inscriptions, mostly on Chinese paintings and calligraphy, referring to famous pieces of Chinese literature. Already in the early eighteenth century collectors had accepted the idea of appreciating artwork through Chinese books. For instance, Kim Ch’angöp 金昌業 (1658–1721) had purchased *Xuyuan* (書苑) and *Huayuan* (畫苑), which described the technique of calligraphy and paintings, and Yi Ŭihyön had brought *Wang Yanzhou ji* 王弇州集 [Collected works by Wang Yanzhou] written by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590), a historian and literatus of the Ming dynasty. The fact that Nam Kongch’öl frequently referred to *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu* 佩文齋書畫譜 [Compilation of documents about paintings and calligraphy] of 1705 in his *Kümnüŋ chip* suggested that he learned from Ming literati and admired their ideas. For an analysis of Nam Kongch’öl’s collecting practice and attitude towards Chinese art, see Mun Tökhüi, “Nam Kongch’öl üi söhwagwan,” *Misulshak yön’gu* 213 (1997): 85–116 and Son Hyeri, “18-19 segi ch’opan munindül üi söhwa kamsang kwa pip’yöng e kwanhan yön’gu: Söng Haeüŋ üi *Söhwa chapchi* kwa Nam Kongch’öl üi *Söhwa palmi* chungsim üiro,” *Hanmun hakpo* 19 (2008): 747–778. For Nam Kongch’öl’s painting collection, see Mun Tökhüi, “Nam Kongch’öl üi *Kümnüŋ chip* e poi nün Chungguk söhwa e taehan insik,” 85–116 and Sin Yöngju, “Kümnüŋ Nam Kongch’öl üi söhwa e taehan kwansim kwa *Söhwa palmi*,” *Tongbang hanmunhak* 47 (2011), 93–121. Son Hyeri examined how Chosön scholars appreciated and criticized art based on two important primary sources, Söng Haeüŋ’s 成海應 (1760–1839) *Söhwa chapchi* and Nam Kongch’öl’s *Söhwa palmi*. Son Hyeri, “18-19 segi ch’opan munindül üi söhwa kamsang kwa pip’yön e kwanhan yön’gu: Söng Haeüŋ üi *Söhwa chapchi* wa Nam Kongch’öl üi *Söhwa palmi* chungsim üiro,” 747–778.

¹⁷ According to *Kümnüŋ chip*, Nam Kongch’öl had ample opportunity to view both Chinese and Chosön paintings through his father, who excelled in literature and calligraphy. In particular, Nam Yuyong left several colophons regarding Chosön artists, such as An Kyön, Yi Ching 李澄 (1375–1435), and Yi Kyöngyun 李慶胤 (1545–1611) in his *Noeyön chip* 雷淵集 [Collected works of Noeyön]. Nam Yuyong, *Noeyön chip* [Collected works of Noeyön] in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* 217, 218 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujin wiwön hoe, 1998), 108; Mun Tökhüi, “Nam Kongch’öl (1760–1840) üi söhwagwan,” 31–34.

Paintings, and Calligraphy) in order to appreciate and evaluate them with his friends.¹⁸ In *Kūmnūng chip* 金陵集, he specifically described his collection of ritual bronzes along with paintings, calligraphy, and other antiques.¹⁹ He notes:

I built a pavilion between Yongsan and Kwangnūng, planted plum trees, chrysanthemums, pine trees, and bamboo, and took walks in casual dress. When guests visited, I burnt incense, discussed Chinese classics, and appreciated and evaluated rare antique books, master paintings, bronzes and jades, and antiques. By doing this, my mind became simple and modest, so that I no longer longed for worldly pursuits.²⁰

This passage indicates that an incense burner functioned as a means to fulfill collectors' pursuit of cultivation and elegance (*ya* 雅) and provided them with scholarly pleasure. Because acquiring and displaying Chinese incense burners is closely associated with engagement in literati culture, Chosŏn collectors sought to demonstrate their own standing as educated elite by depicting their acquisition of Chinese antiques in their portraits, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

It is notable that Nam Kongch'ŏl particularly articulated his attitude towards collecting

¹⁸ A number of Chosŏn collectors built their own storage for the preservation and management of their art collections. For instance, Sim Sangkyu 沈象奎 (1766–1838) assembled 40,000 books and a large number of Chinese objects during his life and erected the pavilion to preserve his collection. Nam Kongch'ŏl, *Kūmnūng chip* in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* 272 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujin wiwŏn hoe, 2001), 553.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 555.

²⁰ 置亭龍山廣陵之間, 多植梅 菊松竹, 時以幅巾野服, 出往逍遙, 客至, 焚春清坐, 討論經史, 傍列古今法書, 名畫. 銅玉. 彝鼎, 評品賞玩, 泊然無 榮利之慕. *Ibid.*, 298.

because he wanted to distinguish himself, a *yangban*, from other collectors of lesser social standing, namely wealthy *chungin* whom he considered as *nouveaux riches*. He fashioned himself as a recluse who understood true taste and elegance, evoking the notion of ‘pure appreciation’ 清賞 (K: *ch’ōngsang*, C: *qingshang*).²¹ His statement reflects the phenomenon that, among the *yangban* elite, collecting functioned as a distinctive marker for their social identity. Based on Nam’s writing, it is difficult to distinguish what types of Chinese bronze vessels he actually possessed. Yet, his and other collectors’ comments give evidence of the rising interest in Chinese bronze vessels in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Korea, and in the fact that collecting them was a matter of prestige in elite circles.

Similar to trends that occurred earlier in the late Ming dynasty, the economic growth and urbanization of the late Chosŏn dynasty led to the popularity of collecting among people of lesser social status, the *chungin*, men of secondary status who gained wealth and influence at the time.²² According to the poem “Great Merchant” by the *yangban* Yi Chowŏn 李肇源 (1758–1832), the wealthy court interpreter Kim Hant’ae 金漢泰 (1726–?) accumulated Chinese antiques along with luxury objects such as Japanese furniture and Mongolian carpeting.²³ Yu

²¹ According to Chang Chin-Sung the notion of pure appreciation stands in the tradition of the famous Northern Song scholar and artist Su Shi. He also emphasizes the conflicts between *yangban* and *nouveau riche*. Chang Chin-Sung, “Ambivalence and Indulgence: The Moral Geography of Collectors in Late Joseon Korea,” 118–142. For a similar situation in China, see Judith Zeitlin, “The Petrified Heart: Obsession in Chinese Literature, Art, and Medicine,” *Late Imperial China* 12 (June 1991): 1–26.

²² Hong Sŏnp’yo, “Chosŏn hugi hoehwa ūi p’ungjo wa kamp’ōng hwaltong,” *Chosŏn sidae hoehwa saron* (Seoul: Munye ch’ulp’ansa, 1999), 231–254; Kang Myōnggwan, “Joseon hugi gyeonghwa se jok gwa godong seohwa chwimi,” in *Chosŏn sidae munhak yesul ūi saengsŏng konggan* (Seoul: Somyōng chulpansa, 1999), 277–316.

²³ Yim Hyōngt’aek, *Yijo sidae sŏsa si* (P’aju: Ch’angbi, 2013), 225–231. For a translation of the poem, see Sung Lim Kim, “From Middlemen to Center Stage: The *Chungin* Contribution to 19th-century Korean

Suk's 劉淑 (1827–1873) *Spring Purification Gathering* 修禊圖卷 (fig. 2–2) of 1853 gives evidence of how members of the *chungin* class, imitated *yangban* practices to gain social prestige.²⁴ This commemorative scroll contains poems of the participants, compiled by Kim Sökchun 金奭準 (1831–1915), a Chinese interpreter from a wealthy *chungin* family. Kim commissioned Yu Suk, an eminent court painter who also participated in the gathering, with the painting. The participants celebrated the 1,500 anniversary of Wang Xizhi's Lanting gathering, probably the most famous gathering in all of East Asian history. The participants wear attires typical for the elites, such as *kat* (black-dyed horsehair wide brimmed hat) and *top'o* (wide-sleeved long robe). Scholarly items on a large table, such as books, inkstone, paper, scroll, brush, and a *Xuande*-type censer with a lid standing on a carved wooden pedestal signify the 'elegance' of the gathering and the cultured taste of the participants (fig. 2–3). It is apparent that the

Painting" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009), 20–22. Sung Lim Kim translates the title of the poem as 'Fat Cat Peddler' in order to demonstrate Yi's disdainful attitude towards the rich *chungin* interpreter. See also Jiyeon Kim, "Gathering Paintings of Chungin in Late Chosön (1392–1910), Korea" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2009); Another important *chungin* collector Kim Kwangguk also acquired considerable amounts of paintings along with exotic objects. For his painting collection *Söngnong hwawön* and the significant aspects of his collecting practice, see Pak Hyoün, "18 segi Chosön munindül üi hoehwa sujip hwaltong kwa hwadan," *Misulsahak yön'gu* 233/234 (2002): 139–185 and "Söngnong hwawön üi t'onghae pon Han-Chung hoehwa huwön yangsang" (PhD diss., Hongik University, 2013).

²⁴ Thirty *chungin* members participated in this elegant gathering in Kim Sökchun's house to commemorate the gathering in the Lanting (Orchid) Pavilion of Wang Xizhi and his friends. The term *sugye* 修禊 ("purification gathering") implicates that the participants washed their bodies with spring water, an ancient ritual, following the practice associated with Wang Xizhi's gathering. Yu Suk's *Scroll of the Purification Ceremony* includes the title by Kim Sökchun, twenty-nine poems of participants, remarks by Pyön Chongun 卞鐘運 (1790–1866), the eldest among participants, and an inscription by Yi Sangjök, a friend of Kim Chönghüi and teacher of Kim Sökchun. It also contains inscriptions by the key figures in *chungin* cultural circles, including O Kyöngsök, Ch'oe Sönghak (1842–?), and Kim Pyöngsön (1830–?). Jiyeon Kim regards this scroll as the representation of *chungin*'s cultural identity. For the term, translation of inscriptions, and analysis of this scroll, see her "Gathering Paintings of Chungin in Late Chosön (1392–1910), Korea," 183–190; Yu Okkyöng, "Hyesan Yu Suk üi *Sugyedogwön yön'gu*," *Misul charyo* 59 (1997): 50–81; Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 194–195.

chungin members of this gathering manifest their cultural identity as literati by including objects that were no longer solely available to Chosŏn *yangban*.²⁵

The *chungin* interpreter O Kyŏngsŏk 吳慶錫 (1831–1879) is a representative collector and expert of epigraphy of the nineteenth century. O Kyŏngsŏk was a disciple of *chungin* interpreter Yi Sangjŏk 李尙迪 (1804–1865) who had formed a close relationship with the Qing scholar Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733–1818) in Beijing, and had purchased antiques, books on paintings and antiques, and European maps during his visits to China between 1866 and 1874. Yi's association with numerous Chinese scholars, including Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭 (1830–1890) and He Qiutao 何秋濤 (1824–1862), enabled him to get access to Chinese art.²⁶ O Kyŏngsŏk also travelled to China on various occasions and became a dominant figure among late Chosŏn

²⁵ Due to the stratification of Chosŏn society, the term 'literati' is sometimes used as equivalent for elite (*yangban*) status, because the *yangban* claimed to be in sole possession of the means and sources of high education and cultivation. However, I use the term in a wider sense, as an indicator of a cultural phenomenon regardless of social status. This is supported by the fact that during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the class distinction between *yangban* and *chungin* became less important. See also Hwang Kyung Moon (Hwang Kyŏngmun), *Beyond Birth*, 37. For the use of 'literati' as stylistic term see also Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 187–203.

²⁶ Yi Sangjŏk was close to Kim Chŏnghŭi who painted his *Winterscape* of 1844 for Yi. With the support of Kim Chŏnghŭi and his scholarship, Yi Sangjŏk was able to acquaint himself with Qing *jinshi* scholars. Yi brought *Winterscape* to Beijing to obtain eulogies for the scroll from his close Chinese friends, all of whom were acquainted with Kim Chŏnghŭi. This 'lineage' is important for both, the appreciation of ancient bronzes and the connection with Chinese scholars. For Chinese scholars, the social distinction between *yangban* and *chungin* was not as important as for Chosŏn scholars. Thus, *chungin* classes were judged, based not on their social class, but on the basis of their scholarship in China. For their relationship and *Winterscape* see Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 194–195; Sung Lim Kim, "Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786–1856) and *Sehando*: The Evolution of a Late Chosŏn Korean Masterpiece," *Archives of Asian Art* 56 (2006): 31–60.

collectors.²⁷ In addition to over a hundred Chinese paintings and pieces of calligraphy from the Yuan and Ming dynasties, O Kyōngsōk acquired ink rubbings of ancient bronze vessels and stones during his visits to China.²⁸ He also collected seal books by Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844–1927) and Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829–1884), prominent artists of the Epigraphic Movement in China, who are known to have achieved the so-called new three excellences—seal carving, calligraphy, and paintings.²⁹

O Kyōngsōk also had a close relationship with Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835–1902) who was one of the most important Qing collectors of antiques and stayed in Korea as the commander-in-chief of the Chinese troops in the disastrous 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese war.³⁰ In the late nineteenth century, Wu Dacheng created meticulous records of the ancient objects that he had accumulated, producing ink rubbings and publishing catalogues. Two handscrolls of two-

²⁷ Lee Juhyun (Yi Chuhyōn), “Wu Changshuo and Modern Korean Painting,” in Burglind Jungmann, Adele Schlombs, and Melanie Trede eds., *Shifting Paradigms in East Asian Visual Culture*, 351–368. Yi Sangjōk introduced epigraphic studies to O Kyōngsōk.

²⁸ For O Kyōngsōk’s collection see O Sech’ang, *Kūnyōk sōhwa ching* (Seoul: Sigong sa, 1998), 1013, and *Wich’ang O Sech’ang: Chōn’gak · sōhwa kamsik · k’olleksōn* (Seoul: Yesul ūi chōndang, 2001), 78–91.

²⁹ For epigraphic scholarship in the Qing dynasty, see Lothar Ledderose, “Aesthetic Appropriation of Ancient Calligraphy in Modern China,” in Maxwell K Hearn and Judith G. Smith eds., *Chinese Art Modern Expressions* (New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 227–230; Lothar Ledderose, *Die Siegelschrift (Chuan-shu) in der Ch’ing-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1970); Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China’s Empire, 1796-1911* (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992); J. May Lee Barrett ed., *New Songs on Ancient Tunes: 19th-20th Century Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy from the Richard Fabian Collection* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2007).

³⁰ For discussion of Wu Dacheng’s collecting practice and this painting, see Clarissa von Spee, “Wu Dacheng at 58: Two Handscrolls with Bronze Rubbings from the Shanghai Museum,” in Burglind Jungmann, Adele Schlombs, and Melanie Trede ed., *Shifting Paradigms in East Asian Visual Culture*, 299–311; Qianshen Bai, “Composite Rubbings in Nineteenth-Century China: The Case of Wu Dacheng and His Friends,” in Wu Hung ed., *Reinventing the Past*, 291–319 and “Antiquarianism in a Time of Crisis: On the Collecting Practices of Late-Qing Government Officials, 1861-1911,” in Schnapp, Alain, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Peter N. Miller, and Tim Murray, eds., *World Antiquarianism*, 386–403.

dimensional reproductions of his bronze collection open with portraits of Wu Dacheng shown in the midst of his collection. The portrait by Ren Xun 任薰 (ca. 1835–1893), dated 1892 (fig. 2–4) epitomizes the sitter’s high status and exquisite taste by depicting his bronze collection around him and even labeling single objects in the painting and rubbings (fig. 2–5 and 2–6). Thus, these paintings function as inventories of Wu’s bronze collection, a practice which also had an impact on O Sech’ang, a son of O Kyöngsöck, who will be discussed later in this section. The social prestige and exclusive scholarship associated with such self-representation must have appealed to O Kyöngsöck.

In pursuit of epigraphy scholarship, O Kyöngsöck published a volume entitled *Sam Han kümsöngnok* 三韓金石錄 (Record of epigraphy from the Three Han) based on his research on 146 epitaphs dating from the Three Kingdoms period to the Koryö dynasty 高麗 (918–1392).³¹ Closely following Kim Chönghui, who had been a dominant figure for the development of the studies of metal and stone 金石學 (Korean: *kümsöck hak*, Chinese: *jinshi xue*) in the early nineteenth century and to whom he could relate through his teacher Yi Sangjök in a kind of scholarly ‘lineage,’ O Kyöngsöck’s collections and scholarship mirrored his aspiration for epigraphic studies.³² Kim Chönghui had been educated by the earlier mentioned *pukhak* scholar

³¹ ‘Three Han’ refers to the ancient tribes of Mahan 馬韓, Chinhan 辰韓, and Pyönhan 弁韓. Here, however, the term is used for Korea in general. For more information see Ki-biak Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 23–24.

³² Kim Chönghui had played a pivotal role in the development of evidential scholarship and study of metal and stone. His scholarship and calligraphy had an enormous impact on following generations of artists, collectors, and connoisseurs, particularly Yi Sangjök and O Kyöngsöck. For a discussion of Kim Chönghui’s scholarship see Chöng Pyöngsam and Ch’oe Wansu, *Ch’usa wa kü üi sidae* (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2002); Yu Hongjun, *Wandang P’yöngjön* (Seoul: Hakkojae, 2002); Fujitsuka Chikashi, *Ch’usa Kim Chönghui yön’gu* (Kwach’ön: Kwach’ön munhwawön, 2009); Kim Chönghui, *Ch’usa chip*, translated by Ch’oe Wansu (Seoul: Hyönamsa, 2014).

Pak Chega and had made the close acquaintance of Qing *jinshi* scholars, such as Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733–1818) and Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) when he visited Beijing at the age of 23 in 1810. Kim had devoted himself to the study of epigraphy, discovering and analyzing a number of Korean stone stelae, including the *Stele for King Chinhŭng* (r. 540–576) 眞興王巡狩碑 (fig. 2–7) from the Silla kingdom (57 BCE–668 CE), and developed his famous signature style of calligraphy (fig. 2–8), known as *Ch’usa* 秋史 style following one of his sobriquets (*ho* 號), on the basis of these studies.³³

Works of art by O Kyōngsōk’s son O Sech’ang 吳世昌 (1864–1953) offer important insights into O Kyōngsōk’s collection because it provided the source on which O Sech’ang drew for his creations. O Sech’ang gained high reputation as a calligrapher, collector, art historian, journalist, and politician in his own time and is still well remembered today.³⁴ Since class

³³ On Kim Chōnghŭi’s calligraphy and his followers see *Ch’usa Kim Chōnghŭi: Hagye ilch’i ūi kyōngji* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2006), 186–307; *Ch’usa Kim Chōnghŭi: Hagye ilch’i ūi kyōngji* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2006); Sung Lim Kim, “Kim Chōnghŭi (1786–1856) and *Sehando*: The Evolution of a Late Chosŏn Korean Masterpiece,” *Archives of Asian Art* 56 (2006): 31–60; *Ch’usa ūi p’yōn’ji wa kŭrim* (Kwach’ŏn: Ch’usa pangmulgwan, 2014).

³⁴ Scholars have associated O Sech’ang’s collecting practice with his political activities during the Japanese colonial period in Korea. Hong Sōnp’yo points out that O Sech’ang’s collecting activity mirrored his “continuation of the patriotic historical consciousness,” and at the same time projected a period trend toward patriotic enlightenment. Hong Sōnp’yo (Hong Sunpyo), “O Sech’ang kwa *Kŭnyōk sōhwa ching*” in *Chosŏn sidae hoehwasaron* (Seoul: Munye ch’ulp’ansa, 1999): 111. As an art collector, art historian, and connoisseur, O Sech’ang has been recognized for his significant contribution to the field of art history based on his collections of Korean paintings and calligraphy found in *Kŭnyōk hwahwi* 權域畫彙 [Collections of Korean painting], *Kŭnyōk sōhwi* 權域書彙 [Collections of Korean calligraphy], and *Kŭnmuk* 權墨 [Korean letters], as well as his research on Korean artists compiled in *Kŭnyōk sōhwa ching* 權域書畫徵 [Biographical evidence for Korean calligraphers and painters]. For O Sech’ang’s art collections, see *Kŭnyōk hwahwi* (Seoul: Seoul National University Museum, 1992); *Wich’ang O Sech’ang: Chōn’gak · sōhwa kamsik · k’olleksŏn* (Seoul: Yesul ūi chōndang, 2001); *Kŭnyōk sōhwi Kŭnyōk hwahwi myōngp’um sŏn* (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2002); Yi Sūngyōn, “Wich’ang O Sech’ang ūi chōn’gak kwa inbo” *Sōjihak yōn’gu* (2008): 397–425; *Kŭnmuk* 權墨 (Seoul: Sōnggyun’gwan taehakkyo pangmulgwan, 2009). O Sech’ang gathered and organized records on 1,117 artists and scholars from

distinctions were officially abolished in 1894 due to the Kabo Reform (*kabo kaehyök* 甲午改革) O Sech'ang's role as a collector can be understood somewhat differently, as a means of national responsibility during the period of Japanese colonial rule, rather than a matter of social prestige.³⁵ Not only did he collect a large number of paintings and pieces of calligraphy, but he also produced calligraphy and paintings using ink rubbings. According to his colophon on the *Epitaph for Cao Quan from the Han Dynasty* of 1890 (fig. 2–9), O Sech'ang studied and practiced the clerical script, using vigorous strokes with angular ornamental endings based on rubbings of Chinese stone stelae in his father's collection. His *Rubbing of Han Mirror, Koguryö Stone Stele, and Silla Sutra* of 1924 (fig. 2–10) integrates the rubbings from ancient objects from China and Korea in O Kyöngsök's collection into his own artwork. Using his family collection

literary sources and published the under the title *Künyök söhwa ching* in 1928. O Sech'ang, *Kügyök Künyök söhwa ching* 權域書畫徵 [Biographical evidence of Korean painters and calligraphers, with Korean translation]. Translated by Tongyang Kojön Hakhoe (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1998); Yi Kuyöl, “Ch'oech'o üi Han'guk misulga sajön yögö naen Wich'ang O Sech'ang” in *Han'guk munhwajae sunansa* (History of Korean cultural treasures) (Seoul: Tolbegae, 1996): 37–47; Hong Sunpyo (Hong Sönp'yo), “O Sech'ang's compilation of *Künyök söhwa sa* and the publication of *Künyök söhwa ching*,” Translated by Jungsil Jenny Lee and Nathaniel Kingdon, *Archives of Asian Art* 63, no. 2 (2013): 155–63. O Sech'ang underscored the importance of paintings and calligraphy, continuing the late Chosön tradition through his dynamic involvement in the first independent Korean artists' association, the Painting and Calligraphy Association (Söhwa hyöphoe 書畫協會), which was established in 1918. For discussion of Söhwa hyöphoe, see Yi Sönghye, “Han'guk kündae söhwagye üi hyöngsöng kwa sönggyök,” *Tongyang hanmunhak yön'gu* 33 (2011): 301–324. Kim Yöngna, *20th Century Korean Art* (London, Laurence King, 2005), 14–20.

³⁵ *Wich'ang O Sech'ang: Chön'gak · söhwa kamsik · k'olleksön*, 232. O Sech'ang's commitment to the literati tradition in combination with his fight for the national cause becomes clear in his later writings, such as in his colophon for Kim Chönghüi's *Winterscape* 歲寒圖 written in 1949. Here, O Sech'ang emphasized the importance of *Winterscape* as a national treasure because Son Chaehyöng 孫在馨 (1903–1981), a politician and collector, had brought this painting back to Korea from the collection of Fujitsuka Chikashi 藤塚隣 (1879–1948), a former professor at the Kyöngsöng (Keijō) Imperial University, the predecessor of Seoul National University. For the English translation of O Sech'ang's colophon see Sung Lim Kim, “Kim Chönghüi (1786–1856) and *Sehando*: The Evolution of a Late Chosön Korean Masterpiece,” 39.

of epigraphic works and his considerable knowledge of *kŭmsŏk* scholarship, he incorporated an epigraphic flavor into his own calligraphy, drawing inspiration from ancient bronzes vessels and stone stelae (fig. 2–11).

4. Bronze Collections in the Late Chosŏn dynasty

As already discussed, since the eighteenth century the desire for accumulating Chinese objects grew among Chosŏn envoys and *Pukhak* scholars who had the opportunity to experience Chinese visual and material culture while traveling to Beijing. Along with textual records, the surviving examples give evidence of Chosŏn collectors' preference for certain types of bronzes, namely square cauldrons, called *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, incense burners in the *Xuande* 宣德 style of the Ming dynasty, and tripods with *taotie* mask decoration, which will be examined in this section.

1) *Zhou Wen Wang ding*

Records by Chosŏn envoys provide some insights into their appreciation of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding*. In the “Record of Antiquities” or “Kodongnok 古董錄,” Pak Chiwŏn described and recorded the names, forms, use, and value of the bronzes of the *ding* type (tripod or square cauldron) after he had examined ancient vessels of the Shang and Zhou dynasties and their Yuan copies in the antique shops at *Liulichang*. He commented:

Wen Wang ding (Square Cauldron for King Wen), *Zhao Fu ding* (Tripod for Father Zhao), and *Ahu Fu ding* (Tripod for Father Ahu) are Shang and Zhou *ding* vessels, which belong to the superior category. However, the bronze vessels *Zhouwang boding* (Tripod of King Bo of Zhou), *Dantu ding* (Dantu Tripod), and *Zhoufeng ding* (Tripod of Zhou Feng) were cast in the workshops during the *Tianbao* reign of Tang [742–756]. They are of small size and would be more appropriate to use as censers in the study... *Zhoudashu ding* (Tripod

of Zhou Dashu) and *Zhouluan ding* (Tripod of Zhou Luan) can be displayed in the library.³⁶

This record demonstrates that Pak Chiwŏn considered the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* as one of the most valuable bronze vessel types. Apart from Pak Chiwŏn, the envoy Hong Taeyong 洪大容 (1731–1783) purchased two vessels of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* type at an antique store in Beijing in 1777, according to his *Yŏn’gi* 燕記 (*Record of a Journey to Beijing*).³⁷ Hong Taeyong is not the first and the only scholar who favored the *Zhou Wen Wang ding*. The eighteenth-century scholar and artist Yi Yunyŏng 李胤永 (1714–1759) recorded that he witnessed a *Zhou Wen Wang ding* on display at the *Sanchŏn chae* 山天齋, the studio of the scholar official O Ch’an 吳瓚 (1717–1751) in 1749.³⁸

Moreover, *Ch’unchŏ nok* 春邸錄 (Records at the Palace of the Crown Prince), a record that King Chŏngjo wrote during his time as a crown prince, reports that he displayed a *Zhou Wen Wang ding* and a *Xuande* censer in his studio along with a *Taihu* rock, which he had acquired in 1774.³⁹ Scholars assume that the rare extant example of a *Zhou Wen Wang ding* (hereafter

³⁶ 文王鼎 召父鼎 亞虎父鼎 此商周上賞□周王伯鼎, 單徒鼎, 周豐鼎 皆唐天寶中局鑄 體小 最宜書齋 薰燎 ...□周大叔鼎 周鑾鼎□俱堪入書室清供. Pak Chiwŏn, *Yŏrha ilgi*, 146–147. English translation cited from Youngsook Pak, “Ch’aekgado—A Joseon Conundrum,” *Art in Translation* 5.2 (2013): 200–201.

³⁷ Hong Taeyong, *Yŏn’gi* 燕記 [Record of a journey to Beijing] in *Tamhŏnsŏ* 湛軒外集 [Writing by Tamhŏn], vol. 7, *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, vol. 248 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujin wiwŏn hoe, 2000), 316.

³⁸ Yi Yunyŏng, *Tannŭng yugo* 丹陵遺稿 [Posthumous works of Tannŭng] (1779) in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujin wiwŏn hoe, 2009), 132.

³⁹ When he acquired the *Taihu* rock in 1774, the crown prince already possessed the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* and the *Xuande* censer. It is unclear how he had acquired the two bronzes. He could have received them as gifts from Chosŏn envoys. King Chŏngjo, *Ch’unchŏ nok* 春邸錄 [Records at the palace of the crown

Hyohaeng Cauldron, fig. 2–12) in the collection of the Hyohaeng Museum at Yongjusa Monastery, a monastery King Chǒngjo built in memory of his father, could be the object mentioned in the text.⁴⁰ The vessel has two upright handles, a square body, four flanges on the corner, and four flat legs. The body is adorned with *taotie* motifs embellished with gold inlay. A noteworthy feature of the *Hyohaeng Cauldron* is the representation of four dragon-shaped sculpted legs, which reflects a criterium Ming scholar’s had introduced for *Zhou Wen Wang ding*.⁴¹ In his *Zunsheng bajian* 尊生八箋 (Eight Discourses on the Art of Living, 1591), Gao Lian 高濂 (late 16th c.) stated that the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* with dragon motifs on the legs as the most valued one among rectangular cauldrons or *fangding*.⁴²

The *Hyohaeng Cauldron* bears the inscription, “Lu gong zuo Wen wang zun yi” 魯公作文王尊彝 (“Duke Lu [had] this vessel made for [his father] King Wen [of Zhou]”) (fig. 2–13).⁴³ Although its inscription refers to the Zhou dynasty, *Hyohaeng Cauldron* bears obvious

prince] in *Hongjae chōnsō* 弘齋全書 [Collected works of King Chǒngjo], vol. 4 (1814) in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* vol. 262 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujin wiwōn hoe, 2001), 58.

⁴⁰ Yu Kyōnghŭi and Yi Yongjin assume that King Chǒngjo bestowed the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* and the *Xuande* censer to Yongjusa in 1790 when he had it built. For information on the techniques and materials of this vessel, see Yu Kyōnghŭi and Yi Yongjin, “Yongju sa sojang Chǒngjo tae wangsil naesap’um,” *Misul charyo* 88 (2015): 144–163.

⁴¹ The *Zhou Wen Wang ding* with dragon-shaped legs appears on screens of the late nineteenth century. I will discuss the rendition of *Zhou Wen Wang ding* in Korean screens in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

⁴² 鼎者，古之食器也，故有五鼎三鼎之供。今用为焚香具者，以今不用鼎供耳。然鼎之大小有两用，大者陈于厅堂，小者置之斋室。方者以飞龙脚文王鼎为上赏。兽吞直脚亚虎父鼎，商召父鼎，周花足鼎，光素者如南宫鼎为次赏。 Gao Lian, *Zunsheng bajian* (Zhengzhou: Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995).

⁴³ King Wen of Zhou was the father of King Wu, who established the Zhou dynasty, successor to the Shang dynasty. Duke Lu is a brother of King Wu of Zhou and a son of King Wen of Zhou. After King Wu founded the Zhou, he honored his father as founder of the Zhou. John K. Fairbank, Kwang-Ching Liu,

characteristics of the archaistic bronze vessels produced during the late Ming and early Qing periods as discussed in Chapter One. In contrast to vessels of the Shang and Zhou dynasties, such later recreations were decorated with inlay and often included a lid and a wooden stand. Chosŏn collectors apparently established their taste in *ding* vessels building on Wen Zhengheng's evaluation as discussed in Chapter One. As mentioned earlier, Wen and his contemporaries were unaware of the fact that inlay was a recent addition to the decoration on bronze vessels, but regarded it as a characteristic of ancient bronzes. Hence, *Hyohaeng Censer* with gold inlay is a good example reflecting Chosŏn collectors' understanding of ancient Chinese vessels through the Ming textual sources.

2) *Xuande* style censer

Emperor Xuande 宣德 (r. 1426–1435) of the Ming dynasty is credited with the design of this incense burner which was originally used for ritual but soon became a favored item of the scholar's studio.⁴⁴ As Zhang Yingwen 張應文 (1530–1594) noted in his *Qing bi cang* 清閼藏 (Treasury of clear and abstruse matters), *Xuande*-type censers were desirable items for Ming collectors.⁴⁵ Due to a high demand for *Xuande* censers from the Xuande reign onward, their popularity resulted in the production of numerous copies throughout the Ming and Qing

and Denis C. Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 307–311.

⁴⁴ Zhang Guangyuan, "Da Ming Xuande lu," *Gugong wenwu* 32 (1985): 4–16.

⁴⁵ Zhang Yingwen, *Qing bi cang* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1968).

dynasty.⁴⁶ These censers usually bear the ‘*Xuande*’ reign mark even if they were produced later.

Textual and visual accounts also provide evidence of Chosŏn collectors’ particular favor of the *Xuande*-type censer. According to *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty) Chosŏn envoys brought a censer bearing the inscription “Da Ming Xuande nianzhi 大明宣德年制 (Made in the Xuande era of the Great Ming)” in 1751, during the reign King Yŏngjo, back from Beijing.⁴⁷ As discussed, Yŏngjo’s grandson and successor King Chŏngjo also possessed and displayed a *Xuande*-type censer in his studio.

In addition, aforementioned *Pukhak* scholar Pak Chiwŏn describes the fever of collecting *Xuande* censers among Chosŏn collectors. He notes:

Why should the calligraphy be the works by Zhong You (鍾繇, 151–230), Wang Xizhi (王羲之, 303–361), Yan Zhenqing (顏真卿, 709–785), and Liu Gongquan (柳公權, 778–865)? Why should the painting be the works by Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之, ca. 348–405), Lu Tanwei (陸探微, ?–?), Yan Liben (閻立本, 601–673), and Wu Daozi (吳道子, 680–759)? Why should *ding* and *yi* be metal from the reign of Xuande [of the Ming]? [People] are seeking works by these artists, so there are great numbers of counterfeits. The more it resembles the genuine one, the more it is likely forgery.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ For the examples of incense burners bearing the reign mark ‘*Xuande*’ produced in the Ming and Qing dynasties, see *Ming Qing Xuande lu* (Beijing: Zijincheng chuban shi, 2012).

⁴⁷ *Veritable Records of King Yŏngjo*, vol. 74, the twenty-first day, the seventh month, 1751.

⁴⁸ 書何必鍾王顏柳。畫何必顧陸閻吳。鼎彝何必宣德五金。求其真蹟。故詐僞百出。愈似而愈假。 Pak Chiwŏn, *Yŏrha ilgi*, 212.

Pak Chiwŏn further criticizes the demand for *Xuande* censers which led to the production of copies. The nineteenth-century scholar and painter Sin Wi 申緯 (1769–1845) described a *Xuande* censer in his collections in a poem included in his collection “Thirty Poems for Objects in My Study (齋中詠物三十首),” in 1820 as follows:

The strokes of the characters are [already] perfect.

The engraving is also bright.

An antique atmosphere brims within.

It seems to contain the essence of Big Dipper.⁴⁹

According to Sin Wi’s poem, Sin Wi possessed two bronze vessels, namely *Shang Fu Yi ding* and *Xuande* censer along with an inkstone, a bamboo brush holder, and ceramics. These records confirm that *Xuande* censers were at the height of their popularity and became a most desirable item for the scholar in the late Chosŏn dynasty. In fact, several *Xuande*-type censers that may have once been in Chosŏn collections are extant: one in the Grassi Museum of Ethnography in Leipzig (hereafter Leipzig *Xuande* Censer, fig. 2–14) and two more in the National Palace Museum of Korea (hereafter NPM *Xuande* Censers, fig. 2–15).

The Grassi Museum of Ethnography acquired the incense burner in 1902, from a German collector, H. Sanger, who had purchased it in Korea.⁵⁰ These censers, all bearing the reign mark

⁴⁹ 字畫既完整. 印地亦光明. 古氣捫泛灑. 疑沉星斗精. Sin Wi, “Sondok ch’odan soro 宣德醮壇小爐 (Small *Xuande* Altar Censer),” *Kyongsudang chonggo 7* 警修堂全藁 [Collected writing of Kyongsudang], in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan 291* (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujin wiwon hoe, 2002), 152.

⁵⁰ In spite of H. Sanger’s great contribution to the collection of the Grassi Museum of Ethnography, his full name has not yet been identified. For the collection of H. Sanger, see *Korean Art Collection: Grassi Museum fur Volkerkunde zu Leipzig Germany* (Taejon: Kungnip munhwajae yon’guso, 2013). I thank

‘*Xuande*,’ feature two loop handles on a round rim, an inwardly curved neck, and an undecorated round body supported by three stubby feet. They thus largely resemble an original Ming dynasty *Xuande* censer housed in the Palace Museum of Beijing (fig. 2–16).

Although quite different in shape and decoration, the *Xuande-style Censer* (hereafter *Hyohaeng Censer*, fig. 2–17), which like the previously discussed cauldron was presumably formerly owned by King Chǒngjo and is now housed in the Hyohaeng Museum, may give a clue for understanding late Chosŏn collections. The *Hyohaeng Censer* has a deep octagonally-shaped body, four short feet, and an inscription in seal script, reading “Da Ming Xuande nianzhi 大明宣德年制 (Made in the Xuande era of the Great Ming) (fig. 2–18).”⁵¹ Apart from having four feet it distinguishes itself from the undecorated censers by its dragon-shaped handles (fig. 2–19), three characters reading *Wan Sui Le* 萬壽樂 (longevity and happiness) on the top band (fig. 2–20), and landscape sceneries cast in low relief on all eight sides of the body. Despite its inscription, which refers to the Ming dynasty, it was most likely produced during the Qing dynasty.⁵²

The Chinese trend in appreciating *Xuande* censers quite obviously had a considerable impact on the collection of *Xuande* censers among Chosŏn scholars, and the *Xuande* reign mark on the *Hyohaeng Censer* probably functioned as a pivotal criterion for Chosŏn collectors to authenticate such vessels. *Xuande* style censers frequently appear on *ch’aekkŏri* screens, which I will discuss in Chapter Three.

Dietmar Grundmann, curator of the Grassi Museum of Ethnography in Leipzig, Germany, for the opportunity to examine this incense burner.

⁵¹ Zhang Guangyuan, “Da Ming Xuande lu,” 13.

⁵² Yi Yongjin noted that the *Hyohaeng Censer* is a Qing production because this shape does not appear on the *Xuande ding yi pu* 宣德鼎彝譜 [Illustration of *ding yi* in the Xuande era]. Yu Kyŏnghŭi and Yi Yongjin, “Yongju sa sojang Chǒngjo tae wangsil naesap’um,” *Misul charyo* 88 (2015): 156–158.

3) Tripod with *Taotie* Mask

A tripod with *taotie* mask decoration (hereafter *Yujömsa Tripod*, fig. 2–21) offers further evidence of the bronze collection of the Chosön court because it was once owned by Yujömsa 楡岾寺 on Mt. Kūmgang 金剛山, a monastery with close connections to Chosön rulers.⁵³ The *Yujömsa Tripod* has two inverted U-shaped handles on a thick everted rim and a trilobed body supported by three slender cylindrical legs. The body is decorated with *taotie* motifs on its three sides, executed in relief against a background of spiral patterns. Its shape and overall decoration are reminiscent of Zhou dynasty tripods like *Li Ding*, located in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (fig. 2–22). A tripod named *Shang Fu Yi ding* 商父乙鼎 (*ding* for Father Yi of Shang) recorded in the *Bogu tu* (fig. 2–23) resembles, the *Yujömsa Tripod* even more closely, although the rounded ‘horns’ and eyes clearly point to a late imitation.⁵⁴ The aforementioned nineteenth century scholar Yi Yuwön confirms that Sin Wi owned a *Shang Fu Yi ding*, mentioning that he saw it on display in Sin Wi’s studio.⁵⁵ The illustration in the *Bogu tu*, a book favored by Chosön envoys and collectors, the *Yujömsa Tripod*, and this reference to the *Shang Fu Yi ding* attest to the popularity to the tripods with *taotie* decoration. It is thus not astonishing that they frequently appear in paintings.

⁵³ Yi Hogwan, “Kūmgangsan kwa munhwajae,” *Yuri wönp’an sajin arūmdaun Kūmgangsan* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 1999), 188–205. Because the current location of this vessel is unknown, it is difficult to confirm the color and inscription of this vessel.

⁵⁴ *Shang Fu Yi ding* appears on a *Screens of Antiques*, which will be examined in the first section of Chapter Three.

⁵⁵ Yi Yuwön, *Kugyök Imha pilgi* (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe, 2010).

Although the shape originated from the prototype of ancient vessels, there are certain discrepancies with ancient vessels in the details of the *taotie* decoration. The originally T-shaped horns are transformed to cloud-like horns on the *Yujǒmsa Tripod*, and the eyebrows and ears are rounder. These are characteristics of Ming dynasty tripods, such as a bronze vessel in the Hunan Provincial Museum (hereafter *Hunan Tripod*, fig. 2–24). While generally similar in shape the most distinguishing features of the *Hunan Tripod* are its inlay and a wooden lid with jade knob. Covering the entire surface of the body are three partially gilded *taotie* masks with projecting eyes and cloud-like horns against squared spiral patterns as background. This comparison suggests that *Yujǒmsa Tripod* was produced during the Ming or Qing dynasties. Thus, our analysis indicates that Chosŏn collectors, in spite of their desire for collecting ancient pieces and their eagerness to distinguish originals from fakes, mainly acquired later copies of Chinese bronzes.

5. Chapter Conclusion

Late Chosŏn Korea saw a shift in the evaluation of collecting as a scholarly and socially valued activity. An examination of written sources provides evidence of the enthusiasm for collecting Chinese bronzes. Important Chinese material, including books, paintings, and other valuable artifacts, were brought to Korea by envoys, as the Chosŏn elite sought to demonstrate their close affinity with Chinese culture. In light of the vivid contact with Qing scholars, particularly since the reign of King Chŏngjo, Chosŏn envoys imported Chinese material as a way of renewing and reinforcing Chosŏn intellectual life and visual culture.

The importation of Chinese bronzes and the circulation of pictorial images of bronzes became pivotal elements in the growth of interest in Chinese antiques among Chosŏn collectors. Textual accounts regarding Chinese antiques offer insights into how Chosŏn collectors perceived Chinese bronzes as a symbol of culture in the course of their social exchanges. The desire to accumulate Chinese objects increased particularly during the eighteenth century among *yangban* elite, and their special interest in bronzes likely resonated with a wider audience of *chungin* and even commoners who tried to emulate the elite. The analysis of Chinese bronzes collected in Korea confirms the Chosŏn collectors' passion for certain types of Chinese bronzes such as *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, the *Xuande*-style censer, and tripod with *taotie* masks. That Chinese bronzes became part of Chosŏn culture signifies both an appreciation of ancient Chinese culture and their owners' quests for social prestige.

My analysis of collectors' attitudes and of bronze collections demonstrates that the possession of such rarities was not only a sign of wealth but their appreciation was also associated with scholarly pursuit and personal cultivation. Moreover, it is evident that the Chosŏn elite, including members of the royal household and high officials, sought to show off

their wealth and enhance their social prestige through the acquisition of precious bronzes. Chosŏn collectors' passion for antiques thus contributed to the emergence of new types of pictorial objects: screens of antiques, *ch'aekkŏri* screens, portraits of collectors with antiques, and paintings of antiques and flowers, which will be discussed in the following chapters. Like a display in a studio, the representation of such a collection on a screen would give the owner an air of high distinction.

CHAPTER THREE. Illustrating Antiquities: Chinese Bronzes in Chosŏn Paintings and Embroidery

1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter examines how Chosŏn artists appropriated the motifs of Chinese bronzes focusing on two distinctive screen paintings, screens of books and scholarly utensils that depict Chinese bronzes with treasured objects and screens that exclusively render Chinese collectibles. Although these multi-panel, large-scale folding screens feature variations in composition, style, color schemes, and materials, they share common visual motifs, namely Chinese bronzes along with scholarly accoutrements. I investigate pictorial sources of these works, the modification of stylistic elements, and the significance of cultural transmission. This chapter aims to highlight the intellectual and artistic motivations of commissioners and artists during the late Chosŏn dynasty.

Screens of *Books and Scholarly Utensils* (figs. 3–1, 3–2, 3–9, 3–12, 3–16, and 3–17) also known as *Scholar's Accouterments* or *ch'aekkŏri* 冊巨里, depict Chinese antiques with stacks of books, rare flowers and fruit, as well as the so-called “Four Friends of the Scholar”—paper, ink, brush, and ink stone.¹ Not only does this genre integrate certain European painting techniques, such as linear perspective and *chiaroscuro*, it also reflects a growing trend of appreciation for Chinese bronze vessels among Chosŏn collectors. Similarly, the large-scale Hamburg screen of

¹ It is also known as *ch'aekkado* 冊架圖, “bookshelf painting,” or *ch'aekka munbangdo* 冊架文房圖, “screens with bookshelves for the study.” Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner distinguish three different types of *ch'aekkŏri* based on the composition: “isolated,” “table,” and “trompe l’oeil.” Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner, “*Ch'aekkŏri* Paintings: A Korean Jigsaw Puzzle,” *Archives of Asian Art*, 46 (1993): 63–75.

Antiques (fig. 3–48) depicts exclusively precious objects of Chinese origin. Yet, done in gold on black silk, it is a rare painting in regard to the mode, format, and material. Among the thirty-seven objects represented in the painting are twenty ancient bronzes and seventeen items of a scholar's studio. Each panel consists of two ancient bronzes at the top and in the middle, and one or two scholarly objects in the bottom registers.

In spite of the historical and cultural value of Chinese antiques, Chinese bronze vessels in these screens have gained little attention in previous studies.² Given the fact that these screens were produced at a time when a considerable number of collectors expressed their interest in Chinese antiques, examining the depiction of Chinese bronzes offers a way to understand how these screens visualize Chosŏn collectors' aesthetic preferences. Pointing out the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian* as possible pictorial sources, I analyze the bronze motifs rendered in *ch'aekkŏri*

² Scholarly research has been devoted to *ch'aekkŏri* screens both in Korea and in the West in terms of their origins, symbolism, function, the identification of artists, and the inspiration of European painting styles through China. For research in Korean, see Kang Kwansik, "Chosŏn hugi kungjung *ch'aekkado*," *Misul charyo* 66 (2001): 79–95; Sin Miran, "Chosŏn hugi *ch'aekkŏri* krim kwa kimul yŏn'gu," *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* 268 (2010): 169–94; *Chosŏn sŏnbi ūi sŏjae esŏ hyŏndaein ūi sŏjae ro* (Gyŏnggi: Gyŏnggi to pangmulgwan, 2012); Chŏng Pyŏngmo, *Hanguk ūi ch'aesaekhwa* (Seoul: Tahal mididŏ, 2015); Min Kirhong, "Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang Yi Hyŏngnok p'il *ch'aekkado*: Tŏksu 4832 *Ch'aekkado rŭl chungsim ūro*," *Tongwŏn haksul nonmunjip* 16 (2015): 71–88. For research in English, see Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner, "Ch'aekkŏri Paintings: A Korean Jigsaw Puzzle" *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993): 63–75 and by the same author, "Court Style Ch'aekkŏri," in *Hopes and Aspiration: Decorative Painting of Korea* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1998), 22–35; Burglind Jungmann, "Korean Contacts with Europeans in Beijing, and European Inspiration in Early Modern Korean Art," in Stephanie Schrader ed., *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), 67–87; Youngsook Pak, "Ch'aekkado—A Chosŏn Conundrum," *Art in Translation* 5.2 (2013): 183–218; Sunglim Kim, "Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Chosŏn Korea," *Archives of Asian Art* 64 (2014): 3–32. Among the illustrated objects, Chinese porcelains and bronzes have attracted scholars' attention. Pang Pyŏngsŏn, "Yi Hyŏngnok ūi *ch'aekka munbangdo* p'algot pyŏng e nat'anun Chungguk toja," *Kangjwa misulsa* 28 (2007): 209–38; Kim Eŏnkyŏng, "Ch'aekkŏri e dŏngjang hanŏn Chungguk toja ūi hamŭi," in *Chosŏn sŏnbi ūi sŏjae esŏ hyŏndaein ūi sŏjae ro*, 190–204; Ja Won Lee, "Pursuing Antiquity: Chinese Bronzes in *Chaekgeori* Screens," in Byungmo Chung and Sunglim Kim eds., *Chaekgeori: The Power and Pleasure of Possessions in Korean Painted Screens* (Seoul: Dahal Media, 2017), 41–49.

screens by two court painters, Chang Hanjong 張漢宗 (1768–1815) and Yi Hyōngnok 李亨綠 (1808–after 1863), as well as the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* and the *Shang Fu Yi ding* on the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*. Through this I attempt to explore how Chosŏn painters incorporated certain aspects of Chinese bronze vessels in their works using diverse sources, such as Chinese illustrated catalogs and studio sketches which had at one time been drawn on the basis of real objects.

2. Screens of Books and Scholarly Utensils (*Ch'aekkōri*)

It was in the late eighteenth century that Chosŏn court painters began to produce *ch'aekkōri* screens under the patronage of King Chŏngjo.³ The term *ch'aekka* 冊架 (bookshelves) appeared in 1784 in the records of the formal examination, known as *nokch'wija* 祿取才 (“salaried examination system”), for *chabi taeryōng hwawŏn* 差備待令畫員 (“court painters-in-waiting”).⁴ According to records by the scholar official O Chaesun 吳載純 (1727–1792), King Chŏngjo himself displayed *ch'aekkōri* screens in his studio, thereby emphasizing his scholarly virtues.⁵ The aforementioned collector Nam Kongch'ŏl further notes that King Chŏngjo particularly commissioned court painters-in-waiting to depict *ch'aekkado* screens in 1791 and 1798 for installing them behind his throne at Ch'angdŏk Palace.⁶ A *ch'aekkōri* screen, currently housed in the National Palace Museum of Korea, is thought to reflect, according to

³ *Ch'aekkōri* screens were originally painted by court painters, but later they became popular with the public due to the flourishing art market in the late Chosŏn dynasty. This shift resulted in diverse styles catering to the newly-emerging costumers' tastes. For the development of *ch'aekkōri* screens from court art to *minhwa*, see Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 277–300.

⁴ *Naegak illyŏk* 內閣日曆 [Daily records of the Kyujanggak], vol. 56, year of 1784, the 12th month, the 20th day. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. Access No. *Kyu* 奎 13030-v.1-1249. In 1783, King Chŏngjo established the *chabi taeryōng hwawŏn* system of ten selected court painters who produced paintings under his direct order. This system of official court painters continued until 1881, and *ch'aekka* appeared in the examination as the painting topic until 1879. On the examination topic of *ch'aekka* and *munbang* (stationery items of the scholar's studio), see Kang Kwansik, “Chosŏn hugi kungjung *ch'aekkado*,” *Misul charyo* 66 (2001): 79–95. For more discussion of court painter-in-waiting in the late Chosŏn dynasty, see Kang Kwansik, *Chosŏn hugi kungjung hwawŏn yŏn'gu, kyujanggak ūi Chabi taeryōng hwawŏn ūl chungsim ūiro*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2001), 80, 496–506, and 589.

⁵ “Munhak 文學 [Literature],” *Ildŭknok* 日得錄 [Records of conversations of King Chŏngjo with his subjects], *Hongjae chŏnsŏ* 弘齋全書 [Collected works of King Chŏngjo] vol. 162 in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* vol. 267 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujin wiwŏn hoe, 2001), 164.

⁶ Nam Kongch'ŏl, *Kŭmnŭng chip* (1815) in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* 272 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujin wiwŏn hoe, 2001), 21.

some scholars, what King Chǒngjo's screen might have looked like (hereafter NPM *ch'aekkōri*, fig. 3-1).⁷

1) *Ch'aekkōri* screen attributed to Chang Hanjong

Although *ch'aekkōri* screens were to a certain degree inspired by Chinese and European painting, they developed into an independent and highly popular genre of paintings during the Chosŏn dynasty. The eight-fold screen of *Books and Scholarly Utensils behind a Curtain*, now located in the Kyŏnggi Provincial Museum (hereafter KPM *ch'aekkōri* screen, fig. 3-2), is the earliest extant example rendering bronze vessels with stacks of books, scholarly utensils, porcelain cups, and vases behind a tied-back curtain decorated with a pattern of double happiness characters 囍.⁸ Due to a seal reading '*Chang Hanjong in*' 張漢宗印 (Seal of Chang Hanjong, fig. 3-3) placed in the middle of the eighth panel, this screen is widely regarded as the work of the court painter Chang Hanjong 張漢宗 (1768-1815).⁹

Particularly important for this investigation is a *ding* vessel standing on a pedestal,

⁷ This *ch'aekkōri* screen featuring stacks of books used to be a collection of the Ch'angdŏk Palace. It is, however, of a much later date. The assumption that it nevertheless reflects King Chǒngjo's taste is based on the fact that Chǒngjo in the textual record only refers to books. Pak Chŏnghye, *Wang kwa kukka ūi hoehwa* (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2011); *Kogung sŏhwa* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2012); Sunglim Kim, "Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Chosŏn Korea," 8.

⁸ Chang Hanjong passed the *nokch'wijae* examination in 1788 and worked as a court painter-in-waiting until 1805. Although Kim Hongdo, Sin Hanp'yŏng 申漢枰 (1735-1809), Yi Chonghyŏn 李宗賢 (1718-1777), and Yi Yunmin were also known for *ch'aekkōri* screens, unfortunately there are no extant works by them. *Naegak illyŏk*, vol. 102, year of 1788, the 9th month, the 18th day. See Kang Kwansik, *Chosŏn hugi kungjung hwawŏn yŏn'gu*, 91 and 105.

⁹ However, some scholars have questioned the authenticity of this screen. Pak Chŏnghye, *Wang kwa kukka ūi hoehwa*, 55-59.

depicted on the sixth panel. The cylinder-shaped tripod with three flanges supported by three legs has two loop handles on the circular mouth rim and a red lid with a knob (fig. 3–4). Positioned on a small circular stand, it represents one of the most popular types of bronzes of the late Ming and early Qing periods and echoes the characteristics of the archaic bronze vessels produced during later periods in China, such as *Censer with Cover and Stand* (fig. 3–5).¹⁰ However, the straight outlines of the tripod in Chang’s *ch’aekkŏri* give it a more ‘ancient’ look. As discussed in Chapter One, Ming dynasty collectors regarded stands as important accessories for appreciating antiques in their studios. The fact that the stand and the lid with carved knob in Chang Hanjong’s painting were added to this tripod underscores its value as an esteemed collectible and gives it visual prominence.

Books and Scholarly Utensils behind a Curtain in the National Palace Museum of Korea (hereafter NPM *ch’aekkŏri* screen 2, fig. 3–6), produced in the late nineteenth century by an anonymous artist, shares with the KPM *ch’aekkŏri* the display of precious objects, a bronze incense burner with a lid and stand, and the Baroque-style curtain that frames it. Here, however, the illustrated collectibles float in an undefined space. The most intriguing item is the bronze vessel at the bottom of the second panel (fig. 3–7). While maintaining the traits of archaic bronze vessels, the artist exaggerated the shape of the body and legs. This second type of tripod-censer might have been modeled on censers by one of the famous bronze makers of the late

¹⁰ For the characteristic of later Chinese bronzes, see Philip K Hu, Robert D. Mowry, Steven D. Owyong, and Laura Gorman, *Later Chinese Bronzes: The Saint Louis Art Museum and Robert E. Kresko Collections* (Saint Louis, MO: Saint Louis Art Museum, 2008). Displaying objects on stands was prevalent during the late Ming and Qing periods for aesthetic quality as collectors tended to place objects on stands to signify the value of precious objects such as ceramic, lacquer, bronzes, stone, and wood. It led to a variety of shapes and designs of stands in their productions. This phenomenon also is found in paintings depicting objects on pedestals from the Ming and Qing dynasties. Jan Stuart, “Practice of Display: The Significance of Stands for Chinese Art Objects,” 705–708.

Ming dynasty, Hu Wenming 胡文明 (active c.1572–1620), such as his *Archaistic Tripod Censer with Cover* in the Saint Louis Art Museum (fig. 3–8).¹¹ The most distinguishing features of this bronze vessel are its lid with a red knob and the golden inlay of the ‘yellow eyes’ 黃目, which originates from the *taotie* motif of ancient bronzes and has been transformed into big circular red eyes in the censer on the painted screen. The exaggerated narrow neck, elongated legs, upright handle, and the red lid with a carved knob in the shape of a phoenix and the big red dots on the belly indicate that this motif underwent significant modifications during the repeated process of copying and transmission from object to sketch to painting and that the creativity and phantasy of the painters and their clients played quite a role in the process. Intermediary stages in this process are represented by the tripods in Yi Hyōngnok’s *ch’aekkōri* screens which will be discussed below (see figs. 3–11, 3–13, 3–16, 3–17). Other objects on this screen, if compared to the much earlier *ch’aekkōri* by Chang Hanjong, underwent similar transformations towards colorful, fantastic inventions.

Yet, the original sources of inspiration were most likely bronze vessels produced during the Ming and Qing dynasties that were imported to Chosŏn Korea and found their way into the households of royalty or of wealthy collectors, including King Chōngjo, Nam Kongch’ōl, Hong Taeyong, and Sin Wi as discussed in Chapter Two. However, the difference between the painting and the bronze vessel strongly suggests that the artist did not use a real object as a reference. As Burglind Jungmann has pointed out in her study of the European inspiration in *ch’aekkōri* screens, instead of looking at real objects Chosŏn court painters used sketchbooks handed down

¹¹ It is notable that the similar type of bronze burner by Hu Wenming appeared in *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* (fig. 4–9), one of the distinguished collectors and calligraphers in the late Chosŏn dynasty. I will examine *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* in relation to Hu Wenming’s works in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

through workshops over generations.¹²

Various other bronze vessels depicted in *ch'aekkŏri* screens of the nineteenth century mirror the trend of appreciating Chinese antiques among Chosŏn collectors. The following section examines how another important court painter of the nineteenth century, Yi Hyŏngnok, depicted Chinese bronze vessels, particularly archaic *ding* vessels, the *fangding* of the Zhou dynasty, and the *Xuande*-style censer, using various sources.

2) *Ch'aekkŏri* screens by Yi Hyŏngnok

Yi Hyŏngnok's *ch'aekkŏri* screens offer more evidence of the possible sources for bronze motifs circulated among Chosŏn court painters in the nineteenth century. Since court painters formed 'dynasties' and passed their knowledge and techniques on to their descendants, it is likely that Yi Hyŏngnok learned from his father Yi Yunmin 李潤民 (1774–1841), a court painter who is known to have excelled in the genre.¹³ The scholar Yu Chaegŏn 劉在建 (1793–1880) provides information regarding Yi Hyŏngnok family's production of *ch'aekkŏri* screens in his book *Ihyang kyŏnmunnok* 里鄉見聞錄 (Excursions into Byways). Yu Chaegŏn commented on Yi Hyŏngnok family's production of *ch'aekkŏri* screens:

¹² Burglind Jungmann, "Korean Contacts with Europeans in Beijing, and European Inspiration in Early Modern Korean Art," 84, and by the same author, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 281–282 and 292.

¹³ Yi Hyŏngnok's father Yi Yunmin and grandfather Yi Chonghyŏn were court painters renowned for their skills in producing *Ch'aekkŏri* screens. Kay E. Black suggests that Yi Hyŏngnok's style followed that of his grandfather based on the relationship between Yi Chonghyŏn and Kim Hongdo, who was the earliest painter known to have painted *ch'aekkŏri*. Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner, "*Ch'aekkŏri* Paintings: A Korean Jigsaw Puzzle," 72–73.

Painter Yi Yunmin, courtly name *Ch'aehwa*, was skilled at painting the various appurtenances of the scholar's study, and among the screens and paper sliding doors in upper-class houses many are from his hand. In his time he was praised as having no peer, he was so outstanding. His son Hyöngnok also continued the family tradition, and he achieved an extremely refined artistry. I had one of his multi-paneled 'study screens,' and whenever I set it up in my [study] room, visitors who might see it [at first] had the mistaken impression of books filling their cases full. But then, when they came close for a better look, they would smile. Such was the exquisite lifelikeness of his painting.¹⁴

Yu Chaegön's comment indicates that a considerable number of scholars appreciated and favored Yi Yunmin's and Yi Hyöngnok's *ch'aekköri*. Thus, Yi Hyöngnok's screens serve as best examples for understanding the contemporaneous taste and desire for Chinese bronzes.

In his *ch'aekköri* screen, now located in the National Museum of Korea (hereafter Yi Hyöngnok's NMK *ch'aekköri*, fig. 3–9), Yi Hyöngnok carefully depicted stacks of books together with precious objects, such as bronze vessels, a clock, flowers, jades, brushes, handscrolls, and, ceramics using linear perspective and the illusion of three dimensions to deliver convincing visual effects.¹⁵ Together with various types of Chinese porcelains, Yi Hyöngnok

¹⁴ 畫師李潤民一字載化。善畫文房，搢紳家屏障，多出於其手，時稱高妙無儔。其子亨綠，亦承箕裘，極其精工。余有數福文房圖屏，每設於房舍，或有來見者，認以冊帙萬架，近察而哂之。其精妙逼真如此。Yu Chaegön, *Ilhyang kyönmunnok* (Seoul: Munhak tongne, 2008), 197. English translation cited from Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner, "Court Style Ch'aekköri," 28.

¹⁵ For the European technique applied in Yi Hyöngnok's *Ch'aekköri*, see Yi Söngmi, *Chosön sidae kürim sok üi söyang hwapöp* (Seoul: Sowadang, 2008), 174–178; Burglind Jungmann, "Korean Contacts with Europeans in Beijing, and European Inspiration in Early Modern Korean Art," 67–87; Sunglim Kim, "Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Chosön Korea," 3–32; Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 277–300. Yi Hyöngnok's NMK *ch'aekköri* screen bears the seal of Yi Ŭngnok. Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner have proven that Ŭngnok was another name of Yi Hyöngnok based on the

illustrated four Chinese bronzes: a censer in the *Xuande* style on the first, a rectangular cauldron on the second, and two tripod vessels on the sixth and eighth panels (fig. 3–10). What inspired Yi Hyöngnok in depicting these bronze vessels?

The two tripod vessels on the sixth and eighth panels of Yi Hyöngnok's NMK *ch'aekköri* are characterized as archaic bronzes because each has a lid and stand. The one on the eighth panel (fig. 3–11) has an inwardly-curved neck, red lid with *lingzhi*-shaped knob, circular stand, and the round body supported by three elongated legs. The mouth rim is embellished with a repeated angular pattern and the body features circle motifs divided by flanges. Despite its elongated legs and its narrow neck it also reminiscent of the shape of the two previously discussed censers of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties (figs. 3–5, 3–8). Its flanges, however, give it a more antique flavor. Another *Books and Scholarly Utensils* by Yi Hyöngnok in the Leeum Samsung Museum of Art (hereafter Yi Hyöngnok's Leeum *ch'aekköri*, fig. 3–12) presents a *ding* vessel featuring a red lid and three elongated legs standing on a circular pedestal at the bottom of the sixth panel (fig. 3–13). The vessel's inwardly-curved neck below the mouth rim is decorated with a flat band of repeated angular pattern. Here the belly is not divided by flanges but embellished with the whorl-circle patterns, one of the motifs found in ancient bronzes (fig. 3–14). It thus seems that Yi Hyöngnok (or one of his predecessors in this genre) freely combined shapes and motifs from archaic and ancient vessels. This *ding* vessel is identical with the one seen on a sketch by Yi Hyöngnok in the collection of the Kansong Museum in Seoul (fig. 3–15), a sketch he must have used as model for several other screens. These *ding* vessels frequently appear in other works by Yi Hyöngnok, including one in the Asian Art Museum of

genealogy of the Hanyang Yu family, which records the marriage of Yu's daughter to Yi Ŭngnok. They further suggest that Yi Hyöngnok changed his name twice, from Ŭngnok to Hyöngnok, and from Hyöngnok to T'akkyun, before the 1850s. Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner, "Ch'aekköri Paintings: A Korean Jigsaw Puzzle," 64–71.

San Francisco (hereafter Yi Hyöngnok's AAM *ch'aekköri*, fig. 3–16), and another in the Cleveland Museum of Art (hereafter Yi Hyöngnok's CMA *ch'aekköri*, fig. 3–17).¹⁶ The green *ding* vessels of Yi Hyöngnok's AAM *ch'aekköri* and CMA *ch'aekköri* consist of a red lid with an ivory lotus-shaped knob, a narrow neck decorated with flowery motifs, a round body with whirl motif and leaves in gold. This comparison shows that Yi Hyöngnok maintained the characteristics of archaic bronze vessels by depicting elongated legs, lids with decorative knobs, and stands, but modified the coloration of the three vessels on the body and their decoration of the neck (fig. 3–18).

The *ding* vessel on the sixth panel of Yi Hyöngnok's NMK *ch'aekköri* (fig. 3–19), an incense burner with a lid standing on a pedestal, provides further clues to another favored archaistic bronze in his *ch'aekköri* screens. This brown *ding* consists of a cylindrical body supported by three elongated legs. It features two everted handles between which rests an indigo blue lid with ivory lotus knob. Its circular pedestal is light greyish-green. *Ding* vessels of a similar shape and design also appear in the first panel of his AAM *ch'aekköri* and the seventh panel of Yi Hyöngnok's CMA *ch'aekköri* (fig. 3–20). The brown *ding* vessel features the cylinder-shaped body supported by three straight elongated legs. The body is decorated with small circles on the neck and circular patterns on the belly. It also includes a red lid with a round knob and is standing on a circular pedestal. Although they are shown in a slightly different perspective and also differ in the decoration of the knob, both *ding* vessels feature the characteristics of archaistic bronzes produced in the Ming or Qing dynasties as discussed in

¹⁶ Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner found the seal of Yi Ŭngnok at the top of the fourth panel of Yi Hyöngnok's AAM *ch'aekköri* screen. Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner, "Ch'aekköri Paintings: A Korean Jigsaw Puzzle," 65–68. Chöng Pyöngmo identified the seal of Yi T'akkyun that appears in the tenth panel of the Yi Hyöngnok's CMA *ch'aekköri* screen. Chöng Pyöngmo and Sunglim Kim ed., *Chaekgeori: The Power and Pleasure of Possessions in Korean Painted Screens*, 59.

Chapter One of this dissertation. However, their straight outlines and the circular patterns on the belly, which may also represent the projecting bosses found on the bellies of Zhou dynasty vessels and bells, again give the painted tripod a more antique appearance (fig. 3–21).¹⁷

These two *ding* vessels are also similar to the one in the previously discussed KPM *ch'aekkōri*, thought to be by Chang Hanjong (fig. 3–22). The cylindrical body, three elongated legs, lid, and stand, are evidence that both artists used sketches of archaic bronze vessels of the same shape as references and modified the coloration and motifs of the body. The slightly more harmonious design of the *ding* vessel in the KPM *ch'aekkōri* suggests that the artist may have been closer to a real object, which could have been brought to Korea by envoys and become part of a collection in the late Chosŏn dynasty. In contrast, the unbalanced proportions between the body and long, thin legs in Yi Hyōngnok's screens indicate that he worked from sketches or paintings by previous painters instead of the actual bronze vessels.

While the tripods in Yi Hyōngnok's CMA *ch'aekkōri* screen are reminiscent of the archaistic bronzes in the KPM *ch'aekkōri*, the *fangding* vessel appearing on the second panel of Yi Hyōngnok's NMK *ch'aekkōri* (fig. 3–23) offers some insight into another possible source. It appears that Yi Hyōngnok relied on the *Xiqing gujian*, the illustrated catalog of the imperial bronze collections of the Qing dynasty, as a reference. The rectangular cauldron depicted by Yi Hyōngnok has a rectangular-shaped mouth and a rounded belly supported by four flat legs. The shape of the body, the form of the legs, and the location of flanges are identical to those of a vessel from *Xiqing gujian*, the *Zhou Lu ding er* 周魯鼎二 (*A second square cauldron for Lu of*

¹⁷ I am grateful to Professor Burglind Jungmann for pointing out these examples of *gui* and bells for comparison. For the illustration of Chinese bell, see fig. 4-63 in this dissertation.

Zhou) (fig. 3–24).¹⁸ In addition, the same vessel is also depicted in Yi Hyōngnok’s *ch’aekkōri* in the T’ongdosa Monastery (fig. 3–25). The resemblance in shape of these square cauldrons strongly suggests that Yi Hyōngnok used the *Xiqing gujian* as a model for rendering similar shapes of bronzes in his numerous paintings.

Yet, this does not mean that Yi Hyōngnok copied the bronze vessels exactly from the *Xiqing gujian*. There are certain discrepancies in the decoration, for instance, in the side-view beaked dragon designs on the upper body and the four dragon-shaped sculpted legs. Yi Hyōngnok gives the beaked dragon motif a rounder shape and adds three small circles on the belly. While he sought to convey an illusionistic effect overall by applying *chiaroscuro*, Yi Hyōngnok takes some liberty in rendering the details of this motif.

The *Xiqing gujian* was even more important as a pictorial resource for depicting Chinese bronze vessels when Chosŏn court painters worked in a different genre, on screens that exclusively show ancient Chinese bronzes. The screen of *Ritual Vessels* in the National Palace Museum of Korea (hereafter NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels*, fig. 3–26) displays a variety of vessels accompanied by a title on the top and inscriptions in seal script and regular script on both sides.¹⁹ A bronze vessel at the top of the third panel is identified as one of the most desired objects of Chosŏn collectors, the *Zhou Wen Wang Ding* (*Ding for King Wen of Zhou*). It has upright handles on the wide-mouth rim, a squared belly with four flat yet decorative legs, and a

¹⁸ *Xiqing gujian* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), 46. *Xiqing gujian* categorizes this *ding* as one from the Zhou dynasty; in fact, the half-moon shape of the body precisely represents the style of the Western Zhou Dynasty. The rounded-bellied *ding* was gradually replaced by a half-moon and horseshoe-shaped *ding* at the end of the Western Zhou Dynasty. For the general stylistic changes, see Li Xueqin, *Chinese Bronzes: A General Introduction* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1995) and Li Song, *Chinese Bronze Ware* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹⁹ I will further discuss the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels* in the following section in comparison with Hamburg screen of *Antiques*.

rectangular design on the body (fig. 3–27). The lower part of its belly is decorated with a *taotie* motif and its legs are adorned with animal design patterns. This bronze vessel, in fact, resembles the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* found in the *Xiqing gujian* with regard to its title, inscription, shape, and surface decoration.

A bronze vessel at the top of the fifth panel of the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels* is identical to the *Zhou Lu ding er* of the *Xiqing gujian*. The two bronze vessels share similar characteristics, such as two U-shaped handles, a rectangular-shaped mouth, a rounded belly, flat decorative legs, and dragon-like motifs on the belly. Yet, the *fangding* vessel from the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels* has been modified by simplifying the side-view beaked dragon-like patterns on the body and by exaggerating the sculptural motifs at the top of the legs. In addition, the *fangding* vessel from the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels* features a different title and inscription from the one in the *Xiqing gujian*: the title above the vessel is *Dong Gung fangding* 東宮方鼎 (*fangding* for *Dong Gung*) and the transcription on its both sides reads *Bao yi sun zi bao* 寶彝孫子寶 (precious vessel that descendants treasure), whereas the *fangding* from the *Xiqing gujian* has its title as *Zhou Lu ding er* and transcription as *Lu zuo bao zun yi* 魯作寶尊彝 “[Duke] Lu made the precious vessel” (fig. 3–24). The more generic inscription on the painted vessel was probably easier to understand for a nineteenth century patron than any of the more specific original inscriptions. It is apparent that the *Xiqing gujian* provides a critical visual idiom for rendering Chinese bronze vessels for Chosŏn painters. While they relied on the illustrated catalog to a certain degree, the different aspects suggest that they also used other models from their sketchbooks, combined different shapes and decorations, modified them, and included their own inventions.

The bronze motifs featured in Yi Hyŏngnok’s *ch’aekkŏri* screens served as crucial

sources for other Chosŏn painters. The similar motifs of Chinese bronzes found in Yi Hyŏngnok's *ch'aekkŏri* screens repeatedly appear in *ch'aekkŏri* screens by other Chosŏn painters. With regard to the square mouth rim, half-moon shaped body, and four flat legs, the *fangding* of Yi Hyŏngnok's NMK *ch'aekkŏri* is similar to those rendered in their *ch'aekkŏri* screens by anonymous artists— one in the Leeum Samsung Museum of Art (hereafter Leeum *ch'aekkŏri*, fig. 3–28) and another one in the National Folk Museum of Art in Korea (hereafter NFMA *ch'aekkŏri*, fig. 3–29). Yet, there are discrepancies among all *fangding* vessels in regard to the beaked dragon motifs on the belly. The one in the Leeum *ch'aekkŏri* is identical to the one in the Yi Hyŏngnok's NMK *ch'aekkŏri* in terms of the round-shaped dragon-like pattern while the one featured in the NFMA *ch'aekkŏri* presents beaked dragon-like patterns with more rigid angular lines (fig. 3–30). Similarities in the design of the depicted bronze vessels imply that other Chosŏn artists copied their motifs from Yi Hyŏngnok's paintings or from sketchbooks that were made on the basis of his designs.

In Chapter Two I already discussed the special appreciation among Chosŏn collectors of a particular censer produced during the *Xuande* reign (r. 1426–1435) of the Ming dynasty. This appreciation is again echoed by an incense burner depicted on the first panel of Yi Hyŏngnok's NMK *ch'aekkŏri* (fig. 3–31) with two loop handles, inwardly-curved neck and a flattened roundly-shaped body supported by three stubby feet.²⁰ These characteristics are reminiscent of the censers bearing a six-character reign mark reading 'Da Ming Xuande nianzhi 大明宣德年制' on the base (figs. 2–14 and 2–15), previously discussed in relation to Chosŏn collecting habits. While maintaining the artistic features of these censers with the two loop handles, Yi Hyŏngnok

²⁰ It is important to note that *xuande*-type censer is repeatedly featured in other paintings such as An Chungsik's *Antiques and Flowers*, *Portrait Yun Tongsŏm*, and *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn*, which will be discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

modified certain characteristics by adding motifs on the shallow bombe-shaped body. Unlike the usually undecorated *Xuande* censers, he rendered flower scrolls on the neck and whorl-circles on the body. The identical *Xuande*-type censer is also featured in the third panel of his AAM *ch'aekkŏri* (fig. 3–32). Both are obviously based on the same iconographic sketch.

Xuande-type censers in various shapes and designs also appear in the aforementioned *ch'aekkŏri* screens by Yi Hyŏngnok—the second and seventh panels of his Leeum *ch'aekkŏri* (fig. 3–12), and the third panel of his CMA *ch'aekkŏri* (fig. 3–17). As for Yi Hyŏngnok's Leeum *ch'aekkŏri*, the one on the second panel (fig. 3–33) is almost identical to the one just discussed, only seen from a different angle and slightly differing in its decoration. The other censer on the seventh panel (fig. 3–34) presents the whorl-circles on the bombe-form body without handles. The *Xuande*-type censer in the third panel of his CMA *ch'aekkŏri* is again embellished with the whorl-circles on the bombe-shaped body, along with the circles and three bowstrings on the neck (fig. 3–35), closely resembling the censer in the NMK *ch'aekkŏri* screen (fig. 3–31).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the *Xuande*-type censers reached their popularity in late eighteenth-century Chosŏn Korea. Chosŏn royalty and scholars, including King Chŏngjo, Sin Wi and Yi Uwŏn, admired and acquired these censers for their collections. Yi Hyŏngnok's screen thus represents a visualization of Chosŏn collectors' favor for the *Xuande*-style censers. However, discrepancies in the shape and decoration between Yi Hyŏngnok's painting and the aforementioned *Xuande* incense burners once belonging to Chosŏn collectors again indicate that he did not see the real objects. Not only did Yi Hyŏngnok render a more rounded body and a narrower neck to emphasize the bombe-shape, in his paintings he also added the whorl patterns, bowstrings, floral scrolls, or circles on the neck or body in his paintings (fig. 3–36). The discrepancy between the depicted censer in Yi Hyŏngnok's painting and the real *Xuande* burners

implies that he used studio sketches produced by previous court painters of earlier generations on the basis of actual *Xuande* censers. Nevertheless, his paintings are also a strong indication that this type of vessel was still much sought after as symbol of scholarly sophistication and social aspiration. However, it is unlikely that Yi Hyöngnok's clients could afford the precious collectibles themselves. The screens thus served as surrogates of an actual collection.

3) *Ch'aekkōri* screens by anonymous Chosŏn painters and embroiderers

The ten-panel *ch'aekkōri* screen by an anonymous painter in the collection of the National Museum of Korea (hereafter NMK *ch'aekkōri*, fig. 3–37) displays a variety of treasured objects including bronze vessels, a clock, a coral branch, a peacock feather, jades, ceramics, rare flowers and fruits along with stacks of books and scholarly accouterments. Compared to the bronze vessels of Yi Hyöngnok's NMK *ch'aekkōri* as depicted, two bronze vessels of the NMK *ch'aekkōri* provide a clue to understanding other distinctive aspects of shapes and motifs of Chinese bronzes appreciated by Chosŏn collectors.

A *fangding* shown in the middle of the seventh panel of NMK *ch'aekkōri* in gold line (fig. 3–38) is again testimony to their favor of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding*. This vessel has two upright handles on the wide, rectangular mouth rim. A flat-based square body is decorated with horizontal T-spirals on the upper part and two geometrical patterns indicating the swastika (卍) on the lower register. Four flat, curved legs are embellished with stylized decor at the top end and the ball round bun feet at the bottom. It seems that the artist illustrates the particular characteristics of *Zhou Wen Wang ding* by combining different aspects of *Zhou Wen Wang ding* from two illustrated catalogs, namely the *Bogu tu* 博古圖 and the *Xiqing xujian* 西清續鑑

(*Supplement of Catalogue of Xiqing Antiques*). In terms of the shape and decorations, the *fangding* of NMK *ch'aekkōri* is reminiscent of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* from the *Bogu tu* (fig. 3–39). However, there are certain discrepancies in the motifs of the body—the upper part of the body is adorned with a beaked dragon design and lower part of its belly is decorated with a *taotie* motif in the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* from the *Bogu tu*, whereas the *fangding* of the NMK *ch'aekkōri* presents swastika (卍) patterns on the lower part with squared spiral bands on the upper body. It seems that the exchange of the *taotie* with the swastika motif is a gesture towards the consumers' favor and understanding of auspicious symbols. In addition, the depiction of the ball feet at the edge of each leg resembles another *Zhou Wen Wang ding* from the *Xiqing xujian* (fig. 3–40). This analysis confirms that the illustrated catalogs provided Chosŏn artists with significant visual elements of Chinese bronzes, which appealed to patrons of such screens. The artist of the NMK *ch'aekkōri* incorporated certain aspects of Chinese bronzes from these catalogs but also invented new designs of Chinese bronzes.

The ten-panel *ch'aekkōri* screen, now in the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, is a rare example of embroidered images of Chinese bronzes together with other precious objects (hereafter NMNH *ch'aekkōri*, fig. 3–41).²¹ It presents five bronze vessels—two cylindrical tripod vessels on the first and the sixth, a *Xuande*-type censer on the fourth, and two bombe-shaped tripod vessels on the first and third panels—all favored types of

²¹ Admiral Robert W. Shufeldt, the negotiator of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, donated this ten-panel embroidered screen to the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian first received this screen on loan as early as 1885. Although no record supports the provenance of Admiral Shufeldt's acquisition, the record mentioning that King Kojong presented an embroidered screen to an American official suggests that Admiral Shufeldt might have acquired this screen through his close relationship with the Chosŏn court. Kay E. Black and Edward W. Wagner, "Court Style Ch'aekkōri," 32–33. I am grateful to Carrie Beauchamp, curator at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, for the opportunity to view this embroidered screen.

Chinese bronzes among Chosŏn collectors (fig. 3–42). It is quite apparent that the anonymous palace embroiderers modeled these vessels after the pictorial sources that Yi Hyŏngnok also used for his *ch'aekkŏri* screens discussed above (see figs. 3–43, 3–44, and 3–45).

Embroidered screens based on paintings were frequently produced at the late nineteenth-century Chosŏn court.²² The resemblance between this screen and painted *chaekkŏri* therefore does not come as a surprise. It does, however, speak for the popularity of the genre. The many shapes and decorations of the various ‘Chinese’ bronzes shown on *ch'aekkŏri* screens give evidence of both, the use of Chinese model books together with acquired archaistic bronzes as sources of Chosŏn artists’ designs and the artists’ creativity in transforming them and even inventing images of how such rare precious objects might look.

²² For examples see Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “19–20 segi ch’o Chosŏn kungnyŏ ūi ch’imsŏn hwaltong kwa kungjung chasu sŏhwa pyŏngp’ung ūi chejak,” *Han’guk gŏnhyŏndae misul sahak* (2013): 7–37. Embroideries were also produced of screens of *Antiques*, which is the main focus of the following section of this chapter.

3. Screen of *Antiques*

With regard to their style, format, and material, screens of *Antiques* represent another unique genre for depicting Chinese objects of great value. A small number of screens featuring bronze vessels are still extant today in the form of paintings or embroidery: screen of *Antiques* in the Museum of Ethnology of Hamburg (hereafter Hamburg screen of *Antiques*, fig. 3–46), screen of *Ritual Vessels* in the National Palace Museum in Korea (hereafter NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels*, fig. 3–26), screen of *Antiques for Rituals* at the Osaka Museum of History in Japan (hereafter Osaka screen of *Antiques for Rituals*, fig. 3–62), and screen of *Ritual Vessel* in the Museum of Korean Embroidery in Seoul (hereafter MKE screen of *Antiques for Rituals*, fig. 3–63). A number of questions arise regarding these screens: What inspired both painter and patron to render such an array of Chinese collectibles? Did they favor certain types of Chinese bronzes? What were their models and what was the function of these screens? Who commissioned or possessed them?

Along with *ch'aekkŏri* paintings, screens of *Antiques* reflect a trend of accumulating and appreciating Chinese bronze vessels among Chosŏn collectors. It is thus significant to examine the bronze motifs featured in the screens of *Antiques* in relation to collecting practice. By focusing on the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* done in gold on black silk, this section analyzes the depiction of Chinese bronzes such as the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* on the first panel (fig. 3–51), the *Shang Fu Yi ding* on the third (fig. 3–47), the *Beaker with Elephant* on the sixth (fig. 3–58), and the incense burners on the ninth (figs. 3–76 and 3–78). I will further compare this screen with the Osaka screen of *Antiques for Rituals* and the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels*, which share similar stylistic elements and visual sources.

1) Representations of Chinese Bronzes and their Pictorial Sources

In 1909, the Museum of Ethnology of Hamburg (Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg) acquired from Consul Heinrich Constantin Eduard Meyer (1841–1926) the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (fig. 3–46).²³ Among the thirty-seven objects represented in this screen are twenty ancient bronzes and seventeen items of a scholar's studio. Each panel consists of two ancient bronzes at the top and in the middle and one or two scholarly objects in the bottom registers. It depicts ten types of ancient bronzes: *fangding* 方鼎 (square cauldron), *ding* 鼎 (tripod), *yi* 匜 (washbasin), *zun* 尊 (beaker), *jue* 角 (double-mouthed cup), *dou* 豆 (raised dish), *pan* 盤 (basin platter), *yi* 彝 (libation cup), *dui* 敦 (tureen), and *jue* 爵 (goblet). Most bronzes are accompanied by the title in seal scripts above the bronze, as well as a reproduction of the inscription on the bronze in seal script and its transcription in regular script below. These references provide the details of the period, type, and the commissioner of the vessel. According to their titles, the dates of most vessels range from the Shang to the Yuan dynasties. Only two of them do not have any indication of date.²⁴ In addition to ancient bronze vessels, the screen also presents other objects

²³ According to the acquisition record, the Museum of Ethnology Hamburg obtained the screen from the Hamburg merchant and Consul Heinrich Constantin Eduard Meyer. With the support of Paul Georg von Möllendorff (1847–1901), Consul Meyer led the branch of his trading company H.C. Eduard Meyer & Co. (Sechang Yanghaeng) in Korea from 1883 to 1905. Along with this screen, the museum purchased five hundred objects from him at a price of 4500 marks. However, there is little information regarding how he accumulated his collection in Korea. For a discussion of Consul H. C. Meyer, see Susanne Knödel, “The Korean Collection of the Museum of Ethnology Hamburg,” *Korea Rediscovered!: Treasures from German Museums* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 2011): 95–96. I am grateful to Professor Burglind Jungmann who recognized its importance and encouraged me to explore this screen, and to Dr. Susanne Knödel for the opportunity to view the screen and for providing information from the museum records.

²⁴ For an entire list of the objects depicted in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*, see Table I. As indicated in the list, the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* depicts eighteen ancient bronzes with date: two tripods from the Shang, seven tripods from the Zhou, two square cauldrons from the Zhou, one washbasin from the Zhou,

at the bottom register of each panel, which have characters inscribed that aspire to longevity and prosperity.²⁵ This collection of objects consists of four incense burners, a cup, three flower vases, a lamp, a mirror, a brush holder, a *ruyi* 如意 (“as you wish”) scepter, a *hulu* 葫芦 (gourd), a *qin* 琴 (zither), a beaker with zoomorphic image that will be discussed later, an inkstone, and a coin.

On the third panel, the *Shang Fu Yi ding* 商父乙鼎 (*Tripod for Father Yi of the Shang*, fig. 3–47), a cauldron of the type appreciated by Sin Wi, has two loop-handles on the wide-mouth rim and a trilobed body with two flanges on the lateral sides supported by three undecorated cylindrical legs. The belly of this vessel is decorated with *taotie* patterns with T-shaped horns on its three sides against a background of squared spiral bands, all done in gold. The inscriptions below the vessel are exact copies from the *Bogu tu* (fig. 3–48) and the image of the tripod also shares identical visual elements with the vessel named *Shang Fu Yi ding* in the catalogue.²⁶ It is worth noting that this tripod reflects the fashion among Chosŏn collectors of

one libation cup from the Shang and another libation cup from the Zhou, one tureen from the Zhou, one goblet from the Shang, one raised dish from the Qi 齊, and one basin platter from the Yuan. The two undated bronzes are a double-mouthed cup on the fifth and a beaker on the tenth panel.

²⁵ These characters include *yōndan kisu* 煉丹祈壽 (alchemical practice for longevity) on the incense burner and *yōnsu pae* 延壽杯 (cup for longevity) on the cup on the first panel, *yuksu ch'unyu* 六壽春酉 (longevity and youth) and *changsus* 長壽 (longevity) on the ceramics on the second, *chaegwi chaeshu* 財貴再壽 (wealth and longevity) on the mirror and *anrak changsu* 安樂長壽 (harmony and longevity) on the surface of the lamp on the third, *yōn su* 延壽 (longevity) on the *ruyi* (K: *yōūi*) and *rak* 樂 (happiness) on the *hulu* (K: *chorongbak*) on the fourth, *subok* 壽福 (longevity and prosperity) on the archaic bronze on the eighth, and *kunsu minbok* 君壽民富 (longevity for kings and prosperity for the public) on the incense burner on the ninth panel. I would like to thank to my friends, Cheng Hao and Amy Huang, for their help to decipher the scripts.

²⁶ It seems that the illustrated catalogs function as a main pictorial source for rendering ancient bronzes of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* regarding their shapes and decorations. Among twenty bronze vessels, ten bronzes that appeared in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* resemble those recorded in the *Bogu tu*. The identical title with similar shapes of Chinese bronzes found both in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* and the *Bogu tu* consist of *Zhou Wen Wang ding* 周文王鼎 (*Square Cauldron for King Wen of Zhou*), *Zhou Ji*

collecting tripod vessels with *taotie* patterns as found in Sin Wi's acquisition mentioned in Chapter Two.

The *Zhou Zi Fu Ju ding* (fig. 3–49) in the middle of the seventh panel provides further evidence of the *Bogu tu* as a reference. It has outward-bent U-shaped handles on the round mouth rim and a globular body. The upper part of the body is adorned with repeated bird patterns. Three curved legs are decorated with animal motifs at the top end. Together with its accompanying title, *Zhou Zi Fu Ju ding*, the inscriptions area again faithfully copied from the *Bogu tu* (fig. 3–50). The artist of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* and the *Bogu tu* quite obviously used the *Bogu tu* as his direct model.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the square cauldron called *Zhou Wen Wang ding* was especially favored by collectors, such as King Chǒngjo and the envoy Hong Taeyong. These collectors frequently refer to the *Xiqing gujian* as their guidance. We cannot be sure whether this book was also available to the painter of the Hamburg screen, but the similarity of the visual elements, such as the rectangular design of the body, the squared belly with four flat yet decorative legs, and the upright handles on the rectangular-shaped rim, suggests that it is somewhat reminiscent of one featured in the *Xiqing gujian*.²⁷ Yet, the rendition of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* (fig. 3–51) suggests that the artist of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* used the *Bogu tu* rather than the *Xiqing gujian* as pictorial references. It is shown on the screen with a squared

Zhen yi 周季姬匜 (*Washbasin for Ji Zhen of Zhou*), *Shang Qi ding* 商鞮鼎 (*Tripod for Qi of Shang*), *Zhou Yong Gong Jian ding* 周雒公緘鼎 (*Tripod for Duke Yong of Zhou*), *Shang Fu Yi ding* 商父乙鼎 (*Tripod for Father Yi of Shang*), *Shang Yi Ju yi* 商已舉彝 (*Libation cup for Yi Ju of Shang*), *Zhou Yi Gong ding* 周乙公鼎 (*Tripod for Duke Yi of Zhou*), *Zhou Zi Fu Ju ding* 周子父舉鼎 (*Tripod for Father and Son Ju of Zhou*), *Shang Fu Xin jue* 商父辛爵 (*Goblet for Father Xin of Shang*), and *Zhou Dan Cong ding* 周單從鼎 (*Square Cauldron for Dan Cong of Zhou*).

²⁷ In addition to the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* on the first, the *Zhou Bo yi* 周伯彝 (*Libation cup for Bo of Zhou*) on the fourth panel is reminiscent of one appeared in the *Xiqing gujian*.

body supported by four dragon-shaped flat legs and with two upright handles on a rectangular rim. The body is adorned with beaked dragons seen in profile on the upper register and *taotie* motifs on the lower. The flanges on the center and the sides provide evidence of the use of the *Bogu tu* as visual sources (fig. 3–52). Apart from the title, written above the image, the text inscribed onto the vessel itself is given both in seal and regular scripts, reading “Lu gong zuo Wen wang zun yi” 魯公作文王尊彝 (Duke Lu [had] this vessel made for [his father] King Wen [of Zhou]) (fig. 3–53). The last character yi 彝 in seal script also rather resembles the one in the *Bogu tu* than the character in the *Xiqing gujian* (fig. 3–54). This close resemblance in inscriptions further confirms that the artist may have had access to a copy of the *Bogu tu*.

Yet, in spite of such obvious dependence on the woodblock printed illustrations, slight differences in the decoration of the body, the shape of the legs, and the form of the flanges on the body of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* on the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* can be discerned. The artist maintained the forms of the handle and the body, but gave the beaked dragon motif on the narrow band a rounder shape. A similar modification can be found in the *Zhou Lu ding er* 周魯鼎二 (*Second Tripod for [Duke] Lu of Zhou*) that appears on a screen of *Books and Scholarly Utensils* by Yi Hyöngnok’s NMK *ch’aekköri* (fig. 3–23). As discussed in the *ch’aekköri* screens, modifications naturally occurred during the process of drawing from sketches or, possibly in this case, the Chinese catalogue.

The artist of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* obviously responded to the great popularity of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* among collectors. A noteworthy feature of this vessel on the screen is the representation of dragon-shaped sculpted legs.²⁸ This characteristic corresponds to Ming

²⁸ There are eleven *Zhou Wen Wang ding* recorded in the illustrated catalogs from different periods: one in the *Bogu tu* of the Song, one in the *Xuande yiqi tu* 宣德彝器圖 [Catalog of ritual vessels of the Xuande period] of the Ming, four in the *Xiqing gujian*, and five in the *Xiqing xujian* of the Qing dynasties.

scholar Gao Lian's mention of the particular value of the dragon decorations on the legs of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding*.²⁹ As discussed in Chapter Two, the educated elites sought to display their knowledge through their acquisitions, and a number of Chinese bronzes found their way into the households of collectors. The *Zhou Wen Wang ding* in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* shares visual forms and styles, particularly dragon-shaped legs, with one of extant bronze collection in Korea, namely the *Hyohaeng Cauldron* (fig. 2–12). Hence, the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* most obviously reflects the Chosŏn collectors' appreciation for certain bronze vessels even in details.

The representations of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* and the *Shang Fu Yi ding* provide evidence of the use of Chinese illustrated catalogs. At the same time they indicate, together with their frequent mention in contemporaneous texts, that these vessel types were especially favored during the late Chosŏn dynasty. Yet, the motifs at the bottom of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* may serve as proof that the artist also catered to the special wishes of the patron. The examples include the *ruyi* on the fourth (fig. 3–55) and the ink stone on the seventh panels (fig. 3–56). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Hong Kyŏngmo notes in his *Saŭidang chi* that he possessed precious objects including a *Xuande* inkstone, a water dropper, a jade *ruyi*, and utensils for the tea ceremony.³⁰ These objects originated with his grandfather, Hong Yangho, who had received several antiques from Ji Yun when he visited Beijing in 1782 and 1794. More evidence for the

Although these vessels are accompanied by its title, *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, their shapes and decorations of bodies and legs are different from one another. Some present a square body with undecorated curved legs and the others feature a rectangular body with bird motifs supported by cylindrical legs. Concerning the body shapes, *taotie* motifs, and beaked-dragon patterns, one from the *Bogu tu*, three from the *Xiqing gujian*, and one from *Xiqing xujian* share common stylistic features with one depicted in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*.

²⁹ For Gao Lian's accounts, see Chapter two of this dissertation.

³⁰ Hong Kyŏngmo expanded his grandfather's collection of antiques when he travelled to Beijing in 1830 and 1834. Yi Chongmuk, "Chosŏn hugi kyŏnghwa sechok ũi chugŏ munhwa wa Saŭitang," *Hanmun hakpo* 19 (2008): 584–592.

appreciation of the *ruyi* is provided by Kang Sehwang's depiction of it in his *Offering Purity* (*Ch'ōnggong to* 淸供圖). The title literally means pure and elegant objects in a study or the appreciation of such objects (fig. 3–57).³¹ Kang Sehwang renders the *ruyi* on a wooden desk together with a stack of books, an inkstone on a stand, and brushes in a brush holder in order to present scholarly prestige. Thus, the depiction of the *ruyi* in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* reveals the desire of the patron to present himself as esteemed scholar.

In contrast, an object at the bottom of the sixth panel of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* is much more difficult to identify—a beaker combined with a zoomorphic image (fig. 3–58). The object includes two phrases: reading in Korean *ch'ōnnyōn yōnghang* 天年永恒 (“year of eternity”) and *pongju nūnggang* 奉酒能康 (“offering wine for better health”). Comparison with a *Pair of Vessels* in the Saint Louis Museum (fig. 3–59), dating to the eighteenth century, may provide a clue for the identification of this rather uncommon image. The two later Chinese bronzes bear the shapes of elephants with vases or beakers attached to their backs. Although the beaker on the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* is separated from the zoomorphic image, beaker and creature may have had their origin in a bronze vessel similar to the vessels in the Saint Louis Museum. Here it seems, however, that the artist had no visual model at hand, rather, he may have tried to recreate the image from a verbal description, for instance, by the patron of the screen. This example proves that the artist drew from a variety of sources and sometimes had to rely on his own imagination.

The NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels* (fig. 3–26) has already been discussed earlier when its *Zhou Lu ding er* was compared to Yi Hyōngnok's NPM *ch'aekkōri* screen. It provides further

³¹ For the meaning of *Ch'ōnggong* see Hō Kyun, *Hanjōngnok*, 78–81 and 240–250. For an analysis of Kang Sehwang's *Ch'ōnggong to*, see Yi Kyōnghwa, “Kang Sehwang ūi *Ch'ōnggong to* wa munbang *ch'ōngwan*,” *Misulsahak yōngu* 271, 272 (2011): 113–144.

evidence of how Chosŏn artists sought to respond to the passion for Chinese bronzes in late Chosŏn Korea. Done in a vivid yet limited color palette including red, green, and blue, the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels* represents various ancient Chinese bronzes. Each panel consists of five registers that depict bronzes accompanied by their titles, inscriptions in seal script, and transcriptions of these inscriptions in regular script. Among the forty bronzes depicted in the painting are eight types of bronzes: sixteen *ding* 鼎 (tripod), thirteen *zhong* 鐘 (bell), three *zun* 尊 (wine vessel), two *dui* 敦 (tureen), two *fangding* 方鼎 (square cauldron), two *yi* 彝 (libation cup), one *jue* 角 (double-mouthed cup), and one *jue* 爵 (goblet). Unlike most other two-dimensional representations examined in this dissertation, this painting includes another important type of ancient Chinese bronzes, the bell.³²

For this investigation, however, our focus is on the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* (fig. 3–60) shown at the top of the third panel.³³ Identical features of this vessel on both screens, the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* and the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels*, are the rectangular shape of the body and the flat legs. Both *Zhou Wen Wang ding* have U-shaped handles on the rim, a square body with *taotie* motifs and beaked dragon patterns, and slightly curved flat legs with the mythical animal design at the top end. However, the location of the inscription and some of the details of the decoration, namely the beaked dragon on the narrow band of the body, are different (fig. 3–61). While on the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* the two beaked dragons face each other at the center of the flange, those on the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels*, located in the middle of each

³² For an in-depth discussion of Chinese bells see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). Chinese bells are also depicted in An Chungsik's *Antiques and Flowers*, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

³³ In addition to *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, *Shang Fu Xin jue* 商父辛爵 (*Goblet for Father Xin of Shang*) is also featured on both screens—on the ninth panel of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* and on the sixth panel of the NPM screen of *Ritual Vessels*.

register of the narrow band, are looking out in the same direction. Again, such modification was most likely made in the process of copying and recreating model sketches.

Even more closely resembling the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* are two embroidered screens: *Antiques for Rituals* at the Osaka Museum of History (fig. 3–62) and the screen of *Antiques for Rituals* Museum of Korean Embroidery in Seoul (fig. 3–63).³⁴ As already mentioned in the discussion of *ch'aekkŏri* screens, Chosŏn court embroiderers during the reign of Emperor Kojong frequently used paintings as models for their works.³⁵ Done in gold thread on black silk, both screens present forty identical bronzes with inscriptions and transcriptions on their sides. Each panel presents four bronzes, including *fangding*, *ding*, *you*, *zun*, *gui*, *dui*, *hu*, *jue*, and the bell. In spite of the different bronzes rendered in these paintings, the Osaka screen of *Antiques for Rituals* and the MKE screen of *Antiques for Rituals* not only share with the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* the dazzling effect of gold on a dark ground and the grid-like composition, but again also particular types of bronzes, such as the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* which

³⁴ For an analysis of the Osaka screen of *Ritual Vessels*, see Kim Yŏngsuk, “Chunijongjŏng to chasu pyŏmgp’ung koch’al,” *Munhwajae* 31 (1998): 233–291.

³⁵ According to Chosŏn court records female artisans produced embroidery after paintings and calligraphy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “19–20 segi ch’o Chosŏn kungnyŏ ūi ch’imsŏn hwaltong kwa kungjung chasu sŏhwa pyŏngp’ung ūi chejak,” *Han’guk gŭnhyŏndae misul sahak* (2013): 7–37. These examples include screen of *Crane and Pine Trees* based on Yang Kihun’s 楊基薰 (1843–?) painting and modeled after Queen Myŏngsŏng’s 明成皇后 (1851–1895) calligraphy. A colored embroidery on black silk of *Plants and Insects*, which is closely related to works attributed to the sixteenth-century female painter Sin Saimdang 申師任堂, further suggests the trend in embroidering in gold on a black background. For a discussion of Sin Saimdang and the embroidered screen, see Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 62–70, fig. 19 and 20. Given that embroidery often replicated paintings, the Osaka screen of *Antiques for Rituals* and MKE screen of *Antiques for Rituals* may have been created on the basis of a painting of Chinese antiques that resembled the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*.

appears on the fifth panel of the two embroidered screens of *Antiques for Rituals* (fig. 3–64).³⁶ However, the fact that the Hamburg screen is smaller in size and also contains other objects in addition to bronze vessels suggests that it was made for a different purpose. While the large embroidered screens were most likely produced for the court, the Hamburg screen could have been commissioned by the court as a gift for someone outside the court.

2) Materiality, Function, and Ownership

The use of gold pigment on dark ground builds on a thousand-year-old artistic tradition. The earliest extant example of the Korean peninsula is a fragment of the *Avatamsaka (or Flower Garland) Sutra*, dated to 754–755, in the collection of the Leeum Samsung Museum of Art (fig. 3–65).³⁷ Having its origin in the Buddhist context, the practice reached its height during the Koryŏ dynasty 高麗 (918–1392). The inscriptions and transcriptions of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* are particularly reminiscent of those earlier illuminated manuscripts.³⁸ During the

³⁶ Apart from the *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, both screens also share other types of bronzes, such as *Shang Yi Ju yi* 商己舉彝 (*Libation cup for Yi Ju of Shang*); *Zhou Bo yi* 周伯彝 (*Libation cup for Bo of Zhou*); *Zhou Qian Shu Ding* 周遣叔鼎 (*Tripod for Qian Shu of Zhou*); *Zhou Shu Lin dui* 周叔臨敦 (*Tureen for Shu Lin of Zhou*); *Zhou Tai Shi ding* 周太師鼎 (*Tripod for Tai Shi of Zhou*) on the eighth; *Zhou Fu Ding ding* 周父丁鼎 (*Tripod for Father Ding of Zhou*); *Meng Jiang zun* 孟姜尊 (*Beaker for Meng Jiang*). Among them, *Shang Yi Ju yi* is recorded in the *Bogu tu* and *Zhou Bo yi* is featured in the *Xiqing gujian*.

³⁷ Junghee Lee, “The Dated Avatamsaka Sutra Scroll and the Korean Origin of the Variocana Buddha Image in the Wisdom-fist Mudra,” *Oriental Art* 45.2 (1999): 15–25.

³⁸ In the Buddhist context, the court ordered artists to use gold color in order to express divinity, but also to imbue the national religion with power. During the early Chosŏn dynasty, the Koryŏ practices of Buddhist painting continued, particularly during the regency of Queen Munjŏng 文定王后 (1501–1565). Pak Ŭnkyŏng, *Chosŏn chŏn’gi purhwa yŏn’gu* (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2008), 415–456; Kim Chŏnghŭi, “Munjŏng wanghu ũi chunghŭng pulsa wa 16 segi ũi wangsil palwŏn pulhwa,” *Misulsahak yŏn’gu* 231 (2001): 5–40; Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 53–62.

Chosŏn dynasty artists also employed the medium in a secular context. Good examples of the late Chosŏn dynasty are Yang Kihun's *Wild Geese and Reed* (fig. 3–66), and An Chungsik's 安中植 (1861–1919) *Bamboo, Plum Blossom, and Flowers* of 1901 (fig. 3–67). In addition to paintings, the tradition of use of gold on lacquer is exemplified by *Bamboo Box for King Yŏngjo* of 1721 (fig. 3–68).

Another genre of late Chosŏn dynasty screens, entitled *A Hundred Times Longevity and Prosperity*, provides clues for the overall configuration and the meaning of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*—screen of *Longevity and Prosperity* in the National Palace Museum (hereafter *Longevity* NPM screen, fig. 3–69), screen of *Longevity* in the National Folk Museum (hereafter *Longevity* NFM screen, fig. 3–70), and embroidered screen of *Longevity and Prosperity* in the History Museum of Seoul (hereafter *Longevity* HMS screen, fig. 3–71).³⁹ *Longevity* NPM screen and *Longevity* HMS screen present in various calligraphic modes the two characters *su* 壽 (“longevity”) and *pok* 福 (“prosperity”) in a grid-like composition (fig. 3–72 and 3–73). The objects of the scholar's studio, particularly incense burners shown in the bottom row of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*, have characters inscribed that indicate aspiration to very similar wishes: *yŏndan kisū* 煉丹祈壽 (“alchemical practice for longevity”) on an incense burner on the first (fig. 3–74), *changmyŏng yŏnsŏn* 長命延綿 (“lifespan like extended thread”) on an incense burner on the fifth (fig. 3–75), and *su* and *pok* on the archaic-looking *ding* vessel on the eighth

³⁹ The embroidered *Longevity* HMS screen includes Yi Hyŏngnok's seal, which suggests that the form and style of this type of screen originated from the court painter.

panels (fig. 3–76).⁴⁰

The *Longevity* NFM screen (fig. 3–79) rendering objects of the scholar’s studio in grid-like composition features similar objects with inscriptions of wishes for longevity and prosperity, which also appear in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques—changmyǒng yǒnsǒn* 長命延綿 (“lifespan like extended thread”) on an incense burner with zither on the second panel, *yǒn su* 延壽 (longevity) on the *ruyi* (K: *yǒŭi*) and *rak* 樂 (happiness) on the *hulu* (K: *chorongbak*) on the sixth, and *yǒndan kisū* 煉丹祈壽 (alchemical practice for longevity) on the incense burner and *yǒnsu pae* 延壽杯 (cup for longevity) on the cup on the seventh panel (fig. 3–77). The inscription on the body of an archaic incense burner of similar shape and design on the ninth panel of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (fig. 3–78) and one on the third panel of the *Longevity* NFM screen (fig. 3–79) reads *junshou minfu* (K: *kunsu minbok* 君壽民富, “longevity for the ruler and prosperity for the people”), a phrase which derives from the *History of the Song* (*Song shi*).⁴¹ It is thus reasonable to infer that the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* had another function, in addition to representing the fashion of collecting Chinese antiquities that flourished throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Containing these well-wishes, as well as the ones carried by the elephant-beaker described above, it is likely that the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* was commissioned as a present, for instance, for a member of the Chosǒn elite on the occasion of a particularly important stage in life, such as a sixtieth or seventieth birthday.

⁴⁰ The archaic-looking *ding* vessel on the eighth panel of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* features a similar shape to the one that appeared in the NMK *ch’aekkōri* discussed in Chapter Two. While one in the NMK *ch’aekkōri* includes modified beaked-dragon motifs, another in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* renders two characters of longevity and prosperity.

⁴¹ “歲星 (木星) 色光明潤 君壽民富 又主福 主大司農 主五穀” Tuotuo, *Song Shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1977), 371.

A photograph taken between 1904 and 1907 at the court shows a screen depicting bronze vessels and mirrors installed as a backdrop for the imperial lady Ŏm, the consort of the Crown Prince Ŭich'in, and her court maids (fig. 3–80). Upon closer view, the convex lines of bronzes indicate that the screen is actually embroidered, which has close association with court ladies during the Chosŏn dynasty. Given that the Osaka screen of *Antiques for Rituals* was in the collection of the Min family, this screen might have been used to decorate the palace for Queen Myŏngsŏng 明成皇后 (1851–1895) (also known as Queen Min).⁴² Since Queen Myŏngsŏng used letters with bronze motifs, which were imported to Korea and circulated during the late Chosŏn dynasty (fig. 3–81), it is possible that the imperial ladies might have been intended viewers for such embroidered screens featuring Chinese bronzes.⁴³ Both, the photograph and the letter paper attest to the popularity of Chinese bronzes at the late Chosŏn court and to the court's antiquarianism.

The works discussed thus far are neither dated nor do they, with the exception of the examples by Yi Hyŏngnok, bear an artist's signature. They therefore provide little assistance for dating the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*. As such, the fact that Consul Meyer led a branch of his company in Korea between 1883 and 1905 offers the most reliable time frame for the creation of the painting. During the last decades of the nineteenth century the Chosŏn court was under tremendous political pressure. The Chosŏn court was confronted with internal turmoil caused by political struggle between Regent Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun 興宣大院君 (known as a painter under

⁴² According to its former owner Sin Kisu, this screen used to be in a collection of the Min family. Kim Yŏngsuk suggests that it was a late nineteenth-century court production that Queen Myŏngsŏng used. Kim Yŏngsuk, "Chun yi chong chŏng to chasu pyŏngp'ung koch'al," *Munhwajae* 31 (1998): 221–254. For information about Queen Min see Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 272–274.

⁴³ For a discussion of Chinese letters used at the Chosŏn court, see Son Kyeyŏng, "Chosŏn wangsil suip Ch'ŏngmal sichŏn chi hyŏngt'ae mit chejak ch'ŏ yŏn'gu," *Sŏji hak yŏn'gu* 55 (2013): 371–404.

his personal name Yi Haŋg, see also fig. 4–15), the father of King Kojong and the most influential figure at court in the late nineteenth century, and King Kojong and the Min family, which resulted in the Military Mutiny of 1882 (*Imo kullan* 壬午軍亂), the Reform of 1884 (*Kapsin chōngbyōn* 甲申政變), and the Uprising of the Tonghak Peasant Army 東學農民運動 in 1894. At the same time, the Chosŏn court was faced with tense foreign relations. China, Japan, Russia, and other Western nations competed with each other in their attempts to strengthen their position in Korea since the Chosŏn court had been forced to open its ports in 1876 due to the Treaty of Kanghwa with Japan.⁴⁴ Due to such inner and outer turmoil works of art belonging to the court or to high officials had to be sold at the time. The Hamburg screen of *Antiques* could have entered the art market under such circumstances. On the other hand, it could also have been given to a foreign dignitary as a present in order to strengthen good relations.⁴⁵ Such circumstantial evidence suggests that the screen was produced during the reign of Emperor Kojong around the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

⁴⁴ For further details see Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 267–299.

⁴⁵ It is also possible that Carl Wolter, Consul Meyer's employee, received the screen due to a close relationship with members of the royal house and presented it to Consul Meyer. I am grateful to Hans-Alexander Kneider for providing information on Consul Meyer and Carl Wolter. For an in-depth discussion of the relationship between Korea and Germany see Hans-Alexander Kneider, *Togirin ūi palchach'wi rŭl ttara: Han Tok kwan'gye, ch'och'anggi put'ŏ 1910 nyŏn kkaji* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 2013).

4. Chapter Conclusion

The depiction of certain types of bronzes on *ch'aekkŏri* screens and on screens of *Antiques* is closely connected with the zeal of the late Chosŏn elites for collecting Chinese antiques. The representation of such vessels enabled the patron of a screen to demonstrate his close affinity with Chinese culture and thereby show off his cultivation and high character, and enhance his social prestige. However, close examination of the two genres has revealed that sources and models were used differently. The images of bronze vessels on screens of *Antiques* almost exclusively derived from Chinese illustrated books, mainly the *Bogu tu*, and were paired with faithful copies of inscriptions on the vessels published in these books. In contrast, *ch'aekkŏri* screens included a great number of bronze motifs that could be traced to archaic vessels produced during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Painters of *ch'aekkŏri* screens frequently depicted archaic *ding* vessels and *Xuande*-type burners that echo certain preferences of Chosŏn collectors discussed in Chapter Two. These vessels distinguish themselves by their lids and pedestals which are also shown on the screens. The many similar and even identical objects that appear on different screens—particularly those connected with Yi Hyŏngnok and Yi's own sketch of an incense burner (fig. 3–15)—give evidence of the repeated use of iconographic sketches for these screens. In addition, *ch'aekkŏri* artists showed remarkable creativity in modifying the shapes and decorations of these vessels, most likely in order to satisfy their patrons' quest for the exotic. It seems that neither artist nor customer ever saw the real object.

The question of why the artists of screens of *Antiques* so heavily relied on the Chinese catalogs while the painters who produced *ch'aekkŏri* exerted their artistic freedom to a high degree is difficult to answer, especially since we have to assume that all these artists worked for the court and the elite connected with the court, even if we can assume that artists like Yi

Hyōngnok also produced for a wider clientele. A probable answer is that the artists of either genre were highly specialized and that their customers had become used to certain designs. Especially in the case of *ch'aekkōri* we can easily imagine that a customer could choose the objects he wanted to have displayed in his 'imaginary collection' from sketches shown to him in the artist's workshop.

Analysis of the representation of the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* and *Shang Fi Yi ding* on the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* has revealed the artist's dependence on Chinese illustrated catalogues that were circulated in Korea during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the certain differences between the vessels in the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* and those in the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian* lay in the decoration of *taotie* motifs on the lower body, the depiction of flanges, and the shape of four sculpted legs. In addition, the artist of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* drew on his imagination or created forms from hearsay, as was demonstrated in the analysis of the beaker with a zoomorphic image. Such invention and deviation from the Chinese model allowed him to insert antique-looking inscriptions that, in fact, carried well-wishes for the recipient of the screen. The paintings provided a crucial cue for patrons who attempted to highlight their cultural sophistication at the same time as they offer evidence for and an antiquarianism that built on the cultural and aesthetic values of Chinese bronzes.

CHAPTER FOUR. Staging Antiquities: The Role of Collectors in Late Chosŏn Art

1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter investigates the meaning of Chinese antiques and the critical role of collectors in making artistic decisions in the late Chosŏn dynasty, focusing on two genres—collectors' portraits and screens of *Antiques and Flowers*. I particularly examine *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* 尹東暹 (1710–1795) (fig. 4–9), *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* 李晁應 (1820–1898) (fig. 4–15), *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn* 李裕元 (1814–1888) (fig. 4–25), and paintings of antiques and flowers by Chang Sŭngŏp 張承業 (1843–1897) and An Chungsik 安中植 (1861–1919) (figs. 4–35, 4–41, 4–46, 4–55, and 4–60), which provide detailed information about the date, commission, and artists who were closely affiliated with collectors of Chinese antiques. The examination of these paintings offers clues for understanding the role the passion for antiques among educated literati played in the development of visual culture during nineteenth and early twentieth century.

As discussed in Chapter Three, in screens of antiques and *ch'aekkŏri* screens illustrated catalogues and model sketches functioned as guides for depicting Chinese bronzes. Yet, the artists of the portraits of collectors and paintings of antiques and flowers seemed to use actual bronzes as visual references, based on their close interaction with patrons and collectors. Scholars have done research on these two genres studying stylistic elements, iconography, and symbolism.¹ However, these previous studies have paid little attention to the depiction of

¹ For research on Chosŏn portraits, see *Chosŏn sidae ch'osang hwa* I-III (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2007-2009); Cho Sŏnmi, *Han'guk ūi ch'osanghwa: hyŏng kwa yŏng ūi yesul* (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2009); Cho Sŏnmi, *Great Korean Portraits* (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2010); *Ch'osanghwa ūi pimil* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2011); Cho Insoo, "Royal Portraits in the Late Joseon Period," *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* (2011): 8–23; Kang Kwanshik, "Literati Portraiture of the Joseon Dynasty," *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* (2011): 24–37; Lee Soomi, "Two Stages in the Production Process of Late Joseon Portraits: Sketches and Reverse Coloring," *Journal of Korean Art &*

Chinese bronzes and its association with collecting activities. Given that the visual representation and valuable objects mirror sitters' cultural and social status, it is significant to examine why members of the elite sought to include Chinese bronzes in their portraits. Therefore, the first section examines *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* (fig. 4–9), *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* (fig. 4–15), and *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn* (fig. 4–25) with particular attention to the image of sitters as collectors and the function of bronzes in their representations. Through my analysis I hope to give insights into the intellectual and artistic motivation of collectors of antiques, as well as getting clues to their collections of Chinese bronzes.

It is notable that the eminent collector, politician, artist, and father of King Kojong, Yi Haŭng 李晙應 (1820–1898) was an ardent follower of Kim Chŏnghŭi and his artistic antiquarianism.² He also supported the development of the genre of paintings of antiques and

Archaeology (2011): 38–57; Kwon Heangga, “King Gojong’s Portrait and the Advent of Photography in Korea,” *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* (2011): 58–71; Yu Chebin, “Chosŏn hugi ōjin kwan’gye ūirye yŏn’gu: ūiye nŭl t’onghae pon ōjin ūi kinŭng,” *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 10 (2011): 74–99; Yu Hŭijŏng, “Chosŏn sidae ch’osanghwa sangbok e nat’an an munyang yŏn’gu,” *Hanbok munhwa* 14 (2011): 135–148; Kang, Kwansik. “Chosŏn sidae ch’osanghwa rŭl ingnŭn tasŏt kaji k’odŭ,” *Misulsa hakpo* 38 (2012): 135–183; Yi Sŏngmi, *Ōjin ūigwe wa misulsa: Chosŏn kugwang ch’osanghwa ūi chejak kwa mosa* (Seoul: Sowadang, 2012); Yi Sŏngmi, “The Making of Royal Portraits during the Joseon Dynasty: What the *Uigwe* Books Reveal,” in Jerome Silvergeld ed, *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 2011), 363–386. For a discussion of paintings of antiques and flowers, see Hŏ Poin, “Han’guk ūi kimyŏng chŏlchi to yŏn’gu” (MA thesis, Hongik University, 1998); Yi Sŏngmi, *Chang Sŭngŏp hoehwa wa Chungguk hoehwa,” Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* (2001): 25–56; Chŏng Hyŏngmin, “Chang Sŭngŏp kwa Han’guk kŭnhyŏndae hwadan: chinwi ūi chae chomyŏng,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* (2001): 83–103; Pak Tongsu, “Simjŏn An Chungsik yŏn’gu” (PhD diss., Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu wŏn, 2005), 110–118; Kim Ch’wijŏng, “Kaehwagi hwadan ūi sin kyŏngyang kwa chaphwa pyŏng,” *Misulsa nondan* (2008): 253–287; Yi Insuk, “Kŭndaegi taegu ūi munin hwaga Kŭngsŏk Kim Chinman kimyŏng chŏlchi hwa yŏn’gu,” *Minjok munhwa nonch’ong* (2012): 477–511; “Sŏkchae Sŏ Pyŏngo ūi kimyŏng chŏlchi hwa yŏn’gu,” *Minjok munhwa nonch’ong* 55 (2013): 375–406; Kim Ch’wijŏng, “Han’guk kŭndaegi ūi hwadan kwa sŏhwa suyo yŏn’gu” (PhD diss., Korea University, 2014).

² For Yi Haŭng’s biography see “Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun yakchŏn,” in *Unhyŏngung kwa Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun* (Seoul: Chongno munhwawŏn, 2000), 262–288.

flowers that emerged in the late nineteenth century. Considering that the collecting of Chinese antiques reached a critical point at that time, it is essential to explore how Chang Sŭngŏp and An Chungsik established a new artistic fashion for depicting Chinese antiques, through intimate interaction with patrons, and how they were inspired by the so-called Shanghai school. Through an analysis of written records and visual sources, I explore the role of collectors as an important force in shaping the aesthetic principles in the late nineteenth century. It is unfortunate that Chinese bronze collections have been dispersed in Korea. Together with extant textual sources, however, these paintings can serve as records of material culture and knowledge at this time.

2. Portraits of Collectors of Chinese Antiquities

1) The Role of Portraits: Political Significance and Ritual Veneration

The main function of Chosŏn portraits of kings, royal family, and scholar-officials was to represent ritualistic significance, to reinforce political power, and to commemorate the accomplishments that corresponded to the conditions of Confucian practice.³ In conjunction with Confucianism, royal portraits served as a vehicle to symbolize sovereignty, to perform ancestral rituals, or to present the royal family's wishes for prosperity.⁴

³ The Chosŏn court established a number of the royal portrait halls (*chinjŏn*) to enshrine the new versions of kings' portraits or the copied versions of previous monarchs to showcase political significance and ancestral rites. The court believed that royal portrait halls not only represented the ruler's authority, wisdom, and heroism, but also strengthened the power of the king and country. Cho Insoo, "Chosŏn ch'ogi T'aejo ōjin ūi chejak kwa T'aejo chinjŏn ūi unyŏng," *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 3 (2004): 116–153; Insoo Cho, "Royal Portraits in the Late Joseon Period," *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* (2011): 8–23; Insoo Cho, "Confucianism and the Art of the Joseon Dynasty," *Treasures from Korea: Arts and Culture of the Joseon Dynasty* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Art Museum, 2014), 35–51. King Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674–1720) began to construct the state's official portrait halls called Yŏnghŭi chŏn in the capital, particularly *Sŏnwŏn chŏn* inside the palace. He visited Yŏnghŭijŏn for the periodic ancestral rites and for viewing the ancestral portraits, which made an impact on fostering the stature of royal portraits. *Sŏnwŏn chŏn* became a royal family shrine, where they performed ancestral rites surrounded by the previous monarchs' portraits. Yu Chebin, "Chosŏn hugi ōjin kwan'gye ūirye yŏn'gu: ūiye nŭl t'onghae pon ōjin ūi kinŭng," *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 10 (2011): 84–89.

⁴ The similar function of royal and literati portraits can be found in Chinese portraits throughout history. For an in-depth study on Chinese portraits, see Lothar Ledderose, "Subject Matter in Early Chinese Painting Criticism," *Oriental Art* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 69–83; Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Dietrich Seckel, "The Rise of Portraiture in Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* 53, no. 1/2 (1993): 7–26; Wen C. Fong, "Imperial Portraiture in the Song, Yuan, and Ming Periods," *Ars Orientalis* 25 (1995): 47–60; Jan Stuart, "Calling Back the Ancestor's Shadow: Chinese Ritual and Commemorative Portraits," *Oriental Art* 42, no. 3 (1997): 8–17; Joan Hornby, "Chinese Ancestral Portraits: Some Late Ming and Ming Style Ancestral Paintings in Scandinavian Museums," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 70 (2000): 173–271; Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 2001); Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang eds., *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005).

Most extant Chosŏn portraits show the sitter without any attributes. *Portrait of Yi Hyŏnbo* 李賢輔 (1467–1555) of 1536 (fig. 4–1) is an early example of depicting the attributes surrounding the sitter signifying his interests and identity. The scholar-official Yi Hyŏnbo sits behind a desk with a book, paper, and a case of inkstone and—as a sign to his Buddhist devotion—holds a flywhisk in his hand. This emblematic portrait indicates that such representations were less restricted in the early Chosŏn dynasty, unlike the mid-Chosŏn dynasty, when portraits with objects were rarely produced. An increased interest in collecting Chinese antiques among Chosŏn scholars and the royal family had a profound impact on the genre of portraiture from the late eighteenth century onward. In other words, Chosŏn royalty and literati paid more attention to representing themselves with precious collectibles, such as Chinese bronze vessels, eyeglasses, inkstones, and books, as a way of positioning themselves in their cultural and social milieu.

2) Chinese Portraits of Antiques: Portraits of Emperor Qianlong

Before examining Chosŏn portraits of collectors with antiques, we have to acknowledge that the fashion of depicting antiques in portraits was also found in China. The portraits of Chinese collectors among royalty and high officials, above all Emperor Qianlong, provide evidence of an interest in displaying their collections of antiques in the images to claim social and cultural identity, to represent the political success, and to emphasize self-cultivation. For instance, *One or Two* (*Shi yi shi er tu* 是一是二圖) (fig. 4–2) reflects the emperor’s zeal for collecting as much as his favor for self-representation.⁵ By collecting, manufacturing, and

⁵ In addition to portraits of Emperor Qianlong, there are considerable numbers of Chinese portraits with

displaying bronzes, Emperor Qianlong emphasized his understanding of the cultural significance of *guwan* 古玩, or ‘play with antiquity,’ in order to affirm his authority and political achievements.⁶ Emperor Qianlong not only displayed his rich collections of bronzes in the imperial palaces and gardens, but he also had them portrayed and catalogued.

In *One or Two* Emperor Qianlong depicted himself as a scholar wearing pale, informal robes, and holding a blank scroll and a brush. It is noteworthy that Emperor Qianlong is surrounded by precious objects such as *ru* wares, a *ruyi* scepter, a *gu* vessel, stacks of books, a cauldron, a *Xuande*-style censer, jade *bi* 璧 discs, a blue-and-white lidded porcelain jar, a *jia* standard measure, and scrolls on the several wooden tables—all of which belonged to his imperial collection (fig. 4–3).⁷ It is notable that the cauldron and *Xuande*-style censer are bronzes

attributes throughout history, which signify their interests and personality. These include ones attributed to Wang Wei’s Portrait of Fu Sheng of the eighth century, anonymous *Portrait of Ni Zan* of 1340, Qiu Ying’s 仇英 (1498–1509) *Portrait of Ni Zan* of the sixteenth century, Zeng Jing’s 曾鯨 (1564–1647) *Portrait of Shi Pei* of 1619, Chen Hongshou’s 陳洪綬 (1599–1652) *Four Pleasures of Nan Shenglu* of 1649, Zeng Jing’s *Portrait of Ge Yilong* of the seventeenth century, and Ren Xun’s 任薰 (1835–1893) *Picture of Kezhai Collecting Antiques* of 1892. For the images, see Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); For more on Wu Dacheng’s collecting practice and this painting see Clarissa von Spee, “Wu Dacheng at 58: Two Handscrolls with Bronze Rubbings from the Shanghai Museum,” in Burglind Jungmann, Adele Schlombs, and Melanie Trede, eds., *Shifting Paradigms in East Asian Visual Culture*, 299–311; Seokwon Choi, “Fashioning the Reclusive Persona: Zeng Jing’s Informal Portraits of the Jiangnan Literati,” (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2016).

⁶ For Emperor Qianlong’s art collection, see Feng Mingzhu, *Qianlong huangdi de wenhua daye* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2002); *The Qianlong Emperor: Treasures from the Forbidden City* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland 2002); Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003); Chuimei Ho and Bennet Bronson, *Splendors of China’s Forbidden City: The Glorious Reign of Emperor Qianlong* (London: Merrell, 2004). Hui-chun Yu points out that Emperor Qianlong employed his bronze collection for his political power. Hui-chun Yu, “The Intersection of Past and Present: The Qianlong Emperor and His Ancient Bronzes,” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2007), 72.

⁷ There are four extant versions of *One or Two*: one is housed in the National Palace Museum of Taipei and three were located in the Palace Museum in Beijing. Kristina Kleutghen explores cultural and

that are also predominantly featured in Chosŏn portraits of collectors.⁸

3) *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong*

From the late eighteenth century onward, it was not unusual to illustrate objects that the sitter possessed and was proud of. *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong* (fig. 4–6) provides clues about the cultural and political significance of such objects. The Chief State Councilor (*Yŏngŭijŏng* 領議政) Ch'ae Chegong had himself depicted in three versions of attires, which exemplify his political success and cultural identity as scholar—*Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong as a Courtier* in red courtier robe of 1784 (fig. 4–4), *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong as an Official* in black official robe (fig. 4–5), and *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong as a Scholar* in rough-tinted official robe of 1792 (fig. 4–6).⁹ Among them, *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong* of 1792 by the leading court painter Yi Myŏnggi's 李命基 (1756–?) presents Ch'ae Chegong in an official's daily outfit of a pale pink robe (*hongdallyŏng* 紅團領) and a black silk hat (*samo* 紗帽) holding a fan with an incense pouch (*hyangnang* 香囊) that lies between his crossed legs (fig. 4–7).¹⁰ In contrast to the paintings analyzed so far, this incense pouch in the portrait represents a real object (fig. 4–8). In

political significance and identifies some objects depicted in *One or Two*. She considers *One or Two* as “emblems of his intertwined personal and imperial identities.” Kristina Kleutghen, “One or Two, Repictured,” *Archives of Asian Art*, Volume 62 (2012): 29.

⁸ For a discussion of *Portraits of Emperor Qianlong*, see Evelyn S. Rawski and Jessica Rawson eds., *China: The Three Emperors, 1662–1795* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005).

⁹ *Pŏnam Ch'ae Chegong* (Suwŏn: Suwŏn Hwasŏng pangmulgwan, 2013).

¹⁰ There are two versions of *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong* in rough-tinted official robe: one with an incense pouch is now located in the Suwŏn Hwasŏng Museum in Korea and the other without an incense pouch is currently housed in the British Museum in London. Cho Sŏnmi, *Great Korean Portraits*, 180.

his complimentary remarks on the upper left, *Ch'ae Chegong* notes:

Your appearance and your heart, graces of your parents.

Your head and your legs, graces of your King.

The fan is due to the King's grace, as is the incense pouch.

Which of your adornments is not due to his kindness?

After I withdraw from my post, my shame is in not being able to repay such kindness.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of King Chǒngjo. After completing the King's portrait in 1791, I had my portrait painted under the King's orders. I submitted one to King and mounted an extra copy in 1792.¹¹

Ch'ae Chegong articulated his loyalty and integrity as a high official, emphasizing the benevolence of the king by wearing gifts, the fan and incense pouch, bestowed by King Chǒngjo. Thus, it is reasonable to infer that this portrait not only displays the actual objects possessed by the sitter, but also functions as a means to commemorate the King's gift, thereby underscoring the sitter's political and social importance. While the collectors' portraits analyzed below do not provide such firm textual evidence, it is most likely that the bronzes represented together with the sitters have a similar significance and that they are also based on objects in the sitter's collection.

4) *Portrait of Yun Tongsǒm*

¹¹ 爾形爾精 父母之恩. 爾頂爾踵 聖主之恩. 扇是君恩 香亦君恩. 粉飾一身 何物非恩. 所愧敬後 無計報恩. 樊翁自贊自書. 聖上十五年辛亥 御真圖寫後承 命摸像內入 以其餘本 明年壬子粧. Modified English translation from Kang Kwansik, "Literati Portraiture of the Joseon Dynasty," 33.

With the rise of self-representation from the early eighteenth century onward, literati tended to have their portraits fashioned as a medium for demonstrating their self-cultivation.¹² As Chosŏn Confucian scholars accumulated and appreciated antiques as a way of expressing their veneration of the past, thereby enhancing their social prestige, they sought to portray themselves in a scholarly setting with antiques. The earliest extant example in this regard is *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* 尹東暹 (1710–1795) (fig. 4–9).¹³ Portrayed in a three-quarter view, Yun Tongsŏm wears a plain white robe (*yabok*) and a black hat. He sits behind a wooden desk on which an incense burner, books, an ink stone, and a brush holder are displayed. The scallop-shaped body of the incense burner is embellished with flowers and leaves in gold inlay (fig. 4–10). It has branch-like handles and raised feet in the shape of leaves. Given that Yun Tongsŏm, one of the distinguished collectors of the late eighteenth century, purchased Chinese antiques in Beijing on his tributary mission in 1771, the gold-inlaid incense burner on his desk most likely originated in China and was the pride of his collection.¹⁴

As art historian Chang Chin-Sung noticed, the flowery ornament and gold inlay of the incense burner in this portrait are reminiscent of the pattern of the incense burner in the form of a

¹² Chosŏn Scholars sought to reveal the internal ‘spirit’ of the sitter and to capture the appearance in their portraits. Kang Kwansik, “Self-Cultivation in the Portraits of Joseon Literati Scholars,” 187–201.

¹³ For a detailed discussion of *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm*, see *Inmul ro ponŭn Han’guk misul* (Seoul: Samsung munhwa chaetan, 1999), 236–237.

¹⁴ By acquiring a number of Chinese antiques, including ink rubbings from ancient Chinese stelae of the Han (206 BCE–220) and the Tang (618–907) dynasties, Yun Tongsŏm pursued the notion of evidential scholarship. Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “Sŏhwa sujang e taehan insik kwa silch’e,” 213–215. Hwang Chŏngyŏn notes that the idea of pursuing a reclusive lifestyle through art collecting started by Hŏ Kyun (1569–1618) in the seventeenth century and expanded by Yi Yunyŏng (1714–1759), Yun Tongsŏm, and Yi Hŭich’ŏn (1738–1771) in the eighteenth century. Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty,” 105.

gui vessel, parcel-gilt bronze, attributed to Hu Wenming in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter Hu Wenming's Met bronze, fig. 4–11).¹⁵ It bears a mark reading *Yujian Hu Wenming zhi* 雲間胡文明製 (“Made by Hu Wenming of Yunjian (present-day Songjiang, near Shanghai)”).¹⁶ It is notable that Pak Chiwŏn, discussed in Chapter Two, had an opportunity to view incense burners by Hu Wenming on his way to Beijing.¹⁷ Given that Pak Chiwŏn recognized Hu's style, it is likely that Hu Wenming's works were well-known among Chosŏn collectors. The gold lines for the incense burner in *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* could well have been inspired by the design scheme of archaic vessels of the late Ming dynasty that bear the marks of Hu Wenming.

In spite of the similar pattern of flowers in gold, it is worth noticing the differences between Hu Wenming's bronze in the Metropolitan Museum and the one in *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm*. While the censer in *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* features the scallop-shaped body, branch-shaped handles, and three short feet, Hu Wenming's bronze has a round body, dragon-shaped handles, and a ring foot. On the other hand, due to its scallop-shaped body and its two branch-

¹⁵ Chang Chin-Sung suggests the similarity between the incense burner in *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm* and one attributed to Hu Wenming. Chang Chin-sung, “Chosŏn hugi hoehwa wa munhwa chŏk hogisim,” *Misulsa nondan* 32 (2011): 176–177. For more information on an incense burner in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Denise Leidy, “Chinese Decorative Art,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 55 no. 1 (1997): 11–12.

¹⁶ There are a number of bronzes that bear the marks of Hu Wenming such as Yunjian Hu Wenming zhi 雲間胡文明製 (“Made by Hu Wenming of Yunjian”), Hu Wenming zuo 胡文明作 (“Made by Hu Wenming”), or *Wanli guiwei ju yue Yunjian Hu Wenming zhi* 萬曆癸未菊月雲間胡文明製 (“Made by Hu Wenming of Yunjian in the chrysanthemum month of the guiwei year of the Wanli reign”). He produced censers, brush holders, ruyi scepters, and objects for incense culture. The floral designs, dragons, and phoenix motifs were favored during the reigns of Emperors Yongzheng and Qianlong. For the characteristics of Hu Wenming's works, see Robert D. Mowry, “Later Chinese Bronzes: An Overview,” in Philip K. Hu, *Later Chinese Bronzes*, 15–21, 58.

¹⁷ Pak Chiwŏn, *Yŏrha ilgi*, 99.

shaped handles the censer in the portrait is also reminiscent of *Xuande*-style incense burners of the Ming or Qing dynasty, such as one currently housed in the Palace Museum of Beijing (fig. 4–12). The gently-curved feet in leaf form in *Portrait of Yun Tongśm* are also resonant with the shape of a *ding* vessel, one of the bronzes that Chosŏn collectors valued. Given that Hu Wenming and other manufacturers produced different designs of bronze vessels embellished with gilt floral patterns (see fig. 4–13) we can assume that the censer shown in his portrait was one the most valuable items of Yun Tongśm’s collection of Chinese bronzes.

5) *Portraits of Yi Haŭng*

Portrait of Yi Haŭng provides further evidence of how collectors employed their antiques to establish their cultural identity, and symbolize their authority.¹⁸ He has been recognized for his significant contribution to art because of his excellence in calligraphy and orchid painting (fig. 4–14) following the tradition of Kim Chŏnghŭi 金正喜 (1786–1856).¹⁹ There are five surviving

¹⁸ Among sources on portraits of collectors, previous scholarship on *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* is worthy of note. Yet, bronzes in this portrait have received little scholarly attention. Burglind Jungmann notes that one of the most impressive aspects of *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* is the combination of Korean tradition and European innovation. In addition to scholarly objects, artists rendered European objects such as a clock and spectacles and selectively applied European painting techniques. Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 286–289. Although Cho Sŏnmi and Kang Kwansik consider this portrait a representation of Yi Haŭng’s identity as a scholar, they do not fully examine the depicted objects. Cho Sŏnmi, *Han’guk ũi ch’osanghwa*, 393–405; Cho Sŏnmi, *Great Korean Portraits*, 221–229; Kang Kwansik, “Yi Haŭng ch’osanghwa ilgwal,” *Han’guk ũi ch’osanghwa: Yŏksa sok ũi innul kwa chou hada* (Seoul: Nurwa, 2007), 24–25. Yi Kyŏnghwa suggests that *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* contains political symbolism in the image of the sword which stand for the expulsion of wickedness. Yi Kyŏnghwa (Lee Kyunghwa), “Kŭrimja kukwang ũi ch’osang: Waryonggwang hakch’angŭi pon Yi Haŭng ch’osang,” *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* (2014): 30–57.

¹⁹ For an in-depth discussion of Yi Haŭng’s artwork see Kim Chŏngsuk, *Hŭngsŏn taewŏn’gun Yi Haŭng ũi yesul segye* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2004).

Portraits of Yi Haŭng by two prominent court painters, Yi Hanch’öl 李漢喆 (1808–1880) and Yu Suk 劉淑 (1827–1873), presenting him in his diverse roles as courtier, official, and scholar. All three full-length portraits were painted in 1869 and are currently housed in the Seoul Museum of History (figs. 4–15, 4–16, and 4–17).²⁰

In his *Portrait as a Courtier* (fig. 4–16), Yi Haŭng is portrayed in a red ceremonial robe wearing a black hat with gold embroidery (*kŭmgwan chobok* 金冠朝服) and girded with a belt with an ornate buckle. His hands are concealed within the sleeves while he is seated on a chair covered by tiger skin. Yi Haŭng’s inscription reads “At age 50 in the early summer of the year 1869 (*kisa* 己巳), [my portrait was] painted by court painters Yi Hanch’öl and Yu Suk, and mounted by Han Hongjök” 余年五十己巳肇夏自題畫士李漢喆劉淑粧 韓弘迪. *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as an Official* (fig. 4–17) includes the same inscription as *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Courtier* and shows Yi dressed in the round-necked robe (*nokp’o tanryŏng* 綠袍團領) of an official and a black silk hat (*ŏsamo* 御史帽). The chest badge is adorned with the motif of a mythical unicorn *kirin* with gold, which is the emblem for the prince.²¹

The red slips in the portraits’ cases offer further evidence for Yi Haŭng’s motivation for commissioning the paintings. It reads “copied in the year of *kisa* from a draft portrayed in the year of 1863 (*kyehae* 癸亥)” 癸亥初本, 己巳移摸 (fig. 4–18). Although all portraits were completed in 1869, the inscription confirms that Yi Haŭng had already planned to produce his

²⁰ Two more portraits of Yi Haŭng of 1880 show him again as a scholar and as an official. They are also in the collection of the Seoul Museum of History. In addition to these official portraits, two drafts on oil paper, depicting Yi Haŭng in an everyday coat, are extant: one in the Kansong Art Museum and another in the Seoul National University Museum. Cho Sŏnmi, *Great Korean Portraits*, 226; Kang Kwansik, “Yi Haŭng ch’osanghwa ilgwŏl,” 24–25.

²¹ Cho Sŏnmi, *Great Korean Portraits*, 223.

portraits in 1863, when his son King Kojong ascended the throne at the age of twelve. Since 1863, Yi Haŋg had aimed to further accumulate power and ascertain royal sovereignty by reconstructing Kyŋgbok Palace, the first palace of the Chosŋn dynasty, which had been destroyed in the Imjin War in 1592 and had never been rebuilt.²² Given that the Kyŋgbok Palace was successfully reconstructed in 1868, it becomes obvious that Yi Haŋg commissioned his portraits of 1869 to proudly present his political achievements at age fifty.

Portrait of Yi Haŋg as a Scholar (fig. 4–15) complements the two other portraits by showing Yi Haŋg not as the powerful politician but the sophisticated literatus. It depicts the Regent dressed in a scholar’s green “crane robe” (*hakch’angŋi* 鶴氅衣) and black “dragon cap” (*waryonggwān* 臥龍冠), a style reminiscent of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), an eminent Chinese statesman of the Three Kingdom period (220–280). It bears the inscription written by Yi Haŋg on the upper right corner reading “I was born in the *kyŋgjin* 庚辰 year (1820) and portrayed in the *kisa* 己巳 year (1869) at the age of fifty. Done by court painters Yi Hanch’ŋl and Yu Suk, and mounted by Han Hongjŋk” 余生於庚辰, 模像於己巳, 時年五十. 畫師李漢喆劉淑, 粧纘韓弘迪.

The most noteworthy facet of *Portrait of Yi Haŋg as a Scholar*, in contrast to the two other portraits, is the depiction of precious objects on the desk in front of the sitter. These include brushes, books, an inkstone, a blue-and-white porcelain seal color container, a Buddhist rosary, a clock, and eyeglasses. In addition, a sword leans against the desk and a bronze censer with incense-burning equipment placed on a four-legged rectangular incense stand (*hyangsang* 香床)

²² Hong Sunmin, “Kojong tae Kyŋgbokkung chunggŋn ŋi chŋngch’i chŋk ŋimi,” *Sŋlhak yŋn’gu* 29 (2007): 57–82; Yŋn Kapsu, “Hŋngsŋn Taewŋn’gun kwa kŋi sidae,” in *Hŋngsŋn Taewŋn’gun kwa Unhyŋngung saram tŋl* (Seoul: Sŋul yŋksa pakmul kwan, 2007), 106–117.

are positioned aside his desk (fig. 4–19). While the *songhua* inkstone (*Songhwa sŏkyŏn* 松花石硯) and writing utensils identify him as a highly educated member of the Chosŏn court, the sword for “the expulsion of wickedness” (*ch’ŏksa kŏm* 斥邪劍) is thought to demonstrate his political ambition. The Buddhist rosary presents Yi Haŭng’s respect for Buddhism, whereas the clock and eyeglasses, also featured in *ch’aekkŏri* screens, hint at his ability to understand foreign culture in spite of his strict isolation policy that restrained trade with European nations.²³

A distinct aspect of *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar* is the representation of the incense burner in the shape of an archaic-looking Chinese bronze (fig. 4–20). It has a hemispherical bowl supported on four cabriole bird-shaped legs and two U-shaped loop handles on the everted rectangular mouth rim. A broad band on the upper body is adorned with side-view beaked dragon motifs facing each other, whereas the round bowl remains undecorated. Two vertical flanges at the center of the body divide the decorative band into two panels. The design and the manner in which Yi Hanch’ŏl and Yu Suk executed it are comparable to *Zhou Lu ding er*, reproduced in the *Xiqing gujian* (fig. 3–24) which we have also identified as a possible source for a bronze vessel in Yi Hyŏngnok’s NMK *ch’aekkŏri* (fig. 3–23). It is notable that King Hŏnjong 憲宗 (r. 1834–1849) and King Kojong’s book collections consisted of a variety of illustrated catalogs, including

²³ For further details on the isolation policy see Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 262–266. “Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun yakchŏn,” in *Unhyŏngung kwa Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun* (Seoul: Chongno munhwawŏn, 2000), 262–288. Art historian Yi Kyŏnghwa notes the similarity between the clock in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar* and one in the collection of the Museum of Sirhak in Korea. Based on the simple design of the clock, Yi Kyŏnghwa suggests that this clock resembles one of the clocks by Thomas Tompion (1639–1713), the influential clockmaker in England. Yi Kyŏnghwa, “Kŭrimja kukwang ũi ch’osang: Waryonggwŏn hakch’angŭi pon Yi Haŭng ch’osang,” 36–37 and *Sirhak pakmulgwŏn* (Seoul: T’ongch’ŏn munhwasa, 2010). For information about Thomas Tompion, see Frederick James Britten, *The Antique Collectors’ Club Edition of Old Clocks and Watches & Their Makers* (England: Woodbridge, 1977). For the political intention of *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar*, see Yi Kyŏnghwa, “Kŭrimja kukwang ũi ch’osang: Waryonggwŏn hakch’angŭi pon Yi Haŭng ch’osang,” *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* (2014): 30–57.

the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian*.²⁴ Thus, it is likely that is the *Xiqing gujian* was available to Yi Hanch'öl and Yu Suk.

However, the censer in the shape of an ancient square in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar* is distinguished by a carved lid with a jade knob standing on a wooden round-shaped pedestal, indicating its function as an incense burner being displayed in scholarly studios. Given our analysis of other portraits which are likely to show objects owned by the sitter and given the fact that Yi Haŭng was the most powerful and possibly also the wealthiest member of the court in his time, we may assume that this censer represents one in his possession.

As mentioned in Chapter One, *ding* vessels served as incense burners from the Song dynasty onward, and it became fashionable to display antiques on pedestals in their residences since the Qing dynasty. Although extant *ding* censers with cover and stand mostly come in the form of tripods, like the one in the Saint Louis Art Museum (fig. 4–21) the square cauldron in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar* represents an archaic bronze produced in the Ming or Qing dynasties utilizing the shape of an ancient ritual vessel and functioning as an incense burner.

Did Yi Haŭng specifically choose an incense burner in the shape of *Zhou Lu ding er*? In fact, the regent may have been quite familiar with the function of ancient ritual vessels as symbols of sovereignty. According to the *Xiqing gujian*, *Zhou Lu ding er* bears a mark reading *Lu zuo bao zun yi* 魯作寶尊彝 “[Duke] Lu made the precious vessel.” Moreover, he would have been familiar with the *Hyohaeng Cauldron* (fig. 2–12), the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* that might have been in the collection of King Chŏngjo. Thus, through its close resemblance with the *Zhou Lu ding er* and the *Zhou Wen Wang ding* his incense burner also hinted at his political power, while

²⁴ Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “Hŏnjong kwa 19 segi kungjung sŏhwa sujang,” *Naeirŭl yŏnŭn yŏksa* (2010): 166–181; Hwang Chŏngyŏn, “Discourses on Art Collecting in the Late Joseon Dynasty,” 102–113.

it simultaneously shows Yi Haŭng as a sophisticated collector of antiques.

Yi Hanch'öl and Yu Suk meticulous description of the patina of the bronze vessel also indicates that they had access to the actual bronze. While it is difficult to find an extant object that closely resembles the censer in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar*, other objects depicted in this portrait can be traced, such as the square desk with humpbacked stretchers. Originally produced in Qing China, this desk belonged to the Unhyön Palace collection where Yi Haŭng was in residence (fig. 4–22).²⁵ In addition, the inkstone (fig. 4–23) in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar* offers further evidence that artists used the actual objects available either in Yi's private collection or in the court collection for their paintings. In terms of the shape, dragon motif, and color it recalls a *songhua* inkstone with Emperor Qianlong's inscription (fig. 4–24).²⁶ Extant records confirm that *songhua* inkstones were sent to Korea and appreciated by Chosön scholars. In 1723, the first year of Emperor Yongzheng's 雍正 (r. 1723–1735) reign, for instance, two *songhua* inkstones were given to King Kyöngjong 景宗 (r. 1722–1724).²⁷ Moreover, the scholar-official Yi Yuwön, whose portrait will be discussed below, recorded Sin Wi's possession of a *songhua* inkstone with an inscription of Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1662–1722) along with a

²⁵ In 1992, a Yi Haŭng's descendant Yi Ch'öng donated 6,200 art objects, which belong to Unhyön Palace to the Seoul Museum of History. *Unhyöngung saenghwal yumul* I (Seoul: Söul yöksa pakmulgwan, 2003), 153.

²⁶ Yi Kyöngghwa points out the close association between the inkstone in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* and *songhua* inkstone of the Qing dynasty. Yi Kyöngghwa, "Kürimja kukwang üi ch'osang: Waryonggwon hakch'angüi pon Yi Haŭng ch'osang," 38. The carving of *songhua* inkstones reached its apex in the Qing dynasty particularly during the reign of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong. For a detailed discussion of *songhua* inkstone, *Pin lie duan she: songhua shi yan te zhan* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1993); Dong Peixin and Shufen Zhang, *Da qing guo bao: songhua shi yan* (Beijing: Dizhi chuban she, 2004).

²⁷ Wang Che, "Yongzheng yuannian yubu shangci bu," *Lishi dangan* 3 (2001): 18–30.

Shang Fu Yi ding and a *Xuande*-type censer.²⁸ Although it is difficult to find any *songhua* inkstone nowadays in Korea, there can be little doubt that Yi Haŭng possessed such a precious scholarly item.

The *songhua* inkstone, the desk, and the incense burner in this portrait could have been brought to Korea by envoys who presented them to the regent to form part of his personal or the court's collection. It is also important to note that Yi Haŭng commanded the examination and systemization of the royal family collections, located at Ch'angdŏk Palace and Ch'angkyŏng Palace, around 1860.²⁹ This suggests that Yi Haŭng's was aware of the importance placed on collections by Qing emperors and that the Chinese objects in his portrait were carefully selected to fashion him as a sophisticated ruler.

6) *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn*

Yi Hanch'ŏl's *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn* of 1870 (fig. 4–25) provides more evidence of how Chosŏn collectors made use of their collections in their portraits. A critical figure in the cultural and political environment of the nineteenth-century, Yi Yuwŏn 李裕元 (1814–1888) accumulated a great number of books and antiques.³⁰ In his portrait Yi wears a scholar's robe and a lotus-shaped hat in the Tang style. At his side an incense burner (fig. 4–26), a zither, and the *Book of Changes* (I Ching 易經) are placed on a desk. As described in an encomium by Yi Yusŭng

²⁸ Yi Yuwŏn, "Sasi hyangguan sojŏk kogi," *Imha pilgi* (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujin wiwŏn hoe, 2000), 156.

²⁹ Hwang Chŏngyŏn, "Kojong nyŏn'gan kungjung sŏhwa sujang chŏngae wa pyŏnmo yangsang," *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* (2008): 84–86.

³⁰ For Yi Yuwŏn's collection, see Hwang Chŏngyŏn, *Chosŏn sidae sŏhwa sujang yŏn'gu* (Songnam: Sin'gu munhwasa, 2012), 769–774.

李裕承 (1835–?), Yi Yuwŏn’s cousin, all the objects that appear in this portrait belonged to Yi Yuwŏn’s collection. The inscription also says that Yi Yuwŏn asked Yi Hanch’ŏl to fashion his portrait after *Portrait of Yi Chehyŏn* 李齊賢 (1287–1367) (fig. 4–27), attributed to the Yuan painter Chen Jianru 陳鑑如 (?–?).³¹

According to his own record, Yi Yuwŏn acquired an incense burner with the mark reading “*Da Ming Lu* 大明爐 (Burner of Great Ming),” possibly the *Xuande* burner shown on the portrait.³² Although it is difficult to trace Yi Yuwŏn’s bronze collection through texts, the similarity between the censer in the portrait and *Xuande* incense burners with the mark “*Da Ming Xuande nian zhi*” discussed in Chapter Two (figs. 2–14, 2–15, and 2–16) is quite apparent. *Xuande* incense burners appealed to most Chosŏn scholars and Yi Yuwŏn’s close connection with Sin Wi, on whose collection he commented, suggests that Yi himself owned such a censer.

Among the paintings discussed so far, portraits of collectors provide the most reliable evidence of the Chinese bronzes collected by the Chosŏn elite. While the collections are no longer extant, except for the few items now in the Hyohaeng Museum at Yongju Monastery, and the textual records are too ambiguous to provide definite information, they provide as with rare visual records. The motivation of collectors to have themselves portrayed together with a Chinese bronze vessel was so that they could proudly present their most precious item to the viewer and thereby demonstrate their cultural sophistication and social standing as members of the elite. The Portrait of Yi Haŭng as a Scholar went a step further. As the analysis in connection

³¹ Yi Hanch’ŏl was able to view *Portrait of Yi Chehyŏn* which appeared in the *Record of Inscriptions on the Kyŏngju Yi Clan* (Kyŏngju Yi ssi kŭmsŏknok 慶州李氏金石錄), a document on Yi Yuwŏn’s ancestors’ portraits. For the entire inscription, see Pak Ŭnsun, “19 segi munin yŏngjŏng ũi tosang kwa yangsik,” *Kangjwa misulsa* 24 (2004): 162–163.

³² Yi Yuwŏn, “Sasi hyangguan sojŏk kogi,” 156.

with his two other portraits of 1869 has shown, together with other attributes of the bronze censer, it was carefully selected to further his political agenda.

3. Ink Paintings of *Antiques and Flowers*

Paintings of *Antiques and Flowers* (figs. 4–35, 4–41, 4–46, 4–55, and 4–60), known in Korean as *Kimyŏng chŏlchi to* 器皿折枝圖 (“vessels and broken branches”), featuring Chinese bronze vessels, inkstones, fruit, and auspicious flowers, emerged in the late nineteenth century and continued to be popular into the twentieth century.¹ In contrast to the previously discussed genres of screens representing antiques exclusively, of portraits, and of books and scholarly utensils, which were mostly executed in opaque, heavy colors, this genre stands in the tradition of ‘literati painting’ due to the material employed: ink and light colors. Nevertheless, the two artists excelling in this genre and discussed in this section were ‘professionals’ (just like the painters of the previously discussed genres) and lower in their social standing than the *yangban* elite. A growing knowledge and interest in Chinese bronzes among late nineteenth-century collectors of antiques, ranging from the cultural elite to commoners aspiring to a higher social class, generated this new genre of painting that depicted a wide range of bronzes from ancient times to contemporary Qing China. With the expansion of the art market and the support of affluent patrons, two nineteenth-century painters of great talent, Chang Sŭngŏp and An Chungsik, pioneered this distinct genre. Similar to the previously discussed *ch’aekkŏri* screens, paintings of antiques and flowers include Chinese bronze vessels along with other precious collectibles. However, paintings of antiques and flowers significantly differ in their composition,

¹ O Sech’ang first used the term *chŏlchi kiwan* 折枝器玩, literally, “broken branches and things to play with,” for Chang Sŭngŏp’s paintings of this genre in his publication of 1928. O Sech’ang, *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* (1928) reprinted in *Kugyŏk Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1998), 258. The term *kimyŏng chŏlchi to* then appears in Kim Yongjun’s “Owŏn ilsa [The story of Chang Sŭngŏp]” when he described Chang Sŭngŏp’s works featuring Chinese antiques with flowers. Kim Yongjun, “Owŏn ilsa,” *Munjang* 1 (December 1939) reproduced in Kim Yongjun, *Kŭnwŏn sup’il* (Seoul: Pŏmusa, 2000), 140–151.

techniques, and materials from *ch'aekkŏri* screens in that Chinese bronzes were the main subject matter chosen by Chang Sŭngŏp and An Chungsik.

Scholars have offered a foundation for research of this genre by studying stylistic elements, iconography, and symbolism.² However, these previous studies have paid little attention to its association with collecting activities. Given that this genre became popular in the late nineteenth century when Chinese antiques were in high demand, it is important to examine the ways in which Chang Sŭngŏp and An Chungsik chose to depict Chinese bronzes in their paintings. Focusing on their appropriation of certain types of Chinese bronzes, namely *ding* vessels, bells, and *Xuande*-type censers, all of which were appreciated by late Chosŏn collectors, I examine possible visual references and the emergence and significance of the genre at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

1) Screen of *Flowers and Antiques* by Chang Sŭngŏp

The nineteenth-century artist Chang Sŭngŏp was well-versed in various genres of paintings depicting figures, birds-and-flowers, animals, and landscapes with precise yet powerful

² For a discussion of paintings of antiques and flowers, see Hŏ Poin, “Han’guk ũi kimyŏng chŏlchi to yŏn’gu” (MA thesis, Hongik University, 1998); Yi Sŏngmi, “Chang Sŭngŏp hoehwa wa Chungguk hoehwa,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* (2001): 25–56; Chŏng Hyŏngmin, “Chang Sŭngŏp kwa Han’guk kŭnhyŏndae hwadan: chinwi ũi chae chomyŏng,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* (2001): 83–103; Pak Tongsu, “Simjŏn An Chungsik yŏn’gu” (PhD diss., Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu wŏn, 2005), 110–118; Kim Ch’wijŏng, “Kaehwagi hwadan ũi sin kyŏngyang kwa chaphwa pyŏng,” *Misulsa nondan* (2008): 253–287; Yi Insuk, “Kŭndaegi taegu ũi munin hwaga Kŭngsŏk Kim Chinman kimyŏng chŏlchi hwa yŏn’gu,” *Minjok munhwa nonch’ong* (2012): 477–511; “Sŏkchae Sŏ Pyŏngŏ ũi kimyŏng chŏlchi hwa yŏn’gu,” *Minjok munhwa nonch’ong* 55 (2013): 375–406; Kim Ch’wijŏng, “Han’guk kŭndaegi ũi hwadan kwa sŏhwa suyo yŏn’gu” (PhD diss., Korea University, 2014).

brushwork.³ Yet, the fragmentary information on Chang Sŭngŏp's life prevents scholars from exploring his pictorial approach at crucial times in his artistic career. Fortunately, some extant textual sources written in the early twentieth century provide clues to how he pursued his career in association with certain painters and patrons. Such texts reveal the degree to which Chang Sŭngŏp developed his painting skills from close observation of Chinese paintings and calligraphy in the collections of his patrons while he was an artist-in-residence at their homes, as well as under the guidance of the nineteenth-century court artist Yu Suk.⁴

It was in the 1880s, in the middle of his career, that Chang Sŭngŏp began to render Chinese bronzes along with precious collectibles in ink and light color. According to the early-twentieth century art critic Kim Yongjun 金瑢俊 (1904–1967), Chang Sŭngŏp was able to depict Chinese bronzes in his paintings after viewing Chinese paintings by so-called Shanghai School artists in the house of O Kyŏngyŏn 吳慶然 (1841–?), a brother of O Kyŏngsŏk whose role as collector has been discussed in Chapter Two.⁵ Given that paintings by Shanghai School artists such as Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844–1927) were favored by Chosŏn collectors, it is thus possible that the intimate connection with collectors allowed Chang Sŭngŏp to encounter Chinese models featuring bronzes vessels with auspicious flowers and use them as possible sources for his own works. By examining Chang Sŭngŏp's two paintings, *Various Types of*

³ For his paintings of other genres, see Yi Wŏnbok, "Owŏn Chang Sŭngŏp ũi hoehwa segye," *Kansong munhwa* 53 (1997): 63; *Owŏn Chang Sŭngŏp: Chosŏn wangjo ũi majimak tae hwaga* (Seoul: Hakkojae, 2000).

⁴ As an artist-in-residence, Chang Sŭngŏp lived in the house of Chinese language translator Yi Ŭnghŏn 李應憲 who acquired paintings of the Yuan and Ming dynasties during his visits to China. Chang Chiyŏn, *Ilsa yusa* (Kyŏngsŏng: Adong sŏgwan, 1922), 38; Chin Chunhyŏn, "Owŏn Chang Sŭngŏp ũi saengae," *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* (2001): 3–24.

⁵ Kim Yongjun, "Owŏn ũi iyagi," 140.

Things and Flowers and Antiques, which demonstrate his representative style in different formats, one in a handscroll and the other in a multi-panel screen, this section offers evidence of how Chang Sŭngŏp established his artistic modes for portraying Chinese bronzes.

In the undated handscroll *Various Types of Things* (fig. 4–28), currently at the National Museum of Korea (hereafter Chang Sŭngŏp’s NMK scroll), Chang Sŭngŏp depicted a variety of precious objects, including a *gui* 簋 (two-handled food vessel) on a stand, a pot, an inkstone, orchids in a pot, a crackled porcelain standing on a pedestal, a crab, a ‘Buddha hand’ fruit, lotus roots, flowers, and vegetables in ink and light colors. Right at the beginning, the scroll bears the inscription “Owŏn Chang Sŭngŏp followed the brush manner of Xinluo Shanren (Hua Yan 華嶠, 1682–1756) 吾園張承業倣新羅山人法.”⁶

One object depicted in this painting is a *gui* vessel (fig. 4–29) with two upright arch-shaped handles on the rim and two ring handles hanging from bold beast-shaped ornamentations on the belly. The body is supported by a slightly raised ring foot and has a narrow register of

⁶ Some scholars have suggested that An Chungsik wrote inscriptions for Chang Sŭngŏp’s paintings because of Chang’s lack of formal education due to his low social background. Thus, these inscriptions are a problematic issue in authenticating Chang Sŭngŏp’s works. Chin Chunhyŏn, “Owŏn Chang Sŭngŏp ũi saengae,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* (2001): 3–24; Yi Sŏngmi, “Chang Sŭngŏp hoehwa wa Chungguk hoehwa,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* (2001): 25–56; Chŏng Hyŏngmin, “Chang Sŭngŏp kwa Han’guk kŭn hyŏndae hwadan: Chinwi ũi chae chomyŏng,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* (2001): 83–103; Yi Tongchŏn, *Chinsang* (Seoul: Tonga ilbo sa, 2008), 299–307. It is common to refer to the names of past masters in the practice of paintings in East Asia when artists follow the certain manners of painting styles. However, as Yi Sŏngmi has noted, Chang Sŭngŏp’s painting styles often do not correspond to the works of Chinese artists who are mentioned. This is also the case here. For Chang Sŭngŏp’s paintings in regard to Chinese inspiration see Yi Sŏngmi, “Chang Sŭngŏp hoehwa wa Chungguk hoehwa,” 25–56. For Hua Yan’s artistic life, see Kristen Loring Chiem, “Fashioning Identity: Hua Yan (1682–1756) and Art Production in Eighteenth-Century Hangzhou and Yangzhou” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011). This scroll also bears a colophon reading “Tonghae yusaeng Ch’unp’a kwan” (Viewed by a student of Confucianism Ch’unpa of East Sea 東海儒生春坡觀) at the end. Ch’unp’a could be Hwang Yunmyŏng 黃允明 (1848–?), who was a member of *Yukkyo sisa* 六橋詩社 (Sixth Bridge Poetry Society). *Misul sok tosi, tosi sok misul* (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2016), 368. For more information on *Yukkyo sisa*, see Chŏng Okcha, *Chosŏn hugi chungin munhwa yŏn’gu* (Seoul: Ulchisa, 2003), 51–73.

decoration around the neck embellished with repetitive small animal heads with C-shaped horns. He applied wet, parallel brushstrokes in light tones of ink to depict this vessel. In terms of the shape of the body and the ring foot, the *gui* vessel in Chang Sŭngŏp's NMK scroll seems to follow ancient models, such as a Shang dynasty *gui* vessel in the National Museum of China, Beijing (fig. 4–30).

While he maintained the characteristics of the ancient *gui* vessel to a certain degree, Chang Sŭngŏp modified the design of some motifs, such as the animal heads with C-shaped horns and the whorl-circles. It is common to find such animal heads at the center of the narrow décor frieze of ancient vessels, for instance in the just mentioned *gui* vessel and in another Shang dynasty *gui* at the Chinese Academy of Social Science in Beijing (fig. 4–31). On the latter the horned animal heads sit on a register of dragon-shaped patterns alternating with whorl-circles. Chang Sŭngŏp alters this motif by depicting animal heads with C-shaped horns around the neck and adding the whorl-circles at regular intervals on the belly. These elements are, however, reminiscent of the whorl-circles pattern of *Xuande*-type censers in Yi Hyŏngnok's *ch'aekkŏri* screens (fig. 3–31). This suggests that Chang Sŭngŏp not only took inspiration from ancient Chinese models but also from contemporaneous Chosŏn painting. An uncommon feature is the two pairs of handles, one on the mouth rim and the other on the belly. As seen in the bronzes from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4–32) and the Shanghai Museum (fig. 4–33), *gui* vessels of the Shang and the Zhou dynasties have a pair of handles attached to the belly. However, a ceramic vessel imitating the shape of an ancient bronze, dated to the Southern Song or the Yuan dynasty also bears two sets of handles, which look like an exaggeration of featuring an 'antique' object (fig. 4–34). These details of the *gui* vessel provide evidence of how Chang Sŭngŏp integrated patterns and motifs from diverse sources that drew his or his patron's

attention.

Another example of Chang Sŭngŏp’s painting of Chinese bronzes is a ten-panel screen of *Antiques and Flowers* (fig. 4–35), now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (hereafter Chang Sŭngŏp’s MMA screen).⁷ Done in ink only, using fluent yet forceful brushstrokes, it combines various Chinese bronze vessels with flowers in vases, orchids in a pot, an inkstone, and fruits. Chang Sŭngŏp’s inscription on the tenth panel reads “Kabo ch’ unwŏl yak sa Paegyang sanin kyŏm ũi Pudang sŏnsaeng p’irŭi Owŏn Chang Sŭngŏp 甲午春月 略师白陽山人 兼擬復堂先生筆意 吾園 張承業 (“In the spring of the *kabo* year (1894), I simultaneously followed the brush manner of both Baiyang shanren (Chen Chun 陳淳, 1385–1462) and Futang (Li Shan 李鱣, 1686–1762)”)⁸ It also includes a seal reading “Changsaeng allak 長生安樂 (longevity and harmony)” (fig. 4–36).

On this large screen, Chang Sŭngŏp rendered eight bronze vessels: two *fangding* vessels on the first and ninth, three *ding* vessels on the third, fifth, and eighth, a *Xuande* censer on the

⁷ The screen was donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2014 by Anita H. Berger in honor of her father Ambassador Samuel D. Berger (1911–1980) who had received it as a gift from President Park Chung-hee in 1964 (see also note 8); museum record accessed on March 21, 2017. I am grateful to Professor Burglind Jungmann, who first saw the screen at Mrs. Berger’s house in 2002 and recommended it as a gift to the museum, and to Dr. Soyoung Lee for the opportunity to view this screen.

⁸ On the back of the first panel, there are two colophons by the early twentieth-century art critic and artist Kim Yongjin 金容鎮 (1878–1968) reading “Chang Owŏn sinp’um kuryong sanin kwanje 張吾園神品九龍山人觀題 (Chang Owŏn’s [Sŭngŏp] divine work, viewed and signed by Kuryong sanin 九龍山人 [Nine Dragon Mountain; Kim Yongjin])” and by the former president Park Chung-hee reading “July 9th in 1964 gifted to United States Ambassador Samuel D. Berger, [from] Pak Chŏnghŭi, President of the Republic of Korea [Tae-Han min’guk].” Just as in the case of Chang Sŭngŏp’s NMK scroll, this screen does not share any similarities with works by Chen Chun and Li Shan in spite of the inscription mentioning them. For a discussion of works of art by Chen Chun and Li Shan, see Huang Ticheng, *Hua Xian Chun Qiu: Li Shan zhuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2001); *Li Shan* (Beijing: Ren min mei shu chu ban she, 2004); *Hua Yan xiasheng ce* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2012).

sixth, a globular vessel with an upright handle on the seventh, and a *zun* 尊 (wine container) on the ninth panel. By employing dark and saturated ink tones Chang conveys the impression of the rich brown or green hue of the original Chinese bronzes and the smooth texture of their surface. In contrast, the *Xuande*-type censer remained white indicating the pale beige color, typical of this type of vessel.

Among the various bronzes shown in this screen the *ding* vessels, which are familiar from other Chosŏn screens discussed earlier in this dissertation, are particularly important for our investigation. The *ding* vessel on the fifth panel (fig. 4–37) has two upright handles on a round rim and a bombe-shaped body decorated with a beast-like creature in low-relief. The vessel's three elongated legs stand on a small pedestal. It is accompanied by a domed lid with openwork linear patterns and a lion-like creature at the top. Such striking features—two upright handles, elongated legs, lid with openwork, and pedestal—are reminiscent of later archaistic bronzes (fig. 3–5). Moreover, the patterns and design of this *ding* present a combination of the decors that appears in other types of archaistic bronzes, ranging from the Yuan to the Qing dynasties. For instance, the zoomorphic pattern on the body resembles the motif on a bronze vessel of the Yuan dynasty in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4–38), whereas the lion-like knob on the lid resembles the knob on the *Covered Censer* of the Qing dynasty at the Saint Louis Art Museum (fig. 4–39). The question raised by his depiction of this *ding* vessel is how Chang Sŭngŏp was able to render this *ding* vessel combining pictorial elements found in diverse shapes and deriving from different periods.

It is significant to note the similar employment of saturated linear strokes and dark ink in both, the NMK and the MMA screens. The painter thereby captures the effects of ink rubbings that were integrated into Chinese paintings by Shanghai School artists, such as Wu Changshuo

吳昌碩 (1844–1927), Ren Xun 任薰 (ca. 1835–1893), and Zhu Cheng 朱僞 (1826-1899 or 1900). In his *Symbols of Great Prosperity* (*Ding sheng tu* 鼎盛圖) (fig. 4–40), Wu Changshuo combined ink rubbings of two *ding* vessels with vibrantly colored plum blossoms rendered with energetic brushstrokes. Likewise, in *Profoundly Learned Antiquity* (*Bogu tu* 博古圖) dated 1872, Ren Xun and Zhu Cheng depicted a *jue* 爵 type wine vessel with three legs of the Shang dynasty and a *gui* from the Western Zhou dynasty using ink rubbings (fig. 4–41).⁹ As stated earlier, Chang Sŭngŏp was able to depict Chinese bronzes after viewing Chinese paintings in O Kyŏngyŏn’s house. Although it is difficult to identify which works Chang Sŭngŏp might have seen, one of the works by Fan Shouchang 蕃壽昌 (fig. 4–42) featuring *gu* and *hou* vessels using ink rubbings in the collection of O Chŏndŭk, a grandson of O Kyŏngsŏk, might serve as an example of a work that could have been accessible to Chang Sŭngŏp around the time he began to paint Chinese bronzes. This indicates that his use of dark inkwash to show the three-dimensionality of bronze vessel may have been inspired by the ink rubbings used by Chinese artists.

Yet, Chang Sŭngŏp’s resources for representing Chinese bronzes were not limited to Chinese paintings. Given that he had been trained by Yu Suk, painter of the previously discussed *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* (fig. 4–15) and the scroll of the *Purification Ceremony* of 1853 (fig. 2–2), Chang Sŭngŏp undoubtedly had opportunities to look at Chinese bronzes and to understand their significance in the context of literati culture. In addition, shading and three-dimensional effects had been practiced in court painting, particularly in *ch’aekkŏri* screens, since the eighteenth century.

⁹ Julia Frances Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *The Art of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 9.

The distorted shape and modified design of the *ding* vessel suggests that Chang Sŭngŏp's concept of representing antiques was also influenced by other contemporaneous genres of Chosŏn painting. In particular, this *ding* vessel shares similar artistic features with the one shown on Yi Hyŏngnok's NMK *ch'aekkŏri* (fig. 3–11), such as the narrow neck, the globular shape of the body, elongated legs, the lid and pedestal. As discussed in Chapter Three, such shapes and designs of the *ding* vessel repeatedly appeared in late nineteenth-century *ch'aekkŏri* screens. The most probable explanation for the distortion of the shapes and modification of the design is that artists inside and outside the court used sketchbooks to represent bronzes in *ch'aekkŏri* screens without having seen any original object. Moreover, given the popularity of *ch'aekkŏri* Chang must have had ample opportunities to see such images of 'Chinese' bronzes on the open art market. Furthermore, Chang Sŭngŏp may also have followed the preferences of his patron's whose own ideas of antiques was shaped by those *ch'aekkŏri* screens, and he may have used similar manuals or sketchbooks for his own works.

The assumption that Chang Sŭngŏp used manuals or model sketches to depict such bronzes is proven by the fact that identical designs appear on several vessels. For instance, the beast face on the body of the *ding* vessel on the fifth panel can also be seen on a differently shaped *ding* vessel on the eighth panel of the same screen (fig. 4–43).¹⁰ Moreover, the *ding* vessel on the fifth panel of the Chang Sŭngŏp's MMA screen is very similar to the one on the eighth panel of another painting, now at the Koryŏ Museum of Art 高麗美術館 in Kyōto (hereafter Chang Sŭngŏp's KMA screen) (fig. 4–44). It is thus most likely that Chang Sŭngŏp used model sketches or *ch'obon* 草本 to represent certain aspects of Chinese bronzes, a common

¹⁰ The identical motif appears in An Chungsik's paintings. The relationship between the two painters will be discussed in the following section.

practice among painters.

Chang Sŭngö̃p's depiction of Chinese bronzes also links to his close association with patrons and with the market. As discussed in Chapter Two, collectors of royal descent, high officials, and wealthy members of the *chungin* class had a strong interest in collecting and appreciating Chinese antiques. More importantly, there was a market in the area of Kwangt'ong Bridge in central Seoul where objects from China and Japan were sold, attracting the attention of consumers of different classes.¹¹ It is widely acknowledged that Chang Sŭngö̃p's versatility was appreciated by all kinds of wealthy clients. As Burglind Jungmann points out, Chang Sŭngö̃p's *Ni Zan Letting His Servant Wash Paulownia Tree* (fig. 4–45), depicting the famous Yuan dynasty painter according to a popular anecdote, probably mirrors the aspiration of wealthy patrons and customers of presenting themselves as cultivated scholars who are knowledgeable about Chinese cultural heroes.¹² Similarly, Chang Sŭngö̃p's combination of motifs and shapes of Chinese bronzes reflects the design motifs of bronzes that gained popularity among Chosŏn collectors and functioned as a means to disclose their cultural sophistication. Such paintings most likely served as surrogates for 'real' collecting.

Chang Sŭngö̃p's choices of portraying Chinese bronzes laid the foundation for further development of this genre by the next generation. An Chungsik was a central figure of the time

¹¹ For information on the art market at Kwangt'ong Bridge, see Sung Lim Kim, "From Middlemen to Center Stage: The *Chungin* Contribution to 19th-century Korean Painting" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009); Kim Ch'wijö̃ng, "Kaehwagi Söul ũi munhwa yut'ong konggan: Kwangt'ong kyo iltae ũi söhwa tosö yut'ong ũl chungsim ũro," *Söul hak yön'gu* 53 (2013): 43–93; Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 235–312; *Kwangt'ong kyo söhwa sa* (Seoul: Seoul yöksa pangmulgwan, 2016).

¹² Pak Ŭnhwa, "Chang Sŭngö̃p ũi kosa inmul hwa," *Chö̃ngsin munhwa yön'gu* (2001): 57–82; Yi Chuhyö̃n, "Owön Chang Sŭngö̃p ũi sansu inmul yö̃ngmo p'alp'ok pyö̃mgp'ung sogo," in Yi T'aeho ed., *Chosŏn hugi kü̃rim ũi ki wa se* (Seoul: Hakkojae, 2005); Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 199–200.

in which the genre of paintings of antiques and flowers reached its peak. Due to surviving textual and visual records, An Chungsik's case provides further evidence of how he appropriated the motifs of Chinese bronzes through his interaction with collectors of antiques and his visual experience in Shanghai.

2) Paintings of Antiques and Flowers by An Chungsik

As one of the most important court painters of the last Chosŏn court, An Chungsik not only excelled in diverse styles and themes, but also contributed to art education in the early twentieth century by establishing his own studio, *Kyŏngmuk tang* 耕墨堂 (Kyŏngmuk Studio), as well as by teaching painting at a modern art institute, *Sŏhwa misul hoe* 書畫美術會 (The Fine Arts School of Calligraphy and Painting).¹³ An Chungsik began to explore Chinese bronzes as a major theme in 1883 when he met Chang Sŭngŏp in the house of the influential collector and calligrapher O Sech'ang, the son of O Kyŏngsŏk. In the previous year, An Chungsik had returned from Tianjin where he had been sent as court painter to master the drawing of machinery.¹⁴ As an

¹³ The Fine Arts School of Calligraphy and Painting was established as the first modern fine art school with a three-year program in 1911 and supported by the Yi Royal Family. In this academy, An Chungsik was appointed as professor to teach 'traditional' paintings, as opposed to 'Western' oil painting. For An Chungsik's biography, artistic practice, and cultural activities, see Hŏ Yŏnghwan, *Simjŏn An Chungsik* (Seoul: Yegyŏng sanŏpsa, 1989); Cho Chŏngyuk, "Simjŏn An Chungsik ūi saengae wa yesul," *Han'guk kŭn hyŏndae misul sahak* (1994): 83–104; Pak Tongsu, "Simjŏn An Chungsik yŏn'gu" (PhD diss., Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2003). For An Chungsik's role as an educator, see *Kŭndae Han'guk misul nonch'ong: Ch'ŏngyŏ Yi Kuyŏl sŏnsaeng hoegap kinyŏm nonmunjip* (Seoul: Hakkojae, 1992), 185–204; Yi Kuyŏl, *Uri kŭndae misul twit iyagi* (P'aju: Tol Pegae, 2005), 107–120; *Kŭndae sŏhwa ūi yoram, Kyŏngmuk tang: Sŏkchŏng An Chongwŏn ka kijŭng kinyŏm jŏn* (Seoul: Koryŏ taehakkyo pangmulgwan, 2009).

¹⁴ Emperor Kojong intended to maintain Korean traditions and values, while at the same time accepting Western technology in order to strengthen the nation. Therefore the court dispatched a selected group of thirty-eight young people to visit a Chinese arms factory. For Western and Chinese technical drawing and

example of An Chungsik's paintings of Chinese bronzes, this section will focus on his *Antiques and Flowers*, done in 1909, which represents motifs similar to those on Chang Sŭngöp's MMA screen, but also shows some distinctive features.

An Chungsik's set of paintings of *Antiques and Flowers* consist of ten works of which only four have been published. It is currently housed in the Kansong Art Museum (hereafter An Chungsik's KAM scroll, fig. 4–46). It shows bronze vessels, together with lotus flowers in a glass vase, plum blossoms in a porcelain vase, stacks of books, a scholar's desk, and fruit and vegetables, such as pomegranate and the Buddha hand fruit in ink and light color. While all other scrolls bear poetic inscriptions the fourth (and most likely the last of the set of ten) includes the title, artist's signature, and date: "Ongmo sŏnja, Yunghŭi kiyu moch'un Simjŏn An Chungsik sa 玉貌仙姿 隆熙己酉暮春 心田安中植寫" (Alluring Countenance and Elegant Posture, Painted by An Chungsik in late spring of the *kiyu* year (1909) of Yunghŭi (Emperor Sunjong's reign)). Along with this inscription, two seals reading "An Chungsik in 安中植印 (Seal of An Chungsik)" and "Kyŏngmuk" 耕墨 (An Chungsik's sobriquet) are impressed.¹⁵

An Chungsik's painting gives evidence of Chang Sŭngöp's strong inspiration in its composition and pictorial elements. Given the fact that there must have been a close relationship between the two painters—as mentioned earlier it is thought that An wrote inscriptions for Chang

its impact on Korea, see Chŏng Hyŏngmin and Kim Yŏngsik, *Chosŏn hugi ūi kisuldo: Sŏyang kwahak ūi toip kwa misul ūi pyŏnhwa* (Seoul: Seoul taehakkyo ch'ulp'angu, 2007), 201. An Chungsik accompanied a diplomatic mission to Tianjin with Kim Yunsik 金允植 (1835-1922) as leading official (*Yŏngsŏnsa* 領選使). Even though they were supposed to stay in Tianjin for three years, they returned to Korea in 1882 because of the political turmoil of the Military Mutiny of 1882 (*Imo kullan* 壬午軍亂). Kim Yunsik, *Ŭmch'ŏngsa* 陰晴士, 85 cited from Cho Chŏngyuk, "Simjŏn An Chungsik ūi saengae wa yesul," 91.

¹⁵ This painting consists of ten panels, but is now mounted as hanging scrolls. The Kansong Art Museum has published only four panels in a catalog. *Kansong munhwa* 64 (Seoul: Kansong munhwa sa), 74–75.

Sŭngŏp- it is not surprising to find similar shapes and patterns in their paintings. Yet, in his KAM scroll An Chungsik's representations of Chinese bronzes is more diverse, based on a wider range of visual sources. His sophisticated brushwork effectively captures the rich details of various shapes of bronzes. These include five bronze vessels: two *Xuande* censers on the first and second, a bronze bell (*yongzhong* 甬鐘) and a covered wine jar (*you* 卣) on the third, as well as a square cauldron on the fourth panel.

The square cauldron on the fourth panel has two upright handles on its rectangular-shaped rim while the body is supported by four curved legs, of which the top ends are decorated with beast-like heads (fig. 4–47). The decoration on the body consists of *taotie*, the mystical animal motifs. With regard to the shape, An Chungsik's depiction of the square cauldron is reminiscent of *Zhou Wen Wang ding* recorded in the aforementioned illustrated books such as the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian* (fig. 3–52). They share such visual elements as the upright handles on the rectangular-shaped rim, the squared belly with four flat yet richly decorated legs. In all cases, the design of the body consists of rectangular sections with *taotie* motifs. According to the record of Emperor Kojong's collections, the court possessed the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian* along with books, paintings, calligraphy, and painting manuals from Shanghai.¹⁶ It is likely that An Chungsik as a court painter was able to use these illustrated catalogues as a pictorial reference for depicting Chinese bronze vessels.

Yet, there are also differences between the square cauldron depicted in An Chungsik's painting and those recorded in the *Bogu tu* and the *Xiqing gujian* in the configuration of *taotie* motifs on the body and the details of the sculpted legs. While An Chungsik maintained the shape

¹⁶ Hwang Chŏngyŏn, "Kojong nyŏn'gan (1863–1907) kungjung sŏhwa sujang ūi chŏn'gae wa pyŏnmo yangsang," *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* 259 (2008): 79–116.

of the handles, raised flanges, and the body, he omitted the distinction between the lower and upper registers of the body decoration, emphasizing the frontal representation of the face with a pair of bulging eyes and nose-like raised flanges. The beaked dragon motifs on the upper registers of the woodblock printed illustrations were altered into ambiguous rounded shapes indicating horns or eyebrows. He also converted the elongated decoration of the curved legs into beast heads at the top end and only slightly curved legs.

Compared to the surviving bronzes entitled *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, one originally produced in the Zhou dynasty (fig. 4–48) and the other manufactured in the Qing dynasty (fig. 4–49), it is obvious that An Chungsik’s rendition of such vessel does not exactly correspond to the actual bronzes particularly in regard to the ornamentation of body and legs. Rather, certain details of the square cauldron featured in An Chungsik’s KAM scroll are reminiscent of Chinese bronzes depicted in Chang Sŭngö̅p’s MMA screen (fig. 4–50). This analysis provides evidence that An Chungsik relied on sketches originating from Chinese catalogs but also on other Chosŏn paintings, in particular those by Chang Sŭngö̅p.¹⁷

The two censers resting on sculptured pedestals on the first and the third panels of An Chungsik’s KAM scroll (fig. 4–51) offer clues in support of his combination of motifs of Chinese bronzes from diverse pictorial models. Similar to the aforementioned *ch’aekkŏri* screens and portraits of collectors, An Chungsik’s *Xuande*-type censers present the characteristics of incense burners produced during the *Xuande* reign (r. 1426–1435) of the Ming dynasty. While following the basic form of these censers—the two loop handles, inwardly curved neck, and the round body supported by three stubby feet- An Chungsik modified some aspects by distorting the

¹⁷ For An Chungsik’s painting manuals see *Kŭndae sŏhwa ūi yoram, Kyŏngmuk tang: Sŏkchŏng An Chongwŏn ka kijŭng kinyŏm chŏn* (Seoul: Koryŏ Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 2009), 30–39; Ko Hŭidong, “Naŭi hwap’il saenghwal,” *Seoul sinmun* [Seoul newspaper], March 12, 1954; Kim Ŭnho, *Sŏhwa paengnyŏn*, (Seoul: Chungang ilbo, 1981), 45.

shape of the bronze and adding zoomorphic forms. Unlike original *Xuande* censers of the fifteenth century with their plain body surface two confronting dragon-like creatures in profile encircle the upper band of the globular body of the *Xuande*-type censer featured in An Chungsik's KAM scroll. This animal motif with beak and curly claws is reminiscent of paired beaked dragons commonly seen on ancient bronzes (fig. 4–52). In addition to such zoomorphic decoration on the body, An Chungsik painted continuous *leiwén* (thunder patterns 雷紋) bands encircling the necks of both vessels and cloud-like patterns just below the neck on the *Xuande*-type censer on the third panel.¹⁸ Rather than faithfully copying motifs from Chinese bronzes, An Chungsik thus combined motifs deriving from diverse Chinese sources in these paintings.

Besides the censers, An Chungsik meticulously rendered another type of bronze vessel, *you*, in the center of the third panel (fig. 4–53). He applied light ink wash to present the smooth, dark surface in its three-dimensionality. While maintaining the characteristics of the typical ancient *you* vessel of the Shang dynasty by giving it a rounded pear-shaped body, a horseshoe-shaped bail handle, and a domed lid, as exemplified by a vessel at the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 4–54), An Chungsik transformed some details by depicting a higher foot, stylized dragon motifs on the upper body while omitting the sculpted zoomorphic motif in the middle, and an elongated cylindrical neck with two rings. The three-dimensional animal heads on the handle have a close resemblance to the to the beast heads on the upper legs of the previously analyzed square cauldron. Another interesting aspect is that the dragon motifs on the body also appear on the *Xuande* censers on panels 1 and 2. Moreover, the motif is repeated three times (on the first, sixth, and seventh panels) on another painting entitled *Antiques and Flowers* dated to 1901, now at the National Palace Museum of Korea (figs. 4–55 and 4–56).

¹⁸ For a *leiwén*, see footnote 34 of Chapter One.

As seen in his depiction of *Zhou Wen Wang ding* and *Xuande* censer, slight modification in the shape of the body, the neck, and the foot, as well as the decoration can be discerned in the rendition of the *you* vessel. The three bow-strings encircle the elongated neck and foot respectively. The dome of the lid is surmounted by short cylindrical knob adorned with cloud-like abstract motifs and small circles. As discussed in the cases of the Hamburg screen of *Antiques* and of *ch'aekkori* screens, for artists like An Chungsik such modifications were the result of simplification in the process of imitating or recreating model sketches but they also indicate a certain amount of freedom within the creative process.

On the third panel, An Chungsik depicted a chime-bell or *yongzhong* 甬鐘, an object that had originally been part of a set of ancient Chinese ritual bells (fig. 4–57). He carefully rendered the detailed parts of the bell: a beast-like creature and a ring for a handle shank or *yong* 甬 decorated with one bow-string and three small circles; studs or *mei* 枚 and the scrollwork patterns surrounded by ridges or *zhuan* 篆; and the cloud-and-thunder design on the right side of the striking area. Since the actual bell is dark-green due to its patina, An Chungsik applied bright green color for the surface of the bell. The most intriguing aspect of this bell is the inscription in seal script on the left side of the striking area. It reads *Ji Hou Hu Zuo* [*Bao zhong*] 已侯倬作 (made for Marquis Hu of Ji), which refers to the name of the donor of the bell, Marquis Hu of Ji of the Western Zhou dynasty. Two more characters, most likely reading “*Bao zhong*” (Precious Bell 寶鐘), are hidden behind a small twig. In regard to the shape, surface ornamentation, and the inscription, this bell is particularly reminiscent of the *Ji Hou yongzhong* 已侯甬鐘 (fig. 4–58), once owned by the prominent Qing antiquarian Chen Jieqi 陳介祺 (1813–1884), a native of Weixian (present-day Weifang), Shangdong province. It is now in the collection of Sen’oku

Hakkokan 泉屋博古館 in Kyōto, also known as the Sumitomo Collection, established by Sumitomo Tomoito 住友友純 (1865–1926).¹⁹

While his Chinese contemporaries tended to pursue the precise depiction of bronzes by using composite rubbings that reproduced the objects' exact shapes and motifs, An Chungsik probably did not have access or could not afford such rubbings. Instead he sought to achieve visual richness by incorporating eye-catching elements, such as the inscription and the handle decoration of the bell. In his painting An Chungsik combined details of the front with those on the back, namely the ring and beast-like creature for the handle which are located on the front side of the actual bronze bell whereas the inscription is cast on the backside.

How did An Chungsik become aware of this particular bell? There are several possibilities. He could have seen the actual bronze bell or its ink rubbing in Shanghai, but also in Kyōto after it was transported to Japan.²⁰ He visited Japan between 1899 and 1901 staying in Kyōto and Osaka. It is thus possible that he had an opportunity to view this bell in Japan.²¹

¹⁹ This bell, a part of set of ten, was supposedly found at the ruined palace of the ruler of *Ji* 紀 (present-day Shouguang, Shandong) during the reign of Emperor Qianlong. Lothar von Falkenhausen discusses the problem of authenticity of this bell related to some peculiar typological aspects, the inscription on the body, the unrefined decoration and the unusual thickness of the walls. He points out that this bell might be a Qing forgery based on the Zha II *yongzhong*, which also belonged to Chen Jieqi. He also takes in account that throughout history most bronze imitations were produced in Weixian. Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Ritual Music in Bronze Age China: an archaeological perspective" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1988), 353–355. I am grateful to Professor Lothar von Falkenhausen for directing me to this bell and for sharing his knowledge with me.

²⁰ Although it is unclear when a set of ten bells was imported in Japan, Saori Sakai, a staff of Sen'oku Hakkokan in Kyōto, confirms that Sumitomo family purchased ten bells in Japan in 1917. I am grateful to Saori Sakai for providing the providence of this collection through email on February 25, 2017.

²¹ According to *Maeil* newspaper, An Chungsik travelled Kyōto and Osaka for two years from 1899 to 1901. *Maeil sinbo*, November 4, 1919 cited from Pak Tongsu, "Simjŏn An Chungsik yŏn'gu," 25–26. However, according to Yi Kuyŏl, he may already have returned to Korea shortly after 1900 since he accepted Yi Toyŏng as student at his studio *Kyŏngmuk tang* in 1901. Yi Kuyŏl, *Kŭndae Han'guk misulsa ũi yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Mijinsa, 1992), 49–56. For An Chungsik's paintings produced in Japan, see Kang

Moreover, the bell was publicly displayed in an exhibition of ancient Chinese bronzes held at the Imperial Museum in Tōkyō in the spring of 1906 which would give another opportunity.²²

On the other hand, it is highly likely that An Chungsik had a good chance to study the bell during his earlier visits to Shanghai due to his relationship with collectors and artists in Shanghai.

An Chungsik travelled to Shanghai in 1891 and 1899 accompanying Min Yōngik 閔泳翊 (1860–1914) who was forced to seek exile in China.²³ As both a member of the royal family and a painter, Min Yōngik was deeply involved in artistic activities and established close relationships with painters while residing in Shanghai.²⁴ He invited calligraphers, painters, and

Min'gi, “Kūndae chōnhwangi Han'guk hwadan ūi Ilbon hwa yuip kwa suyong” (PhD diss., Hongik University, 2004), 88–92.

²² *Teishitsu Hakubutsukan Kanshōroku: Kodōki* 帝室博物館鑑賞錄: 古銅器 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, 1906). Although this catalog was published in 1906, it does not include the image of *Ji Hou yongzhong*. Sumitomo published his collection in a series of opulent catalogs, entitled *Sen'oku seishō* 泉屋清賞 [The collection of bronzes of Baron Sumitomo], from 1919 through 1926. Shamada, Kosaku, and Sueji Umehara eds., *Sen'oku Seishō* (Tōkyō: Kokka Pub. Co, 1919–1926). For the publication of a set of ten bells, see Harada Kōsaku, *Chin Shi Kyūzō Jisshō: Sen'oku Seishō Besshū* (Kyōto: publisher not identified, 1923).

²³ Before leaving for Shanghai, King Kojong had Min Yōngik put in charge of a number of diplomatic affairs, but his involvement in the Reform of 1884 forced him into exile. Nevertheless, with Kojong's support Min was able to accumulate wealth through trading red ginseng and he became a patron of the Shanghai painting circle. *Maeil sinbo* 1914, July 3–25; Kim Wōnmo, *Han Mi oegyo kwan'gye paengnyōn sa* (Seoul: Ch'ōrhak kwa hyōnsil sa, 2002), 330; Hwang Hyōn, *Han kwōn ūro ingnūn Maech'ōn yarok* (Seoul: Book Lab, 2012), 91. Although there is no concrete evidence of a close relationship between An Chungsik and Min Yōngik, An might have received Min Yōngik's support during his stay in Shanghai due to his fame as a court painter. The closest connection between the two is Min Yōngik's painting *Orchid without Roots* (*Nogūn mungnan* 露根墨蘭), now in the collection of the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, which includes An Chungsik's inscription and seals along with those of O Sech'ang, Yi Toyōng 李道榮 (1884–1934), and Ch'oe Lin 崔麟 (1878–1958). O Sech'ang also requested An Chungsik to leave a colophon after Min's death. For Min Yōngik's orchid painting, see *Chosōn malki hoehwa chōn: hwawōn, chōnt'ong, saeroun palgyōn* (Seoul: Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, 2006).

²⁴ In *Haishang molin* 海上墨林 [The Ink Grove of Shanghai] Yang Yi 楊逸 (1864–1929) briefly introduces Min Yōngik's life as an artist and a patron in Shanghai. Min Yōngik was acquainted with prominent artists in Shanghai, including Wu Changshuo, Gao Yong 高邕 (1850–1921), and Xugu 虛谷

scholars, such as Wu Changshuo to his studio, called “Bamboo Studio Visited One Thousand Times” (*Ch’önsim chukchae* 千尋竹齋) and located in the international settlement or foreign concessions in Shanghai.²⁵ More importantly, Min Yöngik was acquainted with the senior government official, leading scholar, and bronze collector Wu Dacheng who encouraged artists to excel in the genre of antiques and flowers.²⁶ Collectors of this period paid attention to the quality of rubbings for both aesthetic and scholarly reasons and mounted them as albums or scrolls to share with friends.²⁷ As a friend of Chen Jieqi, Wu Dacheng not only shared his thoughts on bronzes with Chen, but also viewed over seven hundred sheets of bronze rubbings in his Chen’s collection. Chen Jieqi also sent an album of bronze rubbings to Wu Dacheng in order

(1823–1896). Yang Yi, *Haishang molin* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989) originally published in 1919.

²⁵ Min Yöngik particularly established close relationship with Wu Changshuo. There are paintings by Shanghai artists, such as Gao Yong, Ren Yi, and Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (1837–1911), bearing inscriptions and seals dedicated to Min Yöngik. *Kansong munhwa* 28 (Autumn 1985), figs 14, 15, 22 and 32; *Kansong munhwa* 52 (Autumn 1997), fig. 18, 19, and 34. In particular, Wu Changshuo carved 300 pieces of seals for Min Yöngik. Wu Changshuo, *Foulu ji* [Anthology from the Cottage of an Earthenware Jar] (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1986), three originally published in 1889. For a discussion of relationship between Min Yöngik and Wu Changshuo, see Kang Yöngju, “Unmi Min Yöngik üi saengae wa hoehwa yön’gu,” *Misulsahak* 19 (2005): 127–163; Ryu Kisu, “Min Yöngik kwa haesang hwap’a üi kyou kwan’gye koch’al,” *Chunggukhak yön’gu* 43 (2008): 429–456; Joohyun Lee, “Wu Changshuo and Modern Korean Painting,” in Burglind Jungmann, Adele Schlombs, and Melanie Trede eds., *Shifting Paradigms in East Asian Visual Culture*, 353–357.

²⁶ The fact that a number of rubbing makers in Suzhou went to Shanghai after the Taiping Rebellion 太平天國 (1850–1864) indicates the demand for composite rubbings and availability on the market in Shanghai. Qianshen Bai, “From Composite Rubbing to Pictures of Antiques and Flowers (*Bogu huahui*): The Case of Wu Yun,” *Orientalism* 38.3 (2007): 302–303.

²⁷ Qianshen Bai, “Composite Rubbings in Nineteenth-Century China: The Case of Wu Dacheng and His Friends,” in Wu Hung ed., *Reinventing the Past*, 291–319, and by the same author, “Antiquarianism in a Time of Crisis: On the Collecting Practices of Late-Qing Government Officials, 1861–1911,” in Alain Schnapp, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Peter N. Miller, and Tim Murray, eds., *World Antiquarianism*, 386–403.

to sell them.²⁸ The connection between Min Yǒngik and Wu Dacheng could thus have allowed for another possibility for An Chungsik to view the *Ji Hou yongzhong*.

Still more opportunities for inspecting ink rubbings of the bell provided visits to art and antique shops in Shanghai. As seen in the *Jin Gui* fan shop advertisement in the pictorial magazine *Dianshizhai huabao* (Magazine of the Lithograph Studio 點石齋畫報, 1884–1898) (fig. 4–59), Shanghai had become the most significant market for artists and collectors after its opening as a treaty port due to the post-Opium War Treaty of Nanjing in 1842.²⁹ A number of fan and antique shops in Shanghai played an important role in circulating paintings among clients who had no direct access to artists or collectors. Abundant works of arts and crafts, including paintings by Shanghai School artists, calligraphy, and letter-papers with Chinese bronze motifs were sold to a variety of people, including foreigners, and scholars without ties to the Chinese elite. This market could have again given An Chungsik an opportunity to acquire knowledge on bronze vessels and paintings by Wu Changshuo and Ren Xun.

An Chungsik’s artistic mode is also associated with Emperor Kojong, who sought to strengthen the nation and regarded art ‘as a practical tool’ for its enrichment.³⁰ An Chungsik’s

²⁸ The price for a composite rubbing varies based on the size and the shape of vessels, the length of its inscription, and the quality of the vessel. According to Wu Dacheng’s letter to Chen Jieqi, Wu paid ten tails of silver for having a rubbing produced of the inscription of the *Mao Gong ding* in Chen’s collection, which includes 497 characters in its inscription. Wu Dacheng, *Wu Kezhai chidu* [Wu Dacheng’s record of collected antiques] (Taipei: Wenhai chuhanshe, 1971), 245; Shana Brown, *Pastimes from Art and Antiquarianism to Modern Chinese Historiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011), 68–70.

²⁹ For the Shanghai art world, see Kuiyi Shen, “Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World in Late Qing Shanghai,” in Jason Kuo ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s-1930s* (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2007), 13–28; Roberta Wue, *Art Worlds: Artists, Images, and Audiences in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).

³⁰ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 267–299; Yi T’aejin, *Kojong sidae ūi chae chomyǒng*

painting of *Flowers and Antiques*, done before 1898, indicates in its inscription “Sin An Uksang 臣安昱相 (Subject An Uksang),” that it was commissioned by Emperor Kojong, and it testifies to the ruler’s antiquarian taste (fig. 4–60).³¹ In this painting, An Chungsik rendered a variety of bronze vessels with flowers and fruit using light and dark shading. An Chungsik portrayed a *Xuande*-type censer, a bell, *ding* and *fangding* vessels, some of which appeared on his KAM scroll (fig. 4–61).

While Qing artists, including Ren Xun and Wu Changshuo used rubbings of ancient actual bronze vessels, An Chungsik rather applied shading techniques to emphasize the three-dimensional quality of bronze vessels in his KAM scroll.³² While those illusionistic devices had already been practiced during the eighteenth century, Emperor Kojong interest in European art and technology certainly further encouraged the exploration of Western techniques and materials, such as photography. For instance, Emperor Kojong had his photograph taken by Percival Lowell (1855–1916) in 1884 (fig. 4–62).³³ This indicates that Emperor Kojong’s desire for

(Seoul: T’aeaksa, 2000).

³¹ Pak Tongsu suggests that this painting is done before 1898 because An Chungsik changed his name from An Uksang to An Chungsik around 1898. Pak Tongsu, “Wangsil ūl wihae kŭrin An Chungsik ūi kŭrim tŭl,” in Yi Sŏngmi ed., *Chosŏn wangsil ūi misul munhwa* (Seoul: Taewŏn sa, 2005), 373–374.

³² An Chungsik’s application of European painting techniques best be seen in his landscape paintings, such as *Spring Dawn at Mt Paegak* (*Paegak ch’unhyo* 白岳春曉), dated to 1915 of which two versions exist, *Spring Dawn at Mt Paegak*, one done in the spring of 1915 and the other in the fall of the same year. Both are now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. For more information, see Kim Yŏngna, *20th Century Korean Art* (London: Laurence King, 2005), 16; Chŏng Hyŏngmin, *Modern Korean Ink Painting* (Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2006), 21; Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture*, 200–203.

³³ For the introduction of photography during the reign of Emperor Kojong, see Kwŏn Haengga, “Kojong Hwangje ūi ch’osang” (PhD diss., Hongik University, 2005), 31–43. Four photographs of Emperor Kojong and the crown prince were taken by Chi Unyŏng and Percival Lowell. Yun Ch’iho, *Yun Ch’iho ilgi* [Diary of *Yun Ch’iho*] (Seoul: T’amgudang, 1975), 130. Chi Unyŏng went to Japan to learn photographic techniques from Hiramura Tokubei’s (平村德兵衛) studio and the Nakamura (中村) studio in Kobe. *Osaka Asahi sinbun* 大阪朝日新聞, December 29, 1882, cited in Ch’oe Injin, *Kojong, Ŏsajin ūl*

obtaining Chinese objects, as a means to demonstrate his strong ties with traditional East Asian scholarly values, and promoting European painting techniques, as indication of his interest in modernizing the nation, went hand in hand and made an impact on the art world in late nineteenth-and early twenty-century Korea.

t'onghae segye rŭl kkum kkuda (Seoul: Munhyŏn, 2010), 122–127. Lowell published *Chosŏn, the Land of the Morning Calm* in 1885, which includes photographs of Korea taken during his visits in 1883–1884. He later donated seventy photographs to the Boston Museum of Arts, including three of Kojong and one photo of the prince. Ch'oe Injin, *Hanguk sajin sa: 1631-1945* (Seoul: Nunbit, 1999).

4. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter examined the significance and artistic motivation of *Portrait of Yi Haŭng*, *Portrait Yun Tongsŏm*, and of paintings of *Flowers and Antiques* by Chang Sŭngŏp and An Chungsik, which correspond closely to the popularity of Chinese bronzes among the cultural elite of the late Chosŏn dynasty. These paintings not only provide insights into the understanding of the roles that collectors and patrons played in establishing new pictorial modes, but also give a glimpse into the intimate interaction between artists and patrons with regard to themes and materials. In rendering Chinese bronzes in these paintings, artists and patrons attempted to represent and shape the aesthetic values which reflect the cultural and social milieu of the period.

The selection of certain types of Chinese bronzes in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng*, *Portrait Yun Tongsŏm*, and *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn* echoes the passion and enthusiasm for Chinese antiques among literati officials. The artists of these portraits include highly favored bronzes such as *ding* vessels and *Xuande*-type censers, which would have been selected from their own collections. Through a sophisticated depiction of Chinese antiques, sitters of these portraits not only fashioned their cultural identity as scholars, but also enhanced their social and cultural prestige through their collecting of Chinese antiques.

In discussing the emergence of the painting genre of antiques and flowers, I demonstrated that Chang Sŭngŏp and An Chungsik's inclusion of Chinese bronzes in their paintings was intertwined with the cultural environment of the period. Their modification of motifs, detached from the original objects, signifies the process of transmission in which the motifs were transformed and modified through the process of sketching and copying. Yet, my analysis of paintings of antiques and flowers suggests the painters' association with royalty, high officials, and wealthy *chungin* patrons who sought to display their cultural sophistication. Although these

paintings do not always accurately depict Chinese bronzes, they provide significant evidence of the types of Chinese bronze vessels that were valued by Chosŏn collectors. Thus, portraits of collectors and paintings of flowers and antiques serve as a record of scholarly culture and social prestige at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined the growing fashion of appreciating and collecting Chinese antiques as well as the artistic motivation to represent Chinese bronzes in late Chosŏn Korea. Over centuries of interaction between China and Korea, numerous materials of cultural significance, including books, paintings, and other valuable artifacts, were brought to Korea. Among them, Chinese bronzes served as indispensable items for royalty, high officials, and wealthy members of the *chungin* class to emphasize their cultural identity as literati and signify their social standing. Through an extensive investigation of textual accounts and pictorial sources ranging from ancient to contemporaneous, my study highlighted how collectors' passion for antiques contributed to the emergence of new types of pictorial objects and how painters incorporated particular aspects of Chinese bronzes in their works in response to the aspirations of collectors.

Chapter One discussed the historical circumstances in which Chinese ritual bronzes were imported, consumed, and venerated on the Korean peninsula, from the Koryŏ through the Chosŏn dynasties, in order to offer a basis for the analysis of Chosŏn paintings depicting Chinese bronzes in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. The different visions of state rituals in the Koryŏ and the Chosŏn dynasties resulted in various ways of appropriating forms of Chinese ritual vessels into their own production. Pointing out the crucial role of ritual handbooks and illustrated catalogs, this chapter examined the characteristics of Koryŏ and Chosŏn vessels, made of bronze, celadon, and brass, which integrated ancient and archaistic models produced during Ming and Qing China. My analysis provided insights into the understanding of the political, social, and cultural appeal for Chinese bronzes for ritual ceremonies on the Korean peninsula.

Chapter Two investigated the appreciation and the collection of Chinese antiques by the educated elite, including Chosŏn royalty and high officials, who formed collections of antiques as part of their scholarly pursuit. Chosŏn scholars, who visited Qing China as envoys, perceived Chinese bronzes as symbols of culture and collected them for scholarly appreciation. An analysis of extant textual and visual sources confirmed the significant role Chosŏn envoys played in the growing demand for Chinese antiques in the eighteenth century. This occurred at the time of a shift in the evaluation of Chinese bronzes in Chosŏn Korea from objects of ritual function to those of scholarly appreciation and collecting. With particular attention to collectors King Chŏngjo, Nam Kongch'ŏl, and O Kyŏngsŏk I demonstrated that the appreciation and acquisition of such rarities was closely connected with scholarly pursuit, personal cultivation, and the assertion of social standing. Most significantly, this environment served as a key force to establish new genres of paintings depicting Chinese antiques in various ways.

Chapter Three analyzed screens of *Books and Scholarly Utensils*, or *ch'aekkŏri*, and screens of *Antiques* depicting Chinese antiques and scholarly objects as a means to understand the close connection between these paintings and the zeal for collecting Chinese antiques. It is worth noting that most *ch'aekkŏri* screens include certain types of bronze vessels, such as *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, *Xuande*-type burners, and archaic *ding*, and thus mirror the preferences of Chosŏn collectors. Although both ancient and archaistic bronzes played a significant role in fostering such motifs in paintings of *ch'aekkŏri* screens, it became apparent that Yi Hyŏngnok modified shapes and decorations in the process of production. An examination of the screen of *Antiques* in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Hamburg revealed that the artist not only incorporated Chinese sources such as the *Xiqing gujian* and the *Bogu tu*, using a conventional practice of Korean art, but he also included inscriptions conveying well-wishes for

the recipient of the screen. Despite their use of elements of Chinese history and culture, *ch'aekkōri* screens and screens of *Antiques* epitomize an independent genres that evolved in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Chosŏn in response to the popularity of antiquarianism.

Chapter Four examined the representation of Chinese bronzes in *Portrait of Yi Haŭng*, *Portrait Yun Tongsŏm*, and in paintings of *Flowers and Antiques* that signify the critical role of collectors of Chinese antiques in the development of visual culture. Portraits of collectors not only represented their desire for self-fashioning among the cultural elite, who particularly valued *ding* vessels and *Xuande*-type censers in their studios and on their portraits, they also functioned as means to emphasize their cultural identity as scholars and thus their high social standing. Through intimate interaction with patrons and with inspiration from the so-called Shanghai school, Chang Sŭngŏp and An Chungsik developed a new artistic mode for rendering Chinese antiques, such as archaistic *ding* vessels, bells, and *Xuande*-type censers in ink and light colors, which echo the tradition of literati painting. Such paintings manifested their patron's and their own admiration for Chinese culture and at the same time fulfilled the quests for social esteem.

My primary focus has been on an important trend of art collecting and its impact on works of art which are central to the understanding of the historical and cultural dynamics among collectors, patrons, artists, and craftsmen of the late Chosŏn dynasty. The representation of antique bronze vessels enabled patrons to demonstrate their knowledge of Chinese history and culture as part of their cultivation and high character, and thereby enhance their social prestige. Throughout history the Chosŏn elite sought to demonstrate their close affinity with Chinese culture. By incorporating Chinese culture in their own traditions and aesthetics, members of the Chosŏn elite sought to claim their standing within their own society and, at the same time, to secure their status in East Asia.

FIGURES

Figures have been removed due to the copyright restrictions.

Fig. 1-1. *Zhenghe ding*, 1116, bronze, H: 23.2 cm; D: 19.4 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 1-2. *Shang xiang xing taotie ding* reproduced from the *Bogu tu*.

Fig. 1-3. *Taotie* motifs of the Shang and Zhou dynasties.

Fig. 1-4. *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, late Ming dynasty, bronze, wood and jade for cover, H: 17.0 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 1-5. *Zhou Wen Wang ding* reproduced from the *Bogu tu*.

Fig. 1-6. Detail, *Pictures of Ancient Playthings*, 1728-1729, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 62.5 cm x 20.0 m, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art Collection, British Museum, London.

Fig. 1-7. *Square Cauldron Incense Burner*, 12th century, celadon, H: 18.4 cm; W: 15.5 cm,
National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 1-8. L: Detail of *Square Cauldron Incense Burner* (Fig. 1-7).

R: The side-view beaked birds motifs of the Shang and Zhou dynasties.

Fig. 1-9. Inscription of *Square Cauldron Incense Burner* (Fig. 1-7).

Fig. 1-10. *Shang Zhao Fu ding* reproduced from the *Bogu tu*.

Fig. 1-11. *Shang Fu Gui ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu*.

Fig. 1-12. *Square Cauldron*, Shang dynasty, bronze, H: 17.1 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 1-13. *Ding*, 12th century, celadon, H: 17.0 cm, Museum of Oriental Ceramics in Osaka.

Fig. 1-14. *Ding*, Yuan dynasty (ca. 1323), bronze, H: 15.9 cm; D: 12.1 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 1-15. *Incense Burner*, 12th century, H: 15.0 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 1-16. *Bronze Censer Decorated with Dragons Chasing a Flaming Pearl*, 12th-14th centuries, bronze, H: 9.0 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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Fig. 1-19. Fragment of *Celadon Incense Burner with Impressed Taotie Design*, 12th century, celadon, found in Sadang-ri kiln site in Kangjin, H: 13.5 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 1-20. *Incense Burner with Applied Peony Scroll Design*, 13th-14th centuries, celadon, H: 15.8 cm, Nezu Museum, Tokyo.

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Fig. 1-22. *Tripod with Ox-heads* recorded in the *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* in a section of “Five Rites” of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong*.

Fig. 1-23. *Tripod with Pig-heads* recorded in the *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* in a section of “Five Rites” of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong*.

Fig. 1-24. *Tripod with Sheep-heads* recorded in the *Illustrations of Ritual Vessels* in a section of “Five Rites” of the *Veritable Records of King Sejong*.

Fig. 1-25. *Tripod with Ox-head* recorded in the *Huangyou xinyue tuji*.

Fig. 1-26. *Tripod with Ox-head* recorded in the *Da Ming ji li*.

Fig. 1-27. *Tripod with Ox-head*, Northern Song period, bronze, H: 50.0 cm; D: 52.0 cm, Culture Relics Protection Center in the Hebei Province.

Fig. 1-28. *Tripod with Ox-head*, Chosŏn dynasty, brass, H: 43.5 cm; D: 34.5 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

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Fig. 1-31. Detail of *Ritual Procedures at Chongmyo* (Fig. 1-30).

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Fig. 2-2. Yu Suk, *Spring Purification Gathering*, 1853, handscroll, ink and light colors on paper, 28.3 x 255.5 cm, Private Collection, Korea.

Fig. 2-3. Detail of Yu Suk's *Spring Purification Gathering* (Fig. 2-2).

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Fig. 2-5. Detail of Ren Xun's *Picture of Kezhai Collecting Antiques* (Fig. 2-4).

Fig. 2-6. Detail of Ren Xun's *Picture of Kezhai Collecting Antiques* (Fig. 2-4).

Fig. 2-7. Kim Chŏnghŭi, *Inscription for Stele for King Chinhŭng* (r. 540-576), 1816-1817, ink rubbing, 134.5 x 82.0 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

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Fig. 2-12. *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, Qing dynasty, bronze, H: 31.0 cm, Hyohaeng Museum, Yongjusa Monastery, Korea.

Fig. 2-13. Inscription of *Zhou Wen Wang ding* (Fig. 2-12).

Fig. 2-14. *Xuande*-style Censer, Ming or Qing dynasties, bronze, H: 14.5 cm; D: 21.0 cm,
Grassi Museum of Ethnography in Leipzig, Germany.

Fig. 2-15. L: *Xuande-style Censer*, Ming or Qing dynasties, bronze, H: 11.0 cm; D: 15.6 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.
R: *Xuande-style Censer*, Ming or Qing dynasties, bronze, H: 12.0 cm; D: 19.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 2-16. *Xuande Censer*, 1426-1435, bronze, H: 15.0 cm; D: 12.2 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 2-17. *Xuande-style Censer*, Qing dynasty, bronze, H: 20.5 cm, Hyohaeng Museum, Yongjusa Monastery, Korea.

Fig. 2-18. Inscription of *Hyohaeng Censer* (Fig. 2-17).

Fig. 2-19. Detail of *Hyohaeng Censer* (Fig. 2-17).

Fig. 2-20. Detail of *Hyohaeng Censer* (Fig. 2-17).

Fig. 2-21. *Ding*, unknown date, bronze, unknown size and location, previously located at the Yujömsa Monastery, Korea.

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Fig. 2-23. *Shang Fu Yi ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu*.

Fig. 2-24. *Tripod*, Ming dynasty, bronze, wood, and jade, H: 15.6 cm; D: 16.8 cm, Hunan Provincial Museum, China.

Fig. 3-1. Anonymous, *Ch'aekkado*, late 19th century, ten-panel folding screen, ink and color on silk, 161.7 x 395 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 3-2. Attributed to Chang Hanjong, *Books and Scholarly Utensils behind a Curtain*, late 18th or early 19th century, eight-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 195.0 x 361.0 cm, Kyōnggi Provincial Museum, Yongin.

Fig. 3-3. Seal of Chang Hanjong (Detail of Fig. 3-2).

Fig. 3-4. Detail of KPM *ch'aekkōri* (Fig. 3-2).

Fig. 3-5. *Censer with Cover and Stand*, 17th–early 18th centuries, bronze, wood, and jade, H: 17.3 cm; D: 14.2 cm, Private Collection, China.

Fig. 3-6. Anonymous, *Books and Scholarly Utensils behind a Curtain*, late 19th century, four-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 142.8 x 228.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 3-7. Detail of *Books and Scholarly Utensils behind a Curtain* (Fig. 3-6).

Fig. 3-8. Hu Wenming, *Archaistic Tripod Censer with Cover*, early 17th century, bronze with gold and silver inlay, wood, and agate, H: 21.0 cm; W: 12.7 cm, Saint Louis Art Museum.

Fig. 3-9. Yi Hyŏngnok, *Ch'aekkŏri*, mid-19th century, ten-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 153.0 x 352.0 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

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Fig. 3-11. Detail of Yi Hyöngnok's NMK *ch'aekköri* (Fig. 3-9).

Fig. 3-12. Yi Hyöngnok, *Ch'aekköri*, mid-19th century, eight-panel folding screen, ink and colors on paper, 202.0 x 438.2cm, Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

Fig. 3-13. Detail of Yi Hyöngnok's Leeum *ch'aekkōri* (Fig. 3-12).

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Fig. 3-15. Yi Hyöngnok, *Ch'aekköri*, mid-19th century, ink and color on paper, 28.1 x 26.7 cm, Kansong Art Museum, Seoul.

Fig. 3-16. Yi Ŭngnok (Yi Hyöngnok), *Ch'aekköri*, ca. 1860, eight-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 162.8 x 335.0 cm, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

Fig. 3-17. Yi T'akkyun (Yi Hyöngnok), *Ch'aekkŏri*, mid-19th century, ten-panel folding screen, ink and color on silk, 197.5 x 395.0 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art.

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Fig. 3-19. Detail of Yi Hyöngnok's NMK *ch'aekkŏri* (Fig. 3-9).

Fig. 3-20. Comparison.

Fig. 3-21. *Gui* from tomb 1 at yiqi.

Fig. 3-22. Comparison.

Fig. 3-23. Detail of Yi Hyŏngnok's NMK *ch'aekkŏri* (Fig. 3-9).

Fig. 3-24. *Zhou Lu ding er* recorded in the *Xiqing gujian*.

Fig. 3-25. Yi Hyöngnok, *Ch'aekköri*, mid-19th century, ten-panel folding screen, color on paper, 150.0 x 370.0 cm, T'ongdosa Monastery, Korea.

Fig. 3-26. Anonymous, *Ritual Vessels*, late 19th to early 20th centuries, ten-panel folding screen, color on silk, 242.5 x 345.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

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Fig. 3-30. Comparison.

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Fig. 3-32. Detail of Yi Hyöngnok's AAM *ch'aekkŏri* (Fig. 3-16).

Fig. 3-33. Detail of Yi Hyöngnok's Leeum *ch'aekkŏri* (Fig. 3-12).

Fig. 3-34. Detail of Yi Hyöngnok's Leeum *ch'aekkŏri* (Fig. 3-12).

Fig. 3-35. Detail of Yi Hyöngnok's CMA *ch'aekkŏri* (Fig. 3-17).

Fig. 3-36. Comparison.

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Fig. 3-43. Comparison.

Fig. 3-44. Comparison.

Fig. 3-45. Comparison.

Fig. 3-46. Anonymous, *Antiques*, late 19th to early 20th centuries, ten-panel folding screen, gold color on black silk, 148.0 x 340.0 cm, Museum of Ethnology of Hamburg, Germany.

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Fig. 3-48. *Shang Fu Yi ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu*.

Fig. 3-49. Detail of Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (Fig. 3-46).

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Fig. 3-51. Detail of Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (Fig. 3-46).

Fig. 3-52. L: *Zhou Wen Wang ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu*.
R: *Zhou Wen Wang ding* recorded in the *Xiqing gujian*.

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Fig. 3-54. L: *Zhou Wen Wang ding* recorded in the *Bogu tu*.
R: *Zhou Wen Wang ding* recorded in the *Xiqing gujian*.

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Fig. 3-56. Detail of Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (Fig. 3-46).

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Fig. 3-68. *Bamboo Book of King Yŏngjo*, 1721, lacquer, 24.8 x 41.0 x 27.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 3-69. Anonymous, *Longevity and Prosperity*, 19th century, two-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 202.5 x 115.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 3-70. Anonymous, *Longevity*, 19th century, ten-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 71.5 x 280.0 cm, National Folk Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 3-71. Anonymous, *Longevity and Prosperity*, late 19th century, ten-panel folding screen, embroidery on silk, 184.7 x 480.0 cm, Seoul Museum of History, Korea.

Fig. 3-72. Detail of *Longevity* NPM screen (Fig. 3-69).

Fig. 3-73. Detail of *Longevity* HMS screen (Fig. 3-71).

Fig. 3-74. Detail of Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (Fig. 3-46).

Fig. 3-75. Detail of Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (Fig. 3-46).

Fig. 3-76. Detail of Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (Fig. 3-46).

Fig. 3-77. Detail of *Longevity* NFM screen (Fig. 3-70).

Fig. 3-78. Detail of Hamburg screen of *Antiques* (Fig. 3-46).

Fig. 3-79. Detail of *Longevity* NFM screen (Fig. 3-70).

Fig. 3-80. *The Imperial Lady Ŏm, the Consort of the Crown Prince Ŭich'in, and her Court Maids*, photography taken between 1904 and 1907, Korea.

Fig. 3-81. *Letter with Antiques*, imported from China during the Qing dynasty, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 4-1. Attributed to Okchunsangin, *Portrait of Yi Hyŏnbo*, 1536, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 120.0 x 95.0 cm, Private Collection, Korea.

Fig. 4-2. Anonymous court artists, *One or Two*, ca. 1745-1750, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 77.0 x 147.2 cm, Palace Museum of Beijing, China.

Fig. 4-3. Detail of *One or Two* (Fig. 4-2).

Fig. 4-4. Yi Myōnggi, *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong*, 1784, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 145.0 x 78.5 cm, Private Collection, Korea.

Fig. 4-5. Yi Myōnggi, *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong*, c. 1792, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 155.0 x 81.9 cm, National Museum of Korea, Puyō.

Fig. 4-6. Yi Myŏnggi, *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong*, 1792, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 120.0 x 79.8 cm, Suwŏn Hwasŏng Museum, Korea.

Fig. 4-7. Detail of *Portrait of Ch'ae Chegong* (Fig. 4-6).

Fig. 4-8. *Incense Pouch*, Suwŏn Hwasŏng Museum, Korea.

Fig. 4-9. Anonymous, *Portrait of Yun Tongsŏm*, late 18th century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 97.0 x 57.4 cm, Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

Fig. 4-10. Anonymous, *Portrait of Yun Tongsǒm* (Fig. 4-9).

Fig. 4-11. Attributed to Hu Wenming, *Incense Burner*, 16th-17th centuries, bronze with gilding,
H: 15.9 cm; W: 7.3 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4-12. *Bronze Censer with Raised Handles and Stubby Feet*, 16th-17th centuries, bronze, H: 9.4 cm; D: 14.4 cm, Palace Museum of Beijing, China.

Fig. 4-13. Hu Wenming, *Incense Burner with Peonies*, 16th-17th centuries, bronze with gilding, H: 8.3 cm; W: 10.2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4-14. Yi Haŭng, *Orchid* (detail), 1891, twelve-panel folding screen, ink on silk, 135.8 x 264.0 cm, Seoul Museum of History, Korea.

Fig. 4-15. Yi Hanch'ŏl and Yu Suk, *Portrait of Yi Haŭng*, 1869, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 133.7 x 67.7 cm, Seoul Museum of History, Korea.

Fig. 4-16. Yi Hanch'öl and Yu Suk, *Portrait of Yi Haŭng*, 1869, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 130.8 x 67.6 cm, Seoul Museum of History, Korea.

Fig. 4-17. Yi Hanch'öl and Yu Suk, *Portrait of Yi Haŭng*, 1869, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 131.9 x 67.7 cm, Seoul Museum of History, Korea.

Fig. 4-18. Slip in the case of *Portrait of Yi Haŭng*.

Fig. 4-19. Detail of *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* (Fig. 4-15).

Fig. 4-20. Detail of *Portrait of Yi Haŭng* (Fig. 4-15).

Fig. 4-21. *Censer with Cover and Stand*, 17th–early 18th century, bronze with pigment, wood, and jade, 10.3 x 10.1 cm, Saint Louis Art Museum.

Fig. 4-22. The wooden table, Qing dynasty, H: 84.2 cm; D: 72.4 cm; W: 72.1 cm, Unhyŏn Palace Collection, Seoul.

Fig. 4-23. Detail of *Portrait of Yi Haŏng* (Fig. 4-15).

Fig. 4-24. *Songhua Inkstone with Emperor Qianlong's Inscription*, Qing dynasty, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 4-25. Yi Hanch'öl, *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn*, 1870, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 131.0 x 74.5 cm, Private Collection, Korea.

Fig. 4-26. Detail of *Portrait of Yi Yuwŏn* (Fig. 4-25).

Fig. 4-27. Chen Jianru, *Portrait of Yi Chehyŏn*, 1319, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk,
177.3 x 93.0 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 4-28. Chang Sŭngŏp, *Various Types of Things*, late 19th century, handscroll, ink and light color on silk, 38.8 x 233.0 cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 4-29. Detail of Chang Sŭngŏp's NMK scroll (Fig. 4-28).

Fig. 4-30. *Gui*, Shang dynasty, bronze, H: 14.3 cm; D: 20.7 cm, National Museum of China, Beijing, China.

Fig. 4-31. *Gui*, Shang dynasty, bronze, H: 10.6 cm; D: 14.2 cm, Chinese Academy of Social Science, Beijing, China.

Fig. 4-32. *Gui*, Shang dynasty, bronze, H: 11.7 cm; D: 15.9cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4-33. *Gui* Vessel, Early Western Zhou dynasty, bronze, H: 15.6 cm; D: 18.4 cm, Shanghai Museum, China.

Fig. 4-34. *Incense Burner*, Southern Song to Yuan dynasties, porcelain with blue-white glaze,
H: 16.5 cm; D: 14.0 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4-35. Attributed to Chang Sūngǒp, *Antiques and Flowers*, 1894, ten-panel folding screen,
ink on paper, 195.6 x 431.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4-36. Detail of Chang Sǔngǒp's MMA screen (Fig. 4-35).

Fig. 4-37. Detail of Chang Sǔngǒp's MMA screen (Fig. 4-35).

Fig. 4-38. *Vase*, 13th century, bronze, H: 18.4 cm; W: 8.6 cm; D: 6.7 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig 4-39. *Covered Censer*, 17th century, bronze, H: 43.2 cm; D: 52.1 cm, Saint Louis Art Museum.

Fig. 4-40. Detail of Chang Sŭngŏp's MMA screen (Fig. 4-35).

Fig 4-41. Chang Sŭngŏp, *Painting of Various Types of Things*, undated, ten-panel folding screen, ink on paper, 132.9 x 325.0 cm, Koryŏ Museum of Art, Kyoto, Japan.

Fig. 4-42. Wu Changshuo, *Symbols of Great Prosperity*, ink and color on paper, 180.1 x 96.1 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou, China.

Fig. 4-43. Ren Xun and Zhu Cheng, *Profoundly Learned Antiquity*, 1872, ink and color on paper, 177.5 x 46.9cm, Collection of Michael Yun-wen Shih, Tainan, Taiwan.

Fig. 4-44. Fan Shouchang, *Copying Ancient Bronzes*, 1879, ink rubbing, 30.8 x 69.2 cm, Private Collection, Korea.

Fig 4-45. Chang Sŭngöp, *Ni Zan Letting His Servant Wash Paulownia Tree*, late 19th century, hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 141.8 x 39.8 cm, Kansong Art Museum, Seoul.

Fig. 4-46. An Chungsik, *Antiques and Flowers*, 1909, four-panel hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 158.5 x 182.8 cm, Kansong Art museum, Seoul.

Fig. 4-47. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-48. *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, Western Zhou dynasty, bronze, H: 27.5 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 4-49. *Zhou Wen Wang ding*, Qing dynasty, bronze, H: 15.0 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 4-50. Detail of Chang Sŭngŏp's MMA screen (Fig. 4-35).

Fig. 4-51. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-52. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-53. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-54. *You*, early Western Zhou dynasty, bronze, H: 23.9 cm; W: 20.2 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Fig. 4-55. An Chungsik, *Antiques and Flowers*, 1901, ten-panel folding screen, color on silk, 175 x 370.0 cm, National Palace Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Fig. 4-56. Detail of An Chungsik's NPM screen (Fig. 4-55).

Fig. 4-57. Detail of An Chungsik's KAM scroll (Fig. 4-46).

Fig. 4-58. *Bell*, late Western Zhou dynasty, bronze, H: 26.8 cm, Sen'oku Hakkokan, Kyoto, Japan.

Fig. 4-59. *Jin Gui* Fan Shop, Announcing the Newly Opened *Jiuhuatang* Letter-paper and Fan Shop, lithograph advertisement, *Dianshizhai huabao* (*Dianshizhai* pictorial), 1888, issue 5.

Fig. 4-60. An Chungsik, *Flowers and Antiques*, before 1898, ten-panel folding screen, ink and color on paper, 137.0 x 360.0 cm, Private Collection, Korea.

Fig. 4-61. Detail of An Chungsik's *Flowers and Antiques* (Fig. 4-60).

Fig. 4-62. Percival Lowell, *Photo of Emperor Kjong*, photograph taken in 1884, Korea.

TABLE: List of Objects from the Hamburg screen of *Antiques*

Images	Bronze types	Names or inscription	Period	Reference
Panel 1-1	<i>fangding</i> 方鼎 (square cauldron)	<i>Zhou Wen Wang ding</i> 周文王鼎 (Square Cauldron for King Wen of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i> ; <i>Xiqing gujian</i> ; Osaka Screen of Antiques; NPM Screen of Ritual Vessel
Panel 1-2	<i>yi</i> 匱 (washbasin)	<i>Zhou Ji Zhen yi</i> 周季姬匱 (Washbasin for Ji Zhen of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i>
Panel 1-3	Incense burner with lid and cup	<i>yōndan kisu</i> 煉丹祈壽 (alchemical practice for longevity) <i>yōnsu pae</i> 延壽杯 (cup for longevity)	undated	
Panel 2-1	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Shang Qi ding</i> 商綦鼎 (Tripod for Qi of Shang)	Shang dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i>
Panel 2-2	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Zhou Yong Gong Jian ding</i> 周雒公緘鼎 (Tripod for Duke Yong of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i>
Panel 2-3	two vases (<i>ge</i> wares)	<i>yuksu ch'unyu</i> 六壽春酉 (longevity and youth) <i>changsū</i> 長壽 (longevity)		
Panel 3-1	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Shang Fu Yi ding</i> 商父乙鼎 (Tripod for Father Yi of Shang)	Shang dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i>
Panel 3-2	<i>yi</i> 彝 (libation cup)	<i>Shang Yi Ju yi</i> 商已舉彝 (Libation cup for Yi Ju of Shang)	Shang dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i> ; Osaka Screen of Antiques

Panel 3-3	Lamp and mirror	<i>chaegwi chaeshu</i> 財貴再壽 (prosperity and longevity) <i>anrak changsu</i> 安樂長壽 (peace and longevity)	undated	
panel 4-1	<i>yi</i> 彝 (libation cup)	<i>Zhou Bo yi</i> 周伯彝 (<i>Libation cup for Bo of Zhou</i>)	Zhou dynasty	<i>Xiqing gujian</i> ; Osaka Screen of Antiques
panel 4-2	<i>dou</i> 豆 (raised dish)	<i>Qi Tai Gong dou</i> 齊太公豆 (<i>Raised dish for Duke Tai of Qi</i>)	Qi dynasty	
panel 4-3	<i>hulu</i> 葫蘆 (gourd) and <i>ruyi</i> 如意 ("as you wish") scepter	<i>yōnsu</i> 延壽 (longevity) <i>rak</i> 樂 (pleasure)	undated	
Panel 5-1	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Zhou Yi Gong ding</i> 周乙公鼎 (<i>Tripod for Duke Yi of Zhou</i>)	Zhou dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i>
Panel 5-2	<i>jiao</i> 角 (double-mouthed cup)	<i>Zi Sun jiao</i> 子孫角 (<i>Double-mouthed cup for Son Sun</i>)	undated	
Panel 5-3	Bronze censer and <i>qin</i> 琴 (zither)	<i>changmyōng yōnsōn</i> 壽命延綿 (lifespan like extended thread)	undated	
Panel 6-1	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Zhou Qian Shu ding</i> 周遣叔鼎 (<i>Tripod for Qian Shu of Zhou</i>)	Zhou dynasty	Osaka Screen of Antiques
Panel 6-2	<i>pan</i> 盤 (basin platter)	<i>Yuan Da De pan</i> 元大德盤 (<i>Basin platter of the Dade (1297-1307) year of Yuan dynasty Yuan</i>)		

Panel 6-3	Beaker with elephant	<i>ch'õnnyõn yõnghang</i> 天年永恒 (year of eternity) <i>pongju nõnggang</i> 奉酒能康 (offering wine for better health)	undated	
Panel 7-1	<i>dui</i> 敦 (tureen)	<i>Zhou Shu Lin dui</i> 周叔臨敦 (Tureen for Shu Lin of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	Osaka Screen of Antiques
Panel 7-2	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Zhou Zi Fu Ju ding</i> 周子父舉鼎 (Tripod for Father and Son Ju of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i>
Panel 7-3	Inkstone and vase (ge ware)	<i>Huangdi Xuanyuan shi</i> 黃帝軒轅氏 (Yellow Emperor Xuanyuan)	undated	
Panel 8-1	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Zhou Tai Shi ding</i> 周太師鼎 (Tripod for Tai Shi of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	Osaka Screen of Antiques
Panel 8-2	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Zhou Yan Zhao ding</i> 周言肇鼎 (Tripod for Yan Zhao of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	
Panel 8-3	Bronze censer	<i>su</i> 壽 ("longevity") <i>pok</i> 福 ("prosperity")	undated	
Panel 9-1	<i>jue</i> 爵 (goblet)	<i>Shang Fu Xin jue</i> 商父辛爵 (Goblet for Father Xin of Shang)	Shang dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i> ; NPM Screen of Ritual Vessel
Panel 9-2	<i>ding</i> 鼎 (tripod)	<i>Zhou Fu Ding ding</i> 周父丁鼎 (Tripod for Father Ding of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	Osaka Screen of Antiques

Panel 9-3	bronze censer	<i>kunsu minbok</i> 君壽民富 (longevity for the king and prosperity for the public)	undated	
Panel 10-1	<i>zun</i> 尊 (beaker)	<i>Meng Jiang zun</i> 孟姜尊 (Beaker for Meng Jiang)	undated	Osaka Screen of Antiques
Panel 10-2	<i>fangding</i> 方鼎 (square cauldron)	<i>Zhou Dan Cong ding</i> 周單從鼎 (Square Cauldron for Dan Cong of Zhou)	Zhou dynasty	<i>Bogu tu</i> . Same name but different shape of bronze
Panel 10-3	Coin and bamboo brush holder	<i>chukpaeksu</i> 竹帛壽 (longevity on bamboo and silk) <i>ch'onsu yǒnggil</i> 天壽永吉 (longevity and prosperity)	undated	

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