

“TRACES OF A LOST LANDSCAPE TRADITION AND CROSS-CULTURAL  
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN KOREA, CHINA AND JAPAN IN THE EARLY  
JOSEON PERIOD (1392-1550)”

By

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SANGNAM LEE

Submitted to the graduate degree program in History of Art and the Graduate Faculty of  
the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Abstract

This dissertation traces a lost landscape tradition and investigates cross-cultural relationships between Korea, China and Japan during the fifteenth and mid sixteenth centuries. To this end, the main research is given to *Landscapes*, a set of three hanging scrolls in the Mōri Museum of Art in Yamaguchi prefecture, Japan. Although *Landscapes* is traditionally attributed to the Chinese master Mi Youren (1075-1151) based on title inscriptions on their painting boxes, the style of the scrolls indicates that the painter was a follow of another Northern Song master, Guo Xi (ca. 1020-ca. 1090). By investigating various aspects of the Mōri scrolls such as the subject matter, style, its possible painter and provenance as well as other cultural aspects that surround the scrolls, this dissertation traces a distinctive but previously unrecognized landscape tradition that existed in early Joseon times.

The dissertation research challenges the An Gyeon-centered view of landscape art and gives an expanded perspective that furthers our understanding of early Joseon paintings. Through this process of examination and assessment of early Joseon paintings, this dissertation also touches upon the intimate political, trade and cultural relationships between China, Korea and Japan as materialized in the inter-Asian crisscrossing of art works and cultural trends during the fifteenth to mid sixteenth centuries. Especially, it shows the sharing of cultural trends between the Joseon and Ming courts, and also explores the frequent political and material culture exchanges between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi clan of Japan. Lastly, this dissertation attempts to trace how early Joseon paintings were transmitted to Japan and lost their Korean identity in the process of

authentication by Japanese connoisseurs during the Muromachi (1392–1573) and early Edo (1603-1867) periods. The result is an expanded view of the vigor and creativity of the early Joseon period and its significance in the larger history of Korean art and culture that can be achieved through art historical research conducted within an East Asian perspective.

## Acknowledgements

My journey to the early Joseon painting history started in 1996 when I started my masters' program. I am still not sure why I love the era and its paintings so much, but my love for and interest in them are the reasons for me to embark on this dissertation research project and face the many unknowns in the subject of early Joseon paintings. Today in 2014, I have arrived at a milestone in my journey by finishing my dissertation, and I am also at the starting line of another leg of this journey.

While writing my dissertation, I often recalled “The story of Simcheong,” a Korean fable that I read often during my childhood. In this fable, Simcheong’s father who is blind, raises Simcheong, whose mother dies after giving birth to her. Indeed, Simcheong’s father truly loves his daughter but raising her is undoubtedly difficult due to his blindness. However, many people who feel compassion for Simcheong and her blind father help them. Because of their support and help, Simcheong grows into a lovely young lady. Like Simcheong and her father did, I received endless support and unconditional love from many throughout my dissertation project. Without their generous and patient support, I could not have completed my project.

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My greatest gratitude goes to my mother, Jeong Il-soon, to whom this dissertation is dedicated. Without her support, I would not be here: Mom, I know your love and sacrifice. You are the person whom I respect the most. My late father, Lee Han-gyo, and my precious late brother, Lee Sangyun, are the last two persons to whom I would like to express love with all my heart. I miss them very much and already look forward to meeting them with joy in heaven.

“By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace was not without effect.”

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- Fig. V-17. Ortelius. *Map of Tartary*, ca.1570. Copper print on paper, 42×52cm. Kobe City Museum. Reproduced in Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan Press, 1989), fig. 40
- Fig. V-18. *Set of Four Bowl with Chrysanthemum Design*, Muromachi period. Wood with lacquer painting, D.9.2, H. 12.8cm; D. 11.7, H. 6.8cm; D. 9.2, H. 14.6cm; D. 9.5, H. 9.8cm. Mōri Museum of Art, Hōfu. Reproduced in Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan Press, 1989), fig. 149
- Fig. V-19. Anonymous. *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. Joseon dynasty, before 1539. Eight panel folding screen; ink on paper, 98.4×494cm. Daiganji temple, Hiroshima. Reproduced in Hoam misulgwan, *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon* (Seoul: Hoam Misulgwan, 1996), fig. 17: Front side of folding screen with *Eight Views* scenes. Back side of the folding screen with *Abbot Sonkai's Diary crossing the sea*. Yamato Bunkakan. *Richō no byōbu* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 1987), 70

- Fig. V-20. *Shakyamuni Buddha at Birth*, Unified Silla-Goryeo dynasties, 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century. Bronze, H. 24.9cm. Suōkokubun-ji Temple, Hōfu. Park Eungyeong and Jeong Eunwoo. *Seo iibon jiyek hangukeui bulsang gwa bulhwa* (Busan: Minjok Munhwa, 2008), fig. 95
- Fig. V-21. *Vairocana Buddha*. Goryeo dynasty. Bronze, H. 51.3cm. Suōkokubun-ji Temple, Hōfu. Reproduced in Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan. *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no ihō* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, 1989), fig. 113
- Fig. V-22. *Temple Bell*, Goryeo dynasty. Bronze, D. 44.6, H. 45.6 cm. Jōtenji temple, Fukuoka. Reproduced in Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan Press, 1989), fig. 164
- Fig. V-23. Sesshū. *Landscape*, Muromachi period, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Hanging scroll; ink and light color on paper, 88.3×45.6cm. Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe. Reproduced in Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan. *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no ihō* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, 1989), fig. 49
- Fig. V-24. Anonymous. *Eight Views of the Xiao Xiang Rivers* (section), Joseon dynasty. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 91.0×47.7cm (each panel). National Museum of Korea, Jinju. Reproduced in Hoam misulgwan, *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon* (Seoul: Hoam Misulgwan, 1996), fig. 16
- Fig. V-25. Kano Tan'yū. *Album of the Landscape* (section) from *Sketch books by Tan'yū*. Edo period. Kyoto National Museum. Reproduced in Itakura Masaaki. "Tan'yū shukuzu kara mita higashiajia kaigashi- Shōshōhakkeilei" In *Zuzō no imi*, edited by Sato Yasuhiro Satō (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2005), 126
- Fig. V-26. Anonymous. *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* with colophon of 1584 by Kim Hyeonseong. Eight-panel folding screen; ink on silk, 105×386.2cm (overall), 47×41cm (image). Kyushu National Museum, Dazaifu. Reproduced in Yamato Bunkakan, *Richō kaiga* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 1996), fig. 1
- Fig. V-27. Attributed to Mi Youren. *Landscapes*, re-assigned to early Ming period. Two panels from set of three painting; ink on silk, 106.1×57.7cm. Private collection, Japan. Reproduced in Tokugawa bijutsukan. *Muromachi shōgunke no shihō o saguru* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 2008), fig. 11
- Fig. V-28. Li Zai. *Cloudy Mountains in the Manner of Mi [Fu]*, Ming dynasty, before 1495. Handscroll; ink on paper, 28.2×116.2cm. Chuzhou Museum, Huai'an. Reproduced in Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji wei yuanhui, *Ming dai huihua*, *Zhongguo meishu quanju*, Huihua bian, vol. 6 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), fig. 23

Fig. V-29. Sesshu. *Landscape after Gao Kegong* (detail), Muromachi period, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Handscroll; ink on paper, 23.6×402.5cm. Yamaguchi Prefectural Art Museum, Hofu. Reproduced in Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan. *Sesshū: Botsugo 500-nen Tokubetsuten* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2002), fig. 61

Fig. V-30. *Shakyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* in the center and *Winter Landscapes with Snow* in right and left sides. Center: Liang Kai. Southern Song dynasty, 13<sup>th</sup> century. Hanging scrolls; ink and color on silk, 117.6×52cm; Right: Attributed to Liang Kai, Southern Song dynasty, 13<sup>th</sup> century. Hanging scrolls; ink and light color on silk, 110.8×50.1cm; Left: Attributed to Liang Kai. Southern Song to Yuan dynasties, 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Hanging scrolls; ink and light color on silk, 110.3×49.7cm. Tokyo National Museum. Reproduced in Tokugawa bijutsukan. *Muromachi shōgunke no shihō o saguru* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 2008), fig. 3

Fig. V-31. “Set of triptychs displayed in the residence of Ashikaga Yoshimasa,” detail of *Record of Displays in the Shogunal Guest Hall*, Muromachi period, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Pair of handscrolls; ink on paper, 17.5×684.6 cm, 17.5×411.6cm. Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya. Reproduced in Tokugawa bijutsukan. *Muromachi shōgunke no shihō o saguru* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 2008), fig. 90

Fig. V-32. Attributed to Qian Gu. *Joys of Fishing*, Ming dynasty, 16th century. Set of three hanging scrolls; ink on silk, 110.2×72.4cm (each). Mōri Museum of Art, Hōfu. Reproduced in Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1989), fig. 102

Fig. V-33. Attributed to An Gyeon. *Landscapes*, early Joseon dynasty. Set of three hanging scrolls; ink on silk, 90×54.3cm (each). Imperial Household Agency collection, Tokyo. Reproduced in Hong Sunpyo, et al., eds. *Chōsen Ōchō no kaiga to nihon* (Osaka: Yomiuri Shimbun Osaka Honcho, 2008), fig. 6

## Introduction

The early Joseon dynasty, from 1392 to 1550,<sup>1</sup> was a flourishing period for art and culture inspired by the newly established dynasty's energy. Writings and documents indicate that numerous paintings in various genres were produced and appreciated at that time.

However, few of these works exist today. Many have disappeared or were destroyed amidst frequent wars and catastrophes in the history of Korea. The court painter An Gyeon's (安堅, act. ca. 1440-70) *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (Mongyu dowondo, 夢遊桃源圖) (Fig. i-1) of 1447 in the Tenri University Library, Nara, which depicts a dream of Prince Anpyeong [Yi Yong] (安平大君 李容, 1418-53), is the only well-documented extant example of early Joseon landscape painting.<sup>2</sup> Most other

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<sup>1</sup> The development of Joseon painting history is generally divided by modern scholars into three or four phases. Soyoung Lee puts the early Joseon period into the two centuries spanning from about 1400 to 1600. Ahn Hwi-joon defines the early Joseon as the period from 1392 to 1550. We will follow Professor Ahn's timetable in this dissertation. Soyoung Lee, ed. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400-1600* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), 15; Ahn Hwi-joon, "The Origin and Development of Landscape Painting in Korea," in *Arts of Korea*, eds. Chung Yangmo and Judith Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 310-329.

<sup>2</sup> On the An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*, see Lee Dongju 李東州, "An Gyeon ui mongyudowondo" 安堅의 夢遊桃源圖 [An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*] in *Ilbon sokui hanhwa* 日本 속의 韓畫 [Korean Paintings in Japan] (Seoul: Seomundang, 1974); Suzuki Osamu 鈴木 治, "Honkan shozō An Gyeon 'muyū tōgenzu' ni tsuite -1-" 本館收藏安堅 「夢遊桃源圖」 について-1- [Research on An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* in the Tenri University Library Collection, Part 1], *Biburia* ビブリア (March 1977): 39-58; ———, "Honkan shozō An Gyeon 'muyū tōgenzu' ni tsuite -2-" 本館收藏安堅 「夢遊桃源圖」 について-2- [Research on An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* in the Tenri University Library Collection, Part 2], *Biburia* ビブリア (October, 1977): 50-71; Ahn Hwi-joon, "An Gyeon and *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*." *Oriental Art* 26, no.1 (Spring 1980): 60-71; Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬 and Yi Byeonghan 李炳漢, *An Gyeon gwa Mongyudowondo* 安堅과 夢遊桃源圖 [An Gyeon and *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*] (Seoul: Yegyeyong, 1991); No Jaeok 盧載玉, "An gyeon hitsu 'muyū tōgenzu' ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu" 安堅筆 《夢遊桃源圖》 についての一考察 [A Study on the *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* by An Gyeon], *Bigaku* 美学 48, no. 2 (1997): 25-36; Hong Sunpyo 洪善杓, "Mongyudowondo ui changjaksegye: seongyeong ui jaehyeon gwa goseon sansuhwa ui hwaklip" 夢遊桃源圖의 창작세계: 仙境의 再現과 古典 山水畫의 확립 [*Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*; Reappearance of

surviving paintings from this time are anonymous, lacking titles, seals, inscriptions, or signatures. Inspired by such paintings, this dissertation attempts to trace a lost landscape tradition popular in early Joseon times and restore it to its rightful place in the history of Korea painting as well as in the wider context of East Asian landscape art.

At the heart of this dissertation is a case study of three paintings transmitted from one East Asian country to another, where they lost their original identities and acquired new ones attributing them to a third country (Fig. i-2). Known simply as *Landscapes* and mounted as hanging scrolls, they are in the collection of the Mōri Museum of Art in Yamaguchi, Japan. They carry a traditional attribution to the Chinese landscape master Mi Youren (米友仁, 1074-1151) of the Song dynasty. I question the received wisdom about the country of origin of the *Landscapes* (hereafter “the Mōri scrolls”) and identify them as works of the early Joseon on the basis of their subject matter, style, and provenance.

Using the case of the Mōri scrolls as an example, this dissertation further explores some of the intimate and complex relationships in art and culture between China, Korea, and Japan during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Aspects of the cultural connections between the early Joseon and Ming dynasties will be examined in light of the revival of the Northern Song landscape painting tradition at the royal courts of both countries. Discussion of the intercultural relationships between Korea and Japan will focus on trade and exchanges of material culture between the early Joseon court and the Ōuchi clan (大

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Paradise and Establishment of Classical Landscape Paintings], *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 31 (2010): 32-54.

内氏) of Yamaguchi, Japan, which suggest how the Mōri scrolls went to Japan and acquired a Chinese identity.

Beyond recovering a set of early Joseon paintings, this work has several objectives. It challenges the current An Gyeon-centered understanding of the stylistic range of early Joseon landscape art by shining light on the diversity of styles available to the artists of the time. It expands our knowledge of the artists, patrons, and connoisseurs active at that time. And it contributes to our understanding of the cultural exchange between Korea, Japan and China during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

### **“Anonymous” Paintings of the Early Joseon, 1392-1550**

Again, most of the surviving paintings thought to date to the early Joseon dynasty are undated and unsigned. They do not carry seals, inscriptions, or other clues that could help identify time and place of execution. There is no way to determine whether or not this was typical of paintings of the time due to the paucity and rarity of signed and dated extant works. The attribution of paintings to the early Joseon period is done solely on the basis of style and subject matter. In style, many of them are associated with the so-called An Gyeon tradition, which Korean scholars have regarded as the primary landscape style of that time. Among the landscapes painted in An Gyeon’s style, the album of *Eight Views of the Four Seasons* (四時八景圖) (Fig. i-3) in the National Museum of Korea in Seoul is considered to be the earliest and most representative painting, possibly dating to the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The most prevalent subject matter in Korean landscape painting of

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<sup>3</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Jeon an gyeon pil sasipalgyeongdo 傳 安堅筆 四時八景圖” [Eight Views of the Four Seasons Attributed to an Kyeon], *Gogo misul* 考古美術 136-37 (1978): 72. Republished in *Hanguk*

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers (*Sosang palgyeongdo*, 瀟湘八景圖), a classic Chinese theme.<sup>4</sup> Many An Gyeon-style paintings depict this imported theme or use iconography and pictorial elements from it. *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* (Fig. i-4) by an unknown painter in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art in Seoul is a typical of such works assigned to the early Joseon. The An Gyeon tradition and the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers theme have been, therefore, the primary research areas of early Joseon paintings.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence,

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*hoehwasa yeongu* 韓國繪畫史研究 [History of Korean Painting] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999), 381. This album consists of sixteen panels. The subject of eight of them is assumed to be the “Eight Views of the Four Seasons” and the subject of the remaining eight is assumed to be “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers.” Thus, two sets of paintings by two different artists are mounted into one album. *Eight Views of the Four Seasons* is considered as the most likely to be a work from the hand of An Gyeon among all works attributed to the master.

<sup>4</sup> For Lists of existing Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang of the early Joseon paintings, see Table 1, page. 50-51 in Chapter One.

<sup>5</sup> On the An Gyeon School, see Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Jeon an gyeon pil sasipalgyeongdo,” 72-8; Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Joseon jeongi an gyeonpa sansuhwa gudo ui yeongu” 朝鮮前期安堅派山水畫構圖의系譜 [Lineage of An Gyeon School Compositions in the early Joseon dynasty] in *Choyu Hwang Suyong baksa gohui ginyeom misulshag nonchong* 蕉雨黃壽永博士古稀紀念美術史學論叢 [Festschrift in honor of Dr. Hwang Suyong on his seventieth birthday] (Seoul: Tongmunguan, 1988), 823-44. Reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu* 한국회화사연구, 408-27; Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “16 segi Joseon wangjo ui hoehwa wa danseon jeomjun” 16세기朝鮮王朝의繪畫와短線點峻 [Linear Texture Strokes of Joseon Dynasty Paintings in the Sixteen Century], *Jindan hakgo* 震檀學報 46-47 (1979): 217-39. Reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu*, 429-49.

On the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme in early Joseon painting, see Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Guklip jungang bakmulgwan sojang sosangpalgyeongdo” 國立中央博物館所藏瀟湘八景圖 [Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang in the Collection of the National Museum of Korea], *Gogo misul* 考古美術 138-139 (1978): 72-8. Reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu*, 390-401; Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Hanguk ui sosang palgyeongdo 韓國의瀟湘八景圖 [Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in Korean Painting] in *Hanguk hoehwa ui jeontong* 韓國繪畫의傳統 [Traditions of Korean Painting] (Seoul: Munye Chulpansa, 1988): 333-56; Itakura Masaaki 板倉聖哲, “Kangoku ni okeru shōshō hakkeizu no juyō tenkai 韓国における瀟湘八景圖の受容展開” [Acceptance and Development of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Painting Tradition in Korea], *Seikyū gakujutsu ronshū* 青丘學術論集 14 (1991): 15-30; Toda Teisuke 戸田禎佑, “Pingshaluoyantu” 平沙落雁圖 [Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar], *Kokka* 國華 1170 (1993): 25-6; Toda Teisuke “Shōshō hakkeizu byōbueochō” 瀟湘八景圖押繪帖屏風 [Folding



scholarly research on early Joseon painting has come to be narrowly focused on An Gyeon. Some anonymous paintings not in the An Gyeon style have received little attention. In addition, untitled paintings with pictorial elements related to the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme are almost automatically classified as belonging to that subject category without further consideration.

Since the 1980s, quite a few Korean landscape paintings by anonymous painters have been exhibited as early Joseon works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> None of them bear documentation that they were produced in the early Joseon period, and some have long been attributed to famous Chinese and Japanese painters of the past. Most are either in or have provenances that include Japanese collections. Some of these

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Screens of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers], *Kokka* 国華 1204 (1996): 16-23; Hongnam Kim, “An Gyeon and the Eight Views Tradition: An Assessment of Two Landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” in *Arts of Korea*, eds. Chung Yangmo and Judith Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 366-401; Park Haehoon 박해훈 “Bihaedang sosangpalgyeong sicheop gwa joseon chogi ui sosangpalgyeongdo” 匪懈堂 瀟湘八景詩帖과 朝鮮初期의 瀟湘八景圖 [A study of Album of Poems for the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang in the Early Joseon Dynasty], *Dongyang misul sahak* 東洋美術史學 1 (2012): 221-63.

<sup>6</sup> For recent publications on anonymous paintings of the early Joseon period, see: Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Richō kaiga: Rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: Tokubetsuten* 李朝絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界: 特別展 [Painting of the Yi Dynasty] (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 1996); Michael R. Cunningham, ed. *Tōyō kaiga no seika: tokubetsuten: Kurivurando Bijutsukan no korekushon kara* 東洋絵画の精華: 特別展: クリーヴランド美術館のコレクションから [Highlights of Asian painting from the Cleveland Museum of Art] (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1998), 77, fig.48; Christie's ed. *Japanese and Korean Art* (New York: September, 2000), fig. 274; Hong Sunpyo 洪善杓 and Itakura Masaaki 板倉聖哲, eds. *Chōsen ōchō no kaiga to nihon: Sōtateu, Taiga, Jakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi* 朝鮮王朝の絵画と日本: 宗達, 大雅, 若冲も学んだ隣国の美 [Paintings of Korea's Joseon Dynasty and Japan: Beauty of the Neighboring Kingdom that Inspired Sotatsu, Taiga and Jakuchu] (Osaka: Yomiuri Shinbun Ōsaka Honsha, 2008); Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Sūkō naru sansui: Chūgoku chōsen rikakukei sansuiga no keifu tokubetsuten* 崇高なる山水: 中国・朝鮮, 李郭系山水画の系譜特別展 [Sublime Vision: Li-Guo School Painting from China and Korea] (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 2008); and Leeum Samsung Museum of Art, *Hwawon* 화원 [Court Painters of the Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, 2011), 210, fig.101.

anonymous works share similarities with the An Gyeon style; others are painted in different styles.

Ahn Hwi-Joon, a pioneer scholar in the field of early Joseon painting, has pointed out that intensive analysis and examination of these anonymous paintings is the most significant and essential task if we are to further our understanding of early Joseon painting.<sup>7</sup> Regrettably, only a few research articles on such works have been published to date.<sup>8</sup> In a short 1987 article, Kim Jeonggyo proposed for the first time that an anonymous painting in a private Kyoto collection is an early Joseon work based on stylistic analysis. The painting had been attributed to a Chinese painter based on an inscription on the painting box in which the work had been stored (Fig. i-5).<sup>9</sup> Kim Hongnam argues that a pair of landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, previously owned by Japanese collectors, dates to the early Joseon. She proposes that these two paintings are scenes from the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme and points out their stylistic similarities to An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (Fig.

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<sup>7</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, "Joseon wangjo sidae ui hoehwa" 朝鮮王朝時代の 繪畫 [Painting of the Joseon Dynasty] in *Hanguk misulsa ui hyeonhwang* 韓國美術史의 現況 [Current Status of Korean Art History]. Vol. 7 of *Hallim gwahak chongseo* 翰林科學院叢書, ed. No Hyekjin 盧赫眞 (Seoul: Yegyeng, 1992), 327. On pages 314 -27 of this article, Ahn mentions in passing future topics of research for early Joseon painting history, such as the legacy of the Goryeo dynasty (918-1382), cross-cultural relationships between Joseon Korea and China and Joseon Korea and Japan, and the painting styles of the early Joseon dynasty.

<sup>8</sup> Kim Jeonggyo 金貞教, "Licho shoki rōkaku sansuizu" 李朝初期 樓閣山水圖 [Painting of a Multi-storied Building of the Early Joseon dynasty], *Firokaria* フィロカリア 5 (1987): 150-58. Also see Hongnam Kim, "An Gyeon and the Eight Views Tradition: An Assessment of Two Landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," 366-401.

<sup>9</sup> Kim Jeonggyo, "Licho shoki rōkaku sansuizu," 158. For more detailed information, see Chapter Three,

i-6).<sup>10</sup> Chang Chin-sung discusses the origin of several paintings with attributions to the Goryeo (918-1392) and Joseon periods. His research brings up the so-called “nationality” issue with regard to early Joseon painting.<sup>11</sup> However, he does not discuss other anonymous paintings that have been recently introduced and have yet to receive scholarly attention. Generally speaking, anonymous paintings have been beyond the field of vision of scholars working in the area of early Joseon painting. They have focused almost on An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*, the so-called An Gyeon tradition, and depictions of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme in Korea. As Ahn said over two decades ago, research on anonymous paintings of suspected early Joseon date is needed to expand of the vision of early Joseon painting research and to recover for prosperity the cultural patrimony of Korea at that time. Such work should not be further postponed.

To advance our understanding of anonymous paintings and paintings with dubious attributions that may date to early Joseon but have not yet received much scholarly attention, I have chosen to focus on the Mōri scrolls for five reasons. First, they have a reliable provenance: they have been handed down in the Mōri family collection for generations since Edo times. Secondly, the three panels are well preserved and in good condition. Third, Japanese scholars unanimously agree that they are of Korean

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<sup>10</sup> Hongnam Kim, “An Gyeon and the Eight Views Tradition: An Assessment of Two Landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” 385-392.

<sup>11</sup> Chang Chin-sung 장진성, “Dong asia hoehwasa wa geurim ui gukjeok munje: Goryeo joseon sidae jeonching hoehwa e daehan jaegeomto” 동아시아 회화사와 그림의 국적문제: 고려·조선시대 전칭 회화작품에 대한 재검토 [The issue of Nationality in East Asian Painting: Some Thoughts on Paintings Attributed to the Goryeo and Joseon Period], *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 30 (2010): 105-24. In this article, some paintings which have been attributed to the Goryeo and Joseon periods are re-identified as Chinese paintings based on style.

origin, although they have received scant attention from Korean scholars. Fourth, the style of the Mōri scrolls is related to the monumental landscape art of the Northern Song master Guo Xi (郭熙, ca.1010- ca.1090), whose style was the most popular landscape idiom in the early Joseon period. Fifth, the Mōri scrolls also have iconographical elements in common with the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme, the most popular painting subject of the time.

### **Introduction to the Mōri Scrolls**

The Mōri scrolls are a set of three *Landscapes* with a traditional attribution to Mi Youren (1075-1151) of the Song dynasty of China. They are housed in the Mōri Museum of Art (毛利博物館), Hofu city (防府市), Yamaguchi prefecture (山口県) in Chūgoku, Japan. The Mōri Museum of Art houses items from the Mōri family, whose rule of the Chōshū Domain (長州藩主毛利家) dominated the western Honshū region of south-central Japan (modern day Yamaguchi prefecture) during the Edo period (1603-1867). Most of the collections in the Mōri Museum of Art have been handed down from generation to generation as family heirlooms before becoming incorporated in modern times into one collection as a public museum. There are no curatorial records about the three landscapes. However, they came into the possession of the Mōri family at some point during the Edo period, at the latest, according to the curator of the museum.

The Mōri *Landscapes*, each measuring 125.5 cm by 56.8 cm, are painted in ink with some colors on silk. Each panel is stored in a box that carries a title label written vertically. Two of the labels were written in ink by the same hand directly on the boxes. One, written on the side of the box lid, reads: “Authentic landscapes by Mi Yuanhui [Mi

Youren] of the Song, three scrolls” (宋元暉筆真山水, 三幅) (Fig. i-7). The second label, also directly written on the box lid in ink, reads: “Authentic landscapes, set of three scrolls, by Mi Yuanhui” (真山水豎物, 三幅對, 米元徽筆) (Fig. i-8). A third label, written in a different hand in ink on paper and attached to the box lid, reads:

Authentic paintings of landscape in three scrolls. From the brush of the Song Dynasty man Mi Youren. Youren’s style name was Yuanhui. He was the son of Mi Yuanzhang [Mi Fu]. The character “徽” used to write “hui” (暉) is incorrect.

真畫山水三幅, 宋朝人米友仁筆 友仁字元暉 米元章之子也 暉字作徽非也  
(Fig. i-9).

Thus the second writer corrected the erroneous character for “hui” used by the earlier inscriber. A seal is stamped below the inscription on the paper label, but only the first character (縣) is legible. From this documentation we learn that the three scrolls have a long-standing attribution to Mi Youren and have been a triptych at least since Edo times, when the first two labels were written by the same hand.

Contrary to the information in the labels, Mi Youren could not be the original painter of the scrolls because their painting style is totally different from that of the Chinese master and his period. Mi Youren inherited the painting tradition of his father, the famous literati painter Mi Fu (米芾, 1052-1107), but developed his own style. Youren’s evocative ink-wash landscape style, with its simplified and blurry forms of clouds and mountains strongly influenced the landscape art of the Southern Song (1127-79), can be seen in *Cloudy Mountains*, a handscroll in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig.

i-10). The Mōri scrolls have none of the distinctive characteristics that are associated with landscape paintings by Mi Youren.

Rather, as previously mentioned, the Mōri scrolls are painted in a style that is typically associated with the Guo Xi of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1126). The monumentality typical of the Guo Xi's landscapes and those of other Northern Song masters is prominent in the three scrolls, each of which shows a towering main mountain rising up from the middle ground. The needles at the branch tips of the pine trees are depicted with the signature crab claw-like (蟹爪描) brush strokes that are associated with the style of Li Cheng (919-967) and Guo Xi, the so-called Li-Guo style, as seen in the latter's *Early Spring* masterpiece of 1072 (Fig. i-11). Although indebted to the Northern Song monumental landscape tradition, the three Mōri scrolls also reveal some stylistic influences from the Southern Song landscape tradition of Ma Yuan (act. 1190-1225) and Xia Gui (act. ca. 1200-1230). This is especially apparent in the composition scheme of two of the Mōri scrolls (Figs. I-2-1 and I-2-2), which employs the so-called "one-corner" composition of the Ma family idiom. The composition of the third scroll (Fig. I-2-3) is more complex and there is less empty or "negative" space on the right side of the composition. Still, the pictorial weight is on the "positive" left side of the composition, thus it also recalls the diagonally bisected Ma-family compositional scheme. A detailed discussion of subject matter and style of each of the three Mōri scrolls and the impact they have on the viewer is given in Chapter One and Chapter Two (and in passim in Chapter Three) of this dissertation.

Review of Literature on the Mōri Scrolls

As mentioned above, the three Mōri scrolls have not received the scholarly attention they deserve. No serious articles, let alone books about them have been published. They have been included in a handful of Japanese publications albeit only in an introductory manner. To the credit of the writers, however, the origin of the three scrolls is designated as Korea, contrary to the information from the old title labels inscribed on of the lids of their wooden storage boxes that identify them as originating in China.

The Mōri scrolls were first introduced in the *Inventory of the Historical Materials from the Mōri Family* (*Mōri-ke rekishi shiryō mokuroku*, 毛利家歴史資料目録) published in 1983. In this catalogue, they are listed in the section on “imported goods” (*shōraihin*, 請来品) from the household collections of the Mōri family.<sup>12</sup> The catalogue says that the Mōri scrolls are painted in the Li-Guo landscape tradition and possibly of late Yuan date (1260-1368). However, it also allows that they may be early Joseon works of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries based on stylistic similarities with early Joseon paintings. The subject of the three works is assumed to be scrolls of the Four Seasons (*Sasido*, 四時圖) with a missing fourth panel depicting the season of winter.

In 1987, in examining an anonymous *Landscape* painting (Fig. i-5) in a private Kyoto collection as a possible early Joseon work, Kim Jeonggyo became the first Korean scholar to propose that the Mōri scrolls could be attributed to the early Joseon period

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<sup>12</sup> Yamaguchi-ken kyōiku iinkai bunkaka bunkazai hogo gakari hen 山口県教育委員会文化課文化財保護係編, ed. *Mōri-ke rekishi shiryō mokuroku – Bijutsu-kōgeihin hen* 毛利家歴史資料目録-美術・工芸品編 [Catalogue of the Historical Materials from the Mōri Family: Arts and Crafts]. Vol. 2 of *Rekishi shiryō chōsa hōkoku-sho* 山口県歴史資料調査報告書 (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-ken kyōiku iinkai Press, 1983)

based on their style.<sup>13</sup> Kim not only identified the scrolls as being of Korean origin, but also suggested that they date before the year 1550 given their stylistic similarities to *Thirty-Two Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* (fig.II-44) inscribed with the signature of Yi Jasil (李自實, dates unknown) now housed in Chion'in temple in Kyoto, Japan. Her observations about this set of paintings are significant and persuasive. Nevertheless, she did not include a detailed stylistic comparison between the Mōri scrolls and *Thirty Two Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* in her article, which was published in Japanese.

Since the 1990s, the Mōri scrolls have been referred to as early Joseon works in several significant exhibitions and books in Japan. The exhibition *Paintings of the Yi Dynasty (Richō Kaiga, 李朝絵画)* in 1996, an important show of Korean art in Japanese collections, exhibited the Mōri scrolls as Korean landscapes for the first time.<sup>14</sup> In this exhibition, Itakura Masaaki identified the subject as the Four Seasons with iconographic commonalities to the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang tradition and stylistic reference to the blue-and-green landscape tradition. Itakura's observations on the shared iconography between the Mōri scrolls and the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme are convincing. Since that 1996 exhibition, this judgement on the Mōri scrolls has been generally accepted by Japanese scholars.

In the 1997 exhibition catalogue *Mōri Motonari: His Period and Treasures* (Mōri Motonari ten: sono jidai to shihō, 毛利元就展: その時代と至宝), the Mōri scrolls are

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<sup>13</sup> Kim Jeonggyo 金貞教, "Licho shoki rōkaku sansuizu" 李朝初期 樓閣山水図 [Early Yi dynasty Landscape with Pavilions Picture], *Firokaria* フィロカリア 5 (1987): 150-58.

<sup>14</sup> Yamato Bunkakan, *Richō kaiga: Rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: Tokubetsuten* 李朝絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界, 82.



presented in the “imported objects” (将来品) section and introduced as items of trade and cultural exchange between Yamaguchi province in western Japan and the early Joseon court of Korea.<sup>15</sup> The Mōri scrolls now came to be presented from a different perspective—as objects of cultural exchange between Korea and Japan. It is also mentioned that the Mōri scrolls are painted in the Li-Guo landscape tradition.

*Joseon Dynasty* (Chōsen Ōcho, 朝鮮王朝), a volume in the *New History of World Art* series (*Sekai Bijutsu Daizenshū*, 世界美術大全集) published in 2001, also identifies the Mōri scrolls as early Joseon paintings of the early sixteenth century. In the entries for the illustrations, Ishizuki Hiroko writes that the subject of the Mōri painting set is the Four Seasons and connects the three scrolls stylistically to the Li-Guo style. She also connects them to the blue-and-green landscape tradition by pointing to the color pigments applied to accent forms in several places on each of the Mōri landscapes.<sup>16</sup>

The exhibition *Sublime Visions* (Sūkō naru sansui, 崇高なる山水) in 2008 is the most recent public showing of the Mōri scrolls. The theme of this exhibition was later landscape paintings produced in the Li-Guo style in both China and Korea. The Mōri scrolls are considered examples of paintings done in the Li-Guo style in early Joseon Korea. Tsukamoto Maromitsu introduces to the public for the first time one of the

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<sup>15</sup> Mōri Motonariten kikaku iinkai 毛利元就展企画委員, Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai 毛利元就展企画委員会, Nihon hōsō kyōkai 日本放送協会, and Tokyo-to bijutsukan 東京都美術館, eds. *Motonari ten: sono jidai to shihō* 毛利元就展: その時代と至宝 [Exhibition of Mōri Motonari: His Period and Treasures] (Tokyo: NHK Puromōshon, 1997), 247.

<sup>16</sup> Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, Ebine Toshio 海老根聡郎, and Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志, eds. *Chōsen ōchō* 朝鮮王朝 [Joseon Dynasty], vol. 11 of *Sekai Bijutsu Daizenshū, Tōyō-hen* 世界美術大全集, 東洋編 [New History of World Art Series: Asia Section] (Tokyo: Shōgakukan Press, 1999), 356.

aforementioned inscribed title labels on the painting box, the one reading: “authentic landscapes, set of three hanging scrolls, by Mi Yuanhui [Youren]” (真山水豎物 三幅對米元徽筆). He also concludes that the subject of the scrolls is the Four Seasons and that they follow the Li-Guo landscape tradition.<sup>17</sup> While his discussion of the scrolls is detailed, it does not expand the scope of previous analyses of the subject matter or style of the painting set.

Although the Mōri scrolls have been identified as early Joseon works in Japanese publications since the late 1980s, they have never received much attention in Korea except in passing in a few theses.<sup>18</sup> Park Haehun, in his dissertation, explores the Mōri scrolls as early Joseon works depicting the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang rather than the Four Seasons. He mentions the general consensus in Japanese scholarship about the Korean origin of the Mōri scrolls. However, Park does not discuss on the circumstances surrounding the early Joseon production of the three scrolls in depth or address the question of how they ended up in an old family collection in western Japan.<sup>19</sup> These are the essential matters at the heart of this dissertation.

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<sup>17</sup> Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Sūkō naru sansui: Chūgoku chōsen rikakukei sansuiga no keifu tokubetsuten* 崇高なる山水: 中国・朝鮮, 李郭系山水画の系譜特別展 [Sublime Vision: Li-Guo School Painting from China and Korea] (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 2008), 150.

<sup>18</sup> Lee Sangnam 李相男, “Joseon chogi sosangpalgyeongdo yeongu” 朝鮮初期瀟湘八景圖 研究 [Research on Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers of the Early Joseon Dynasty - Focusing on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in Sacheonja Collection, Japan], M.A. Thesis (Seoul: Ewha Womans University, 2000). Also see Park Haehoon 박해훈, “Joseon sidae sosangpalgyeongdo yeongu” 朝鮮時代瀟湘八景圖 研究. [Research on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers of the Joseon Dynasty], Ph.D. Dissertation (Seoul: Hong’ik University, 2008)

<sup>19</sup> Park Haehoon, “Joseon sidae Sosangpalgyeongdo yeongu 朝鮮時代瀟湘八景圖 研究,” 245-47.

## Organization, Content, Approach, and Methodology

The five chapters of this dissertation discuss the likely Joseon origin of the Mōri scrolls from different perspectives. Subject matter is examined in Chapter One and painting style in Chapter Two. A “lost” landscape tradition to which the Mōri scrolls belong is addressed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four suggests the possible painter and patron of the Mōri scrolls. Lastly, Chapter Five focuses on the history or backstory of the Mōri scrolls from the time of their creation in the fifteenth or sixteenth century up to the present day. It is hoped that these five chapters will not only add to our knowledge of early Joseon landscape art but also increase recognition of the significance works like the Mōri scrolls to our understanding of cultural exchange in East Asia’s premodern period.

Identification of the subject matter of the Mōri scrolls is dependent upon how many panels were in the original set. The two most likely subjects are either the Four Seasons or the Eight Views of Xiang and Xiang Rivers. As mentioned above, Japanese scholars favor the former and a Korean scholar has proposed the latter as the subject matter of the three scrolls. I will examine the merits of both possibilities. Then I will move to situate the imagery within the context of early Joseon art and culture before proposing that the subject of the Mōri scrolls is most likely a variation of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, which I will refer to as “variations of the Eight Views.” I base my view on evidence from the literature of the period, particularly *jehwasi* (poetic colophons, 題畫詩) composed by early Joseon literati for paintings.<sup>20</sup> These *jehwasi*

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<sup>20</sup> To find *jehwasi* poems of the early Joseon dynasty, the following books and website were used; Hanguk gojeon beonyeokwon 한국고전번역원, *Hagak munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊 [Comprehensive Korean Literary Collections in Sino-Korean] (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 1990~); Jin Hongseop 秦弘燮, *Joseon Jeongi Hoehwapyeon* 朝鮮前期繪畫編 [Paintings of the Early Joseon]. Vol 2 of *Hanguk misul jaryo jipseong* 韓國美術資料集成 [Compilation of Sources on Korean Art] (Seoul: Ilji-sa, 1991); DB of Korean

poems, compiled and published in the *munjip* (文集 collected writings) of eminent early Joseon scholar-officials, provide invaluable information about the subject matter of paintings collected and enjoyed by the cultural elite at literary gatherings in early Joseon times. Given the tremendous loss of early Joseon paintings, *jehwasi* poems are often the only records we have of the subjects and titles of paintings produced at that time.

The main goal of the second chapter is to determine the stylistic compatibility of the Mōri scrolls with other early Joseon paintings. Stylistic comparison of the Mōri scrolls to works credibly assigned to early Joseon will be the most critical and challenging undertaking in this chapter. At the same time, the possibility that the Mōri scrolls might be Chinese works cannot be overlooked, as they follow the Li-Guo tradition and retain the monumentality that is associated with classical Northern Song landscape art. Therefore, the chapter begins with a survey of the transformation of Guo Xi tradition during the Jin, Yuan and early Ming dynasties and with the comparison of the Mōri scrolls to early Ming revivals of the Guo Xi style. Turning to consider the Mōri scrolls as Korean works, I introduce the court artist An Gyeon and the preeminent role he played in early Joseon painting, examine thoroughly the Mōri scrolls in the broader context of

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Classics (<http://db.itkc.or.kr/itkcdb/mainIndexIframe.jsp>). For secondary sources on the popularity of the *jehwasi* genre in the early Joseon dynasty, see: Choe Gyeong-hwan 崔敬桓, “Hanguk jehwasi ui jinsul yangsang yeongu” 韓國題畫詩의 陳述樣相研究 [Research on Aspects of *Jehwasi* Poetry in Korea]. Ph. D dissertation (Seogang University 서강대학교, 1990); Go Yeon-hee 고연희, “Joseon chogi sansuhwa wa jehwasi bigyeo gochal” 朝鮮初期 山水畫와 題畫詩 비교고찰 [Examination of Paintings and Poems on Paintings during the Early Joseon dynasty] in *Sigasa was yesulsa ui gwanryeon yangsang* 詩歌史와 藝術史의 관련 양상 [Aspects of the Relationship between the History of Poetry and the History of Art], ed. Hanguk siga yeonguhui 韓國時歌研究會 (Seoul: Bogosa, 2000): 343-74; Many literati of the time wrote numerous *jehwasi* poems for paintings. For example, a literati Seo Geojeong (1420-88) left more than 200 *jehwasi* poems about paintings, see: Min Byeongsu 閔丙秀, “Seo Geojeong ui sisege” 徐居正의 詩世界 [Poetic World of Seo Geojeong] in *Seo Geojeung munkak ui jonghapjeok geomto* 徐居正文學의 종합적 검토 [Comprehensive Examination of Seo Geojeong’s Literary Works] (Suji: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1998), 131-32.

surviving (and also anonymous) paintings done in the so-called An Gyeon style, and closely compare the Mōri scrolls to two rare signed and dated early Joseon paintings: An Gyeon's *Dream-Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (1447) and Yi Jasil's *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* (1550). Finally, in this chapter I look for other clues that might help to locate the Mōri scrolls on the Korean peninsula in the early Joseon period. I look closely at the pictorial elements such as architecture, furnishings, costumes, and the demeanor of the figures to determine if they are compatible with Korean material culture of that time. I match the narrative content or vignettes painted in each of the three scrolls with descriptions of social activities recorded in *jehwasi* poems. The dominant painting formats of the early Joseon are also investigated here. Through this comparative analysis of style, subject matter, and format I attempt to confirm the hypothesis that the Mōri scrolls are early Joseon works while placing them securely in the greater context of East Asian painting of this time.

Chapter Three introduces paintings similar to the Mōri scrolls in composition, and sometimes in brushwork that likewise represent the Ming and Joseon revival of monumental landscape painting in the Guo Xi style in the first half of the fifteenth century and also survived primarily in Japanese collections. I argue that these works, together with the Mōri scrolls and An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (1447), represent a "lost" genre of monumental landscape painting that remained popular at the Joseon court at least until the early seventeenth century, as demonstrated by paintings attributed to Yi Jing (李澄, 1581-after 1643), an influential court painter during the reign of the King Seonjo (宣祖 r. 1567-1608).

Chapter Four pursues the identity of the artist and the patron of the Mōri scrolls. To this end, I will note commonalities between the three Mōri scrolls and Buddhist paintings by court artists versed in landscape painting and the application of the color pigments. It is my view that the high quality of the materials and workmanship evident in Mōri scrolls points to their production by an artist working at the Dohwaseo (圖畫署, Bureau of Painting) during the early Joseon period. No examination of early Joseon art patronage can ignore Prince Anpyeong and his pivotal role in the Korean Renaissance that lasted until the Hideyoshi invasions in the last decade of sixteenth century is essential. Prince Anpyeong's diverse activities and tastes not only show acceptance of Ming China, but also highlight the artistic and cultural commonalities between the early Ming and early Joseon courts.

In Chapter Five, the later history of the Mōri scrolls is examined. I begin by exploring two possible scenarios for how the scrolls ended up in Japan. One possibility is that they arrived in Japan at the end of the Hideyoshi invasions as war booty carried back by a Mōri clansman who led one of the big military charges up the Korea peninsula. The other and more likely possibility is that the scrolls were given to a member of the Ōuchi clan as a diplomatic gift from the Joseon court. The Ōuchi were a cultured family who ruled western Chūgoku and held rights to the prosperous official tally trade with Ming China. The Mōri daimyō later absorbed the Ōuchi and their household items, including their valuable collection of *shōraihin* or “imported goods.” That is to say, the original owner of the Mōri scrolls was the Ōuchi family and the scrolls were likely transmitted to Japan in pre-Edo times as gifts from the early Joseon court to the latter. The Ōuchi received the scrolls as royal gifts because they enjoyed a unique and close relationship

with early Joseon Korea through loyal service to its court and through claims of Korean descent from a Baekje ancestor. Records such as those of *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty) document the close relationship between the early Joseon court and the Ōuchi clan and their frequent exchanges of art and culture. I then investigate the circumstances under which the Mōri scrolls lost their original Korean identity and acquired the new and more prestigious attribution to Mi Youren in keeping with Japanese taste in the Edo period.

This comprehensive examination of the Mōri scrolls, although wide-ranging and detailed, has a simple objective: the restoration of these rare and beautiful survivors to their rightful place in Korea in a time of artistic and cultural rebirth. This study shows how old paintings moved from one cultural milieu to another through trade and cultural exchange could acquire new attributions that were intended to increase their prestige but eventually had the opposite effect and concealed their true value.

## Chapter One

### The Subject Matter of the Mōri Scrolls

This chapter examines the Mōri scrolls in relation to two established and beloved themes in East Asian painting that previous scholarship has proposed as the scrolls' subject matter—the Four Seasons and the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers.<sup>1</sup> The former is usually painted in a set of four or eight paintings. The latter comes in a set of eight paintings. Only three paintings, now mounted as hanging scrolls, have survived in the Mōri set. There should be one or five more panels if the intended subject was the Four Seasons or five more if it was the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang. Since the three Mōri panels bear no titles, any attempt to identify their subject must depend on a close examination of each scroll's iconography or figural and landscape motifs.

The first panel, which we shall call *Mōri Scroll One*, shows a mountain market with a tavern, identified by its waving flag, in a narrow opening halfway up the curving spine of the towering mountain in the middle distance. On the path around the bend from the marketplace are mounted travelers making their way toward a gated mountain pass. Tucked below the busy market are two clusters of secluded multi-story buildings, toward which other travelers are making their way on foot and on horseback. A waterfall, a housing complex flanked between two clusters of tall pine trees, a round viewing pavilion

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<sup>1</sup> The individual painting titles of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang (Kor. Sosang palgyeongdo 瀟湘八景圖) are; *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* 平沙落雁; *Returning Sail from Distant Shore* 遠浦歸帆; *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* 山市晴嵐; *River and Sky in Evening Snow* 江天暮雪 *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* 洞庭秋月; *Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang* 瀟湘夜雨; *Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple* 煙寺暮鐘; *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* 漁村夕照.



on the riverbank, a scholar being ferried by a boatman, and travelers on foot and horseback populate the foreground (Fig. I-1).

The second panel, *Mōri Scroll Two*, depicts a temple complex hidden in a secluded pocket near the summit of the towering mountain. In the middle distance midway up the mountain, tucked into a V-shaped and pine-clad gap in the mountain, is a three-story pavilion. Two figures, one on donkey and the other on foot, are making their way around the bend to the headwaters of a waterfall cascading down the sheer cliff below that pavilion. In the foreground, a group of travelers on horseback and on foot are emerging from the recesses of the mountain. Immediately to the right of the travelers is a person welcoming a guest at the thatched gate of a country retreat. Down the path from the travelers is a person crossing a wooden bridge, balancing two loads on a pole across his shoulder, heading toward a riverside pavilion under a cluster of tall trees. Partly hidden behind rocks on the pavilion's bank is a moored boat toward which two figures in a boat, one of them casting a fishing net, are approaching (Fig. I-2)

The third and final panel, *Mōri Scroll Three*, portrays a high mountain built up with two luxurious pavilion complexes in the far distance and a village hamlet obscured by thick clouds overhead, a thatched viewing pavilion on an overhanging cliff, and a gated country home surrounded by a bamboo grove in the middle distance. In the foreground, at the lower right corner of the composition, is a riverside retreat with a thatched gate under pines and leafy trees. On the river to the right of the rustic retreat is a small fishing boat with two figures, one seated at the bow and other standing behind him steering an oar. The boat is moving toward the opposite shore where there is another rustic fishing boat moored behind rocks and two travelers making their way up the

mountain. There is an abundance of narrative detail and human activity in this composition. Some people seem at leisure viewing waterfalls. Others are making their way on foot and horseback up the mountain, perhaps to join them. Some people are at still at work, sweeping the courtyard or steering their boat back to shore with the day's catch. Others have perhaps finished the day's work and are seen resting under sheltering trees. This panel has a strong sense of the autumn season as revealed by the bright reds of the leafy trees (Fig. I-3).

Without question, the iconography or motifs that appear in each of the three Mōri scrolls as described above share iconographic elements, common to standard sets of landscapes whose subject is indisputably either the Four Seasons or the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang, such as a mountain market, full autumn moon, fishing activity, and a temple complex in the distant mountain. A strong sense of the season is apparent in *Scroll Three*, which makes it a good candidate for the autumn scene from the Four Seasons theme.<sup>2</sup> Yet, Korean painting scholar Professor Ahn Hwi-joon, argues that most of the scenes from the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang produced during the early Joseon dynasty can be linked to specific seasons.<sup>3</sup> Further, some of the individual scenes from

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<sup>2</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Jeon an gyeon pil sasipalgyeongdo” 傳安堅筆 四時八景圖 [Eight Views of the Four Seasons Attributed to an Kyeon], *Gogo misul* 考古美術 136-37 (1978); 72-8. Republished in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu* 韓國繪畫史研究 [History of Korean Painting] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999), 380-88: *Late Summer* is similar *Night Raining from Xiao Xiang* and *Late Winter* is related to *River and Sky in Evening Snow*.

<sup>3</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, “Hanguk ui sosangpalgyeongdo” 韓國의 瀟湘八景圖 [Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers Painting in Korea], in *Hanguk hoeuihwa ui jeontong* 韓國繪畫의 傳統 [Tradition of the Korean Painting] (Seoul : Munye Chulpansa, 1988), 170-71. Standard scenes from the Eight Views set like *River and Sky in Evening Snow* and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* convey sense of season as part of their titles. Furthermore, Professor Ahn pointed out that one of the characteristics of early Joseon Xiao and

the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang set convey a distinct season in their titles, such as fall in “Autumn Moon of the Dongting” and winter in “River and Sky in Evening Snow.” Thus, since both painting subjects—Four Seasons and Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang— share pictorial characteristics that are implied through the individual titles in their respective sets, it becomes even more difficult to determine to which of these two popular East Asian themes our three “orphaned” Mōri panels should be assigned.

The chapter presents the investigation of the iconographic, and to a lesser extent, compositional “genome” of the three orphan scrolls that supports my conclusion that, in terms of its subject matter, the Mōri scrolls belong to the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang family tree. However, the three orphans do not belong to the main lineage of that family tree to which we are familiar, but rather to a “lost” secondary lineage that I will call “variations on the theme of the *Eight Views* 變形八景圖.” The surprise, as we shall see, is that although no complete painting sets of this secondary lineage of the Eight Views theme have survived, their actual existence is documented in Korean literature of the time.

### **I. 1. The Mōri Scrolls and the Four Seasons Theme**

We will first examine the possibility that the subject matter of the three Mōri panels belong to the Four Seasons genre in East Asian landscape painting. Japanese scholars are

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Xiang paintings is a strong sense of season. Many scenes from early Joseon *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* could be linked to specific seasons: *Mountain Market*, *Clear with Rising Mist* and *Returning Sail from Distant Shore* evoke the summer season, *Night Rain on Xiao and Xiang*, *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*, and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* are linked to autumn, and *River and Sky in Evening Snow* is linked to winter.

the main advocates of this identification, seeing *Scroll One* (Fig. I-1) as spring, *Scroll Two* (Fig. I-2) as summer, and *Scroll Three* (Fig. I-3) as autumn. The missing fourth scroll would have been winter.<sup>4</sup> The Japanese proposal is plausible, because a sense of season permeates *Scroll Three*, and to a lesser extent, *Scroll One*. The reddish tints of the trees and the intentional use of red pigments for the multi-story buildings and houses strongly identify *Scroll Three* as an autumn scene. *Scroll One* is considered a spring scene by the partisans of the Four Seasons theory, based on traces of the white blossoms remaining on the trees growing on the cliffs in the right foreground of the composition.<sup>5</sup>

Literary records of Four Seasons abound in the form of *jehwasi*, a “poem on (or ode to) a painting.” Written by scholars of the time as painting colophons, *jehwasi* confirm that the Four Seasons theme was one of the most favored painting subjects.<sup>6</sup> The viewing of paintings was also an elegant pastime for scholarly gatherings of the time. Scholars in attendance usually expressed their appreciation of the experience by composing *jehwasi* poems about the paintings that were taken out by their generous host

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<sup>4</sup> Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Richō kaiga: Rinkoku no meichōaa bi no sekai: Tokubetsuten* 李朝絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界: 特別展 [Painting of the Yi Dynasty] (Nara-shi 奈良市: Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, 1996), 82; Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, Ebine Toshio 海老根聡郎, and Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志, *Chōsen Ōchō* 朝鮮王朝 [Joseon dynasty]. Vol. 11 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū. Tōyōhen* [New History of World Art Series: Asia] (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), 365; Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Sūkō aaru sansui: Chūgoku-chōsen, rikakukei sansuiga no keifu tokubetsuten* 崇高なる山水: 中国・朝鮮, 李郭系山水画の系譜特別展 [Sublime Vision: Li-Guo School Painting from China and Koea] (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 2008), 150.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 150.

<sup>6</sup> Go Yeon-hee 고연희, “Joseon chogi sansuhwa wa jehwasi bigyeo gochal” 朝鮮初期山水畫와 題畫詩 비교고찰 [Examination of Paintings and Poems on Paintings during the Early Joseon dynasty] in *Sigasa was yesulsa ui gwanryeon yangsang* 詩歌史와 藝術史의 관련 양상 [Aspects of Relationships between History of Poem and History of Art], ed. Hanguk siga yeonguhui 韓國時歌研究會 (Seoul: Bogosa, 2000), 358-61.

for viewing. Such odes to paintings or “poetic colophons” were written in Sino-Korean in the *shi* (詩) poetic form that developed in Tang China, and they usually recorded the subject matter of painting sets and/or titles of individual scenes in the set. *Jehwasi*, together with other writings, are published in the munjip (collected writings) of a scholar. A search through munjip collections with early Joseon *jehwasi* poems revealed that paintings of the Four Seasons subject were formatted in various assemblages: as a set of four paintings (*sasido*, 四時圖), a set of eight paintings (*sasipalgyeongdo*, 四時八景圖), or as individual scenes entitled *Spring Landscape* 春景圖, *Spring in the Mountains* 春山圖, *Summer Landscape* 夏景山水圖, *Autumn in the Mountains* 秋山圖, *Winter Landscape* 冬景圖 and *Snow Landscape* 雪景圖.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the popularity of the Four Seasons as a painting subject as documented in *jehwasi* poetry, the sole surviving complete set of paintings possibly devoted this theme is an album, *Eight Views of the Four Seasons*, in the collection of the National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Fig. I-4). A modern scholar researched the paintings, and subsequently supplied this title; this is now generally accepted as the album’s title.<sup>8</sup> Of the eight leaves in this set, the two depicting winter evoke that chilly season convincingly. The other six leaves, however, do not show as strong a sense of season. (Fig. I-4-1). Generic motifs such as figures, trees, buildings, and mountains appear in the generalized

<sup>7</sup> Jin Hongseop 秦弘燮, *Joseon jeongi hoehwapyeon* 朝鮮前期繪畫編 [Painting of the Early Joseon Dynasty]. Vol 2 of *Hanguk misul jaryo jipseong* 韓國美術資料集成 [Compilation of Sources on Korean Art] (Seoul: Ilji-sa, 1991), 56-60.

<sup>8</sup> The album in the National Museum of Korea actually contains sixteen leaves. Ahn Hwi-joon titled eight of them as the *Eight Views of the Four Seasons* and the remaining eight leaves as *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (fig. I-4). Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Jeon An Gyeon pil Sasipalgyeongdo 傳安堅筆四時八景圖,” 136.

landscape compositions of all eight paintings. The overall impression imparted in every scene is that of everyday life as lived by ordinary people throughout the year. There are figures in conversation under a thatched pavilion, people returning home, and fishermen going about their work in a peaceful and leisurely atmosphere.

There are similar problems with accepting the Mōri scrolls as a Four Seasons ensemble. *Scroll One* and *Scroll Two*, which some assume to be the spring and summer scenes, lack the strong sense of season found in the autumn scene depicted in *Scroll Three*. If the three Mōri scrolls were from a landscape set of the Four Seasons, the painter would have portrayed as obvious a sense of season in *Scroll One* and *Scroll Two* as he did in *Scroll Three*, perhaps through energized plant and landscape forms to showcase the spring season or trees thick with verdant leaves to show summer.

Compositional analysis of the Mōri scrolls also challenges the theory that they were meant to represent Four Seasons. The seasonal progression should read from right to left, following the viewing custom for sets of paintings in East Asia. Thus, we would first look at *Scroll One* (Spring), where most of the pictorial elements are located on the right side of the composition. Moving to the left, we come to *Scroll Two* (Summer), where most of the pictorial elements are located on the left side. Viewed in tandem like this, *Scroll One* (Spring) and *Scroll Two* (Summer) are meant to be read as a pair with compositions that are almost mirror images in terms of landscape mass. In this manner of reading both contiguous panels as a visual pair, the third panel of the Mōri set as we continue to the left would be the autumn scene and most of the pictorial elements should appear on the right side of the composition in order to balance with the fourth (and missing) winter panel, where the landscape mass should appear on the left side of the

composition. Instead, in the Mōri autumn scene most of the compositional elements are, in fact, on the left side. That is to say, the composition of *Scroll Three* should be reversed to find its proper place in a set of Four Seasons landscapes.

Compositional evidence for rejection of the three Mōri scrolls as having come from a set of four hanging scrolls forming a Four Seasons landscape ensemble is provided by existing intact landscape sets from the early Joseon period such as the previously discussed *Eight Views of Four Seasons* in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Fig. I-4), the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* in the temple Daiganji (Fig. I-5), and a set of four *Landscapes* in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul (Fig. I-6). No matter their format, early Joseon landscape sets share certain compositional characteristics: each painting uses a diagonal composition (*pyeonpa gudo*, 偏頗構圖) in which most of the pictorial elements are massed on one side of the picture plane and two contiguous paintings are meant to be read together as a pair (Fig. I-7). In other words, the composition of an individual panel is unbalanced or weighted to one side, but when viewed with its adjacent “fraternal twin” the two form a symmetrical and visually stable pair.<sup>9</sup> The most appropriate format for showing this compositional device is the folding screen (*byeongpung*, 병풍 屏風). The complete painting sets that have survived from the early Joseon period, as well as abundant documentation from contemporary *jehwasi*

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<sup>9</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Joseon jeongi An gyeonpa sansuhwa gudo ui yeongu” 朝鮮前期 安堅派 山水畫 構圖의 系譜 [Lineage in Landscape compositions of the An Gyeon school during the early Joseon Dynasty] in *Chou hwang suyong baksa gohui ginyeom misul sahak nonchong* 蕉雨 黃壽永 博士 古稀紀念 美術史學 論叢 [Festschrift in honor of Dr. Hwang Suyeong on his seventieth birthday] (Seoul: Tongmunguan, 1988), 823-44. Reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu* 한국 회화사 연구 [History of Korean Painting] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999), 408-27.

poems, show that the folding screen became the most common and fashionable painting format in Korea. The *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* in the Daigan-ji collection mentioned above is a well-known intact example of such an early Joseon screen (Fig. I-5). Transported to Japan in the year 1539 by the monk-envoy Sonkai, this eight-panel work shows the typical components of early Joseon multi-panel screen compositions: each individual panel has an unbalanced diagonal composition but two contiguous panels form a balanced and harmonious single composition. Thus the Daigan-ji folding screen, like others produced in Korea at the time, should be read as four pairs of landscape compositions, not eight separate compositions.

Although each the three Mōri scrolls are much more complex in composition and landscape elements than the scenes depicted in the Eight Views at Daigan-ji, *Scroll One* and *Scroll Two* do show the unique early Joseon compositional scheme. Viewed individually, the composition of both is diagonally bisected and unbalanced, but when the two are put together, the pair forms a nearly symmetrical and balanced composition (Fig. I-8). Again, if the Mōri scrolls were meant to be a landscape set of the Four Seasons, the autumn scene (Fig. I-3) and the missing winter scene would need to be a compositionally matched pair like the spring and the summer scenes. In that scenario, the pictorial elements of the autumn scene would be massed on the right side of the painting and the elements of winter scene massed on the left side. However, the components of *Scroll Three*, undeniably an autumn scene, are in fact on the left side, which makes it impossible to accept the Four Seasons as the intended subject of the painting set to which the three scrolls once belonged (Fig. I-9).



It should be noted that painting sets depicting the Four Seasons theme and Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme in Muromachi Japan (1338-1573) do not follow the Korean “tandem pair” approach to composition. Japanese renditions of these two subjects often share common and interchangeable iconography and painting styles, as was the case in contemporary Korea, but Japanese painters did not employ the “tandem pair” approach to formatting landscape compositions of folding screens. In fact, landscape masters of the Muromachi period made little distinction in iconography, painting style, or composition between the Four Seasons theme and the Eight Views theme. This can be shown by comparing a folding screen of the *Landscape in Four Seasons* attributed to Shūbun in the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. I-10) with a folding screen of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* attributed to Shūbun (周文, active fifteenth century) in the Kosetsu Museum of Art (Fig. I-11). Although their painting subjects are ostensibly different, the differences cannot be discerned visually. Both works are in the same eight-panel screen format and have almost similar iconography—distant temples, returning boats, descending geese, autumn moon, rain, and winter snow. Given this background, it is not surprising that the Mōri scrolls with their strong similarities to landscape sets depicting the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme but surviving only as three panels would be mistakenly identified as a set of Four Seasons landscapes by Japanese scholars.

The situation is somewhat different in early Joseon Korea with regard to paintings of these two closely related subjects. As discussed above, early Joseon depictions of the Four Seasons and Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang have in common a sense of season and some shared iconography. With the possible exception of the eight-leaf album of the *Eight Views of the Four Seasons* attributed to An Gyeon in the National Museum of

Korea, no other sets of Four Seasons landscapes have survived to allow iconographic comparisons with the few surviving sets of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang (See Table 1, page. 50-51). However, it is unlikely that early-Joseon depictions of the Four Seasons and the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang would share compositions, iconography, and formatting as seen in contemporary Muromachi painting. This notion is supported by evidence from *jehwasi*, which reveal that there was great diversity in early Joseon depictions of the Four Seasons theme. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the titles of early Joseon paintings recorded in *jehwasi* poetic colophons suggest that sets of Four Seasons paintings had diverse configurations, such as four scenes, eight scenes, and single scenes (i.e., *Landscape in Wind and Rain*, *Autumn Landscape*, *Summer Landscape*, and *Winter Landscape*) and appeared in various formats, such as album leaves, folding screens, and hanging scrolls.<sup>10</sup> In sum, the configuration and formatting of landscape sets of the Four Seasons and the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers do not follow the same pattern and the two subjects were not interchangeable in Korea.

## **I. 2. The Mōri Scrolls and the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang” Theme**

Although Japanese scholars consider the Four Seasons to be the most likely subject of the Mōri scrolls, they have also acknowledged the close iconographical similarities between them and works depicting the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme.<sup>11</sup> Each of the Mōri scrolls has some iconography found in standard depictions of the Eight Views of the

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<sup>10</sup> See note 7 in this chapter.

<sup>11</sup> See pages 10~14. Introduction note 14~17.

Xiao and Xiang Rivers: Mōri *Scroll One* (Fig. I-1) has the “mountain market” motif found in the “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” scene; *Scroll Two* (Fig. I-2) has the “working fisherman” iconic in the “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” scene; and *Scroll Three* (Fig. I-3) has the “full moon” that commonly appears in renditions of the “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting.”

Generally, the landscape scenes illustrated in the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang contain typical motifs that match their titles. A mountain market populated with people would be typical for the title “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist;” an early evening glow, a fishing scene, a tavern flag, and a secluded hamlet for the “Fishing Village in Evening Glow;” returning boats on the horizon and fishermen on the near shore for “Returning Sail from Distant Shore;” sheets of rain and windswept trees for “Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang;” a full moon for “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting;” a remote temple complex toward which a scholar or monk makes his way for “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple;” a flock of geese descending onto sandbars for “Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar;” and snow and dark skies for “River and Sky in Evening Snow.”<sup>12</sup> A close examination of the Mōri scrolls reveals that each panel contains some iconographical motifs listed above as typical for each of the eight landscape titles. However, in the three Mōri panels they do not adhere to the “orthodox” order of appearance found in standard Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang landscape sets. For example, the “distant temple complex” motif, typical for the scene “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple,” appears in Mōri *Scroll Two* (whose most appropriate title would be *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*) and reappears in Mōri *Scroll Three* (whose

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<sup>12</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Hanguk ui sosangpalgyeongdo 韓國의 瀟湘八景圖,” 172-74.

most appropriate title would be *Autumn Moon Over Lake Dongting*). In short, “distant temple complex” motif, which should be unique to only one of the standard scenes from the Eight Views appears in two of the Mōri panels. The iconography of each Mōri panel is eclectic, a mix of elements from more than one scene of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme.

To complicate matters, some of the iconography specific to a given scene of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang is excluded from that scene in the Mōri scrolls. For example, *Mōri Scroll Two* (Fig. I-2) is the most likely candidate as a depiction of the “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” title from the series. That title should have a “tavern flag” motif in the scene. Instead, the “tavern flag” appears in *Scroll One*, not *Scroll Two*. Complicating matters even further, the Mōri scrolls contain motifs and narrative details that are unusual and do not appear in orthodox depictions of the Eight Views theme. Vignettes like “returning on horseback” (歸旅), in *Mōri Scroll One* (Fig. I-1), “travelers on the road” (行旅), in *Mōri Scroll Two* and “viewing a waterfall” (觀瀑) in *Mōri Scroll Three* do not usually appear in standard depictions of the Eight Views subject.

Also, unlike other renditions of the Eight Views subject in the early Joseon, there are a large number of figures in the Mōri scrolls engaged in activities that do not normally appear in standard painting sets of this subject.<sup>13</sup> Although these figures are

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<sup>13</sup> Figural motifs appearing in the Mōri scrolls: *Scroll One*—a figure crosses a bridge pulling a donkey; a seated scholar fishing at the bow of a boat while a standing oarsman rows at the stern; several clusters of people in a busy market place; and a figure on a donkey preceded by his servant on foot shouldering a load heading toward a gated mountain pass. *Scroll Two*—two scholars on foot heading toward a distant temple; scholar on a donkey preceded by a servant on foot; three chatting travelers on donkeys; a guest being welcomed into an open thatched gate; man crossing a wooden bridge balancing two bundles on a pole; woman looking out of a house; and scholar and fisherman on a small boat. *Scroll Three* has many figures engaged in various vignettes that could stand alone as a small painting of “landscape with figures” (小景山水人物畫). Separate works could be made from the three seated figures on a rocky terrace to form a work

depicted on a tiny scale, the role they play in the landscape composition of each Mōri panel is not negligible, as their activities impart a vivid energy to each composition. Because of the significant vignettes created by these figures, the Mōri set of paintings has a different mood from more orthodox renditions of the Xiao and Xiang theme in East Asia. Historically, the topic of Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang in both poetry and painting resulted in works of a reclusive and tranquil nature. Pictorial representations of the subject have been described as “poems without sound” (無聲詩) and “paintings with sound” (有聲畫).<sup>14</sup> As such, the overall mood of the paintings is sensitive and the landscape elements are presented to convey a calm and lyrical realm. The Mōri scrolls, however, convey vivacity, energy, and the busy and mundane realm of man. In all three panels, the lively noise of human activity and laughter is nearly audible. The figures in the paintings are engrossed in everyday scenes of work or play in the manner if not the spirit of the figures in Guo Xi’s *Early Spring* masterpiece of 1072. Like this Northern Song monumental landscape, the compositions of all three Mōri scrolls combine various motifs to create a lively, realistic view.

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entitled “Viewing a Waterfall” (觀瀑), from the figures in the multi-story pavilion to form “Enjoying the Harvest Moon,” from the two scholars on the foot-path to form “Strolling astride the Mountain Railing,” from the *qin*-carrying servant and scholar to form “Greeting the Guest at the Thatched Gate,” the scholar on a donkey followed by a servant balancing two bundles on a pole to form “Traveling into the Mountains,” from the boatman and his scholar-passenger to form “Moonlit Outing on the Autumn Stream,” from the three seated figures to form “Resting under the Sound of Whispering Pines,” and from the figure inside a walled compound to form “Ten Pleasures of Rustic Life.” These are made-up titles, but they aptly convey the content of lost early Joseon landscape subjects as found in *Mōri Scroll Three* that could have been painted separately on a smaller format.

<sup>14</sup> Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song Chin: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000), 51-72.

A landscape painting that has recently come to light lends support to the notion that the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang can be broadly identified as the source of the subject matter of the Mōri scrolls. *Mountain Landscape* (Fig.I-12) in the collection of the British Museum appeared in a Christie's auction of Japanese and Chinese paintings in New York in 2000.<sup>15</sup> Park Haehun has pointed out that the pictorial elements of this *Mountain Landscape* are remarkably similar to those of the Mōri scrolls; he argued that the painting must come from the same set and that the subject was the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang. His proposed sequence for this set would make the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* represent the “Evening Bell Sound from Mist-shrouded Temple” (煙寺暮鐘), Mōri *Scroll One* the “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” (山市晴嵐), Mōri *Scroll Two* the “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” (漁村夕照), and Mōri *Scroll Three* “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting” (洞庭秋月). The British Museum *Mountain Landscape* contains a multi-story building complex with tiled roofs and vermilion-tinted eaves, columns, and railings in the middle distance toward which a scholar on horseback and his servant are traveling. The buildings are identified as the temple in the “Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple.”<sup>16</sup> If we focus only on iconography, the Mōri scrolls could be regarded as Eight Views scenes, but detailed analysis of each scroll's iconography leaves reasonable doubt about this conclusion.

There are also stylistic grounds for doubting that the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* belongs to the same set of paintings as the Mōri scrolls. For instance, the

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<sup>15</sup> Christie's, ed. *Japanese and Korean Art (Christie's New York)* (New York: September, 2000): 189-91. Fig.274.

<sup>16</sup> Park Haehun 박해훈, “Joseon sidae Sosangpalgyeongdo yeongu 朝鮮時代瀟湘八景圖研究,” 245-47.

temple complex in the *Mountain Landscape* differs in form and style from the temple compounds depicted in Mōri *Scroll Two* and *Scroll Three* (Fig. I-13). The shapes of the temple roofs in both Mōri scrolls are strikingly similar to each other and the compounds are halfway hidden in the distant mountains. In contrast, the temple complex in the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* is more exposed and their temple roofs and general form are drawn by another hand. The brushwork used for rendering landscape forms such as mountain peaks, rock, and foliage in the *Mountain Landscape* is also more restrained and refined than that of the Mōri scrolls. Unless these differences are reconciled, it is hard to accept the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* as belonging to the same set of paintings.

In sum, while each of the three Mōri scrolls has motifs in common with standard renditions of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, in no scene does the iconography completely match that of a specific Eight Views scene. The painter appears to have selected various motifs from the Eight Views repertoire but combined them as he saw fit, without regard for the iconographic rules of the set. Perhaps he did not think it important to follow the rules. In any event, the artist of the Mōri scrolls employed in a single composition iconography that would normally appear in two or more compositions from standard sets of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang. Moreover, the painter of the Mōri scrolls took the liberty of introducing motifs not usually part of the Eight Views theme. Therefore, we cannot accept the notion that the Mōri scrolls were simply part of a standard Eight Views set.

Turning to specific elements in the Mōri scrolls, several in Mōri *Scroll One* are typical of the “mountain market” (山市) theme, mainly the market populated with people,

but also the riders heading toward a mountain pass, the tavern with flags waving in the wind, the scholar fishing on a boat, and a traveler pulling a donkey forward. The mountain market itself is located midway up the mountain in a narrow gap between two massive rock formations. At the entrance to the market are a group of shops nestled beneath tall pines. Warmth seems to fill the air as shoppers and vendors bow deeply at the waist to one another and exchange gossip. This type of market scene became permanently associated with the “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” subject title after the Southern Song master Wang Hong (c.1160) first depicted it as one of his *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, now in the collection of the Princeton Museum.<sup>17</sup> From the early twelfth century onward, this “mountain market” appears regularly in landscape scenes illustrating this subject title from the Eight Views series.

By the time of early Joseon dynasty, there was great consistency in the way this principal “mountain market” motif was depicted in scenes of the “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” subject title. This can be seen in three credible early Joseon works of this subject title now preserved in the Yuhyeonjae Collection 幽玄齋, Japan; in the Kyushu National Museum; and in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art (Figs. II-113~116).<sup>18</sup> All three works have the “mountain market” vignette in their “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” panel of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* set. It takes the same form as that in *Mōri Scroll One*—busy and noisy market populated with people and shops is glimpsed from a bird’s eye perspective through a narrow, crescent-shaped

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<sup>17</sup> Alfreda Murck, “Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers by Wang Hung,” in *Images of the Mind: selections from the Edward L. Elliott family and John B. Elliott collections of Chinese calligraphy and painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University*, ed. Wen C Fong (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 226-27.

<sup>18</sup> These works will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2: 99, Figures II.113–116.



opening in the bedrock of a high mountain. This offers indisputable proof that the subject of *Mōri Scroll One* is most likely “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist,” one of the eight scenes comprising the Eight Views landscape set.

The subject of *Mōri Scroll Two* is more complicated to identify because it does not have a primary iconographic motif like the “mountain market” in *Scroll One*. Instead, *Scroll Two* contains two less visually prominent motifs that approximate the established iconography of individual subject titles in the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang theme. The first is the “temple in the distant mountain” motif. Two separate groups of scholars, one group riding a donkey and the other on foot, make their way up the mountain path to two separate temple complexes (Fig. I-2). This “temple in the distant mountain” motif is standard iconography for depictions of the “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple” subject title in the Eight Views series. However, there are early Ming paintings (which have not been identified as belong the Eight Views series) that have this motif, such as *Old Temples in the Distant Mountain* (心山古寺圖) (Fig. I-14). Created by the early Ming academic painter Dai Jin (1388-1462), this work is comparable to *Mōri Scroll Two* in overall composition, landscape elements, and narrative content. A fishing vignette at the bottom right corner of *Mōri Scroll Two*, which shows a small boat with a figure standing at the bow casting a net, along with a seated figure at the stern rowing an oar and the buildings at the mooring, echoes the fishing theme of the “Fishing Village in Evening Glow.” *Jehwasi* colophons of the early Joseon dynasty record paintings with

such titles as *River Village in the Evening* (晚照江村圖), *Fishing Village in the Evening* (漁村晚景圖), and *Fishing Village in the Evening Glow* (漁村夕照圖).<sup>19</sup>

*Mōri Scroll Two* further features three travelers on donkeys emerging from a country path while chatting together in the foreground (Fig. I-2). This is reminiscent of the popular Chinese painting subject “travelers [in mountain landscape]” (行旅圖). Examples include *Travelers in Autumn Mountains* (秋山行旅圖) by the Yuan master Tang Di (ca.1287-1355) (Fig.I-15) and an unsigned early Ming work attributed to Guo Xi of the same title, *Travelers in Autumn Mountains* (Fig.I-16). The compositions of these two Chinese works, the previously mentioned landscape by Dai Jin (Fig. I-14), and *Mōri Scroll Two* make a point of showing travelers on foot or on donkeys heading in to or out of the mountains. All four compositions also show figures crossing rustic wooden bridges in the foreground. *Mōri Scroll Two*, therefore, could be related to paintings bearing iconic Northern Song Chinese titles like *Travelers on the Mountain Pass* (關山行旅圖) or *Travelers through Streams and Mountains* (溪山行旅圖)—and their possible relationship cannot be ignored. Other motifs in *Scroll Two*, such as a figure welcoming a guest at the gate, a figure returning home balancing bundles on a pole as he crosses a wooden bridge, and a woman gazing out of a tile-roofed house, do not point to any particular theme. All in all, the iconography of *Mōri Scroll Two*, while related to “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple” and “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” from the Eight Views, as well as subject like “Travelers in Mountain Landscape,” defies specific identification.

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<sup>19</sup> Jin Hongseop 秦弘燮, *Joseon jeongi hoehwapyeon* 朝鮮前期繪畫編, 39-49; and DB of Korean Classics <http://db.itkc.or.kr/itkcdb/mainIndexIframe.jsp>

When focusing on the subject matter of *Mōri Scroll Three*, the viewer is struck by the strong and obvious sense of the autumn season (Fig.1-3). Autumn is everywhere: all the trees take on hues of red, orange, and brown, and even the tiled roofs of the multi-story buildings are embellished with strong a red pigment. This landscape has the ‘temple in the distant mountain’ motif of the “Evening Bells from Mist-Shrouded Temple” and the ‘full moon’ motif of “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting.” However, the overall mood of this panel is substantially different from the lyrical atmosphere evoked in renditions of the “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting” scene from standard works of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang series, which has been proposed as the subject of this scene. In this busy composition, groups of people appear in various vignettes appropriate to the autumnal season. These include three figures relaxing on a rocky terrace under a tree viewing a cascading waterfall, several figures in a multi-story building enjoying the harvest moon, and two scholars hiking besides the railing of a precipitous path in the middle distance. In the near distance, a scholar greets a friend with a humble bow followed by his *qin*-carrying servant, a scholar on donkey followed by a servant bears a bundle on his back, a seated scholar is ferried across the river by a rustic boatman, three figures rest outside the gate of a thatched fence, a seated figure look out of a thatched hut, and a figure tends to household chores in the courtyard of a walled compound. Some of the vignettes depicted in *Mōri Scroll Three* are familiar from many paintings. The three figures on a rocky terrace under a tree enjoying a waterfall are recognizable as the main iconography for depictions of scenes titled “Viewing a Waterfall” (觀瀑圖). The imagery of three figures resting beside a thatched fence and gate at the lower right corner recall the scholar relaxing on a flat chair of the courtyard from the *Eastern Fence in Autumn*

*Colors* (fig. I-17), which is attributed to Li Xiang (李相, ?-?) of the Song dynasty but is Ming in style.<sup>20</sup> The scholar of the Eastern Fence is usually identified as Dao Yuanming (365-427), a famous Six Dynasties poet and recluse. Other similarities between these two paintings include towering mountains, along with several groups of active figures scattered through the exaggerated mountain formations. Additionally, figures in the courtyard of a fenced housing compound in the left foregrounds, the waterfall that starts in the upper left side of the composition and meanders down the mountainside in narrow cascades to the widening stream at the lower right foreground, and, on the mountainsides, railings along the narrow path to aid travelers on foot. The sense of the autumn season in *Mōri Scroll Three*, however, is stronger than in the *Eastern Fence in Autumn Colors*. *Jehwasi* colophons of the time record painting titles such as *Autumn Scene* (秋景圖) and *Autumn Mountains* (秋山圖),<sup>21</sup> and such generic titles easily match *Scroll Three*.

Thus far, I have attempted to identify the subject matter of the three unsigned and untitled Mōri scrolls through an examination of their pictorial elements (focusing on iconography), and to a lesser extent, their general composition and overall mood. I have introduced comparative works from popular East Asian landscape sets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Four Seasons and the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang,” whose subjects and iconography have been linked by modern scholarship to the Mōri scrolls. I have noted the existence of *jehwasi* (poetic colophons) thematically related to our “orphaned” scrolls. On the basis of this analysis, I conclude that the Mōri scrolls set

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<sup>20</sup> Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, *Zhui suo zhe pai* 追索浙派 [Tracing the Che school in Chinese Painting] (Taibei Shi: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2008), pl. I-14, 167-68.

<sup>21</sup> Jin Hongseop 秦弘燮, *Joseon jeongi hoehwapyeon* 朝鮮前期繪畫編, 58-9; and DB of Korean Classic <http://db.itkc.or.kr/itkcdb/mainIndexIframe.jsp>

is likely not from a Four Seasons set. A stronger relationship is evident in the iconography of the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang.” *Scroll One* strongly correlates with the “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” from the Eight Views series. *Scroll Two* has elements connecting it to the “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple” scene and the “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” scene, but it is more likely a version of the popular “travelers in landscape” theme well documented in jehwasi. *Scroll Three* is most likely a version of “autumn landscape in the mountains,” also documented by jehwasi, although it contains a temple in the distant mountain and a full moon, which are both Eight Views motifs. Since elements of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers iconography are present in varying degrees in the Mōri panels, the following section offers an overview of the history of this theme in East Asia, with particular focus on its popularity in early Joseon Korea.

### **I. 3. The “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang” as a Landscape Subject in East Asia**

The Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang (瀟湘八景, Chin. *Xiaoxiang bajing*; Kor. *Sosang palgyeong*; Jap. *Shōshō hakkei*) originally depicted the beautiful river scenery of Hunan province in southern China. Song Di (宋迪 ca.1015-ca.1080), a scholar-official who was dismissed from office and exiled there, is recorded as the first to have created a series of landscape paintings on this subject. Song’s slightly younger contemporary, Shen Guo (沈括 1031-95), wrote about “Song Di’s Eight Views” in his *Brush Talks at Dream Brook* (Mengxi bitan, 夢溪筆談).<sup>22</sup> Although Song Di’s paintings no longer exist, it is

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<sup>22</sup> Shen Guo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談, vol.17 Shuhupian 書畫篇: “書畫度支員外郎宋迪工畫, 尤善為平遠山水, 其得意者有《平沙雁落》, 《遠浦帆歸》, 《山市晴嵐》, 《江天暮雪》, 《洞庭秋月》,

assumed that the works probably consisted of landscapes done in the level-distance landscape system of perspective pioneered by the Northern Song master Li Cheng (李成 919-ca. 967).<sup>23</sup> Immediately following Song's pictorial debut of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang in the eleventh century, the subject became one of the most popular themes for both painting and poetry in China. Through diplomatic and commercial exchanges, the theme spread from China to the cultural elite of Korea and Japan, gaining momentum in these countries as a favored subject for landscape sets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup>

During the Southern Song dynasty in China, the Eight Views was a subject depicted by various painters. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Wang Hong's *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (ca. 1150) in Princeton University Art Museum (Fig. I-18) is the oldest surviving complete version of the subject.<sup>25</sup> Although they are not

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《瀟湘夜雨》,《煙寺晚鐘》,《漁村落照》,謂之“八景”,好事者多傳之.”; About Song Di and his Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers: Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, 61-7; Shimada Shūjirō 島田修二郎, “Song Di to Shōshō hakkeizu” 宋迪と瀟湘八景 [Song Di and the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers], *Nanga kanshō* 南画鑑賞 10-4, (1941); 1-10.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 6-7.

<sup>24</sup> Some additional sources for the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in East Asia are: Nezu Bijutsukan, *Shōshō hakkei gashū* 瀟湘八景画集 [Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers] (Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 1962); Watanabe Akiyoshi 渡辺明義, *Shōshō hakkeizu* 瀟湘八景図 [Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers]. *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 [Art of Japan], no.124 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1976); Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song Chin: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000); Takashi Horikawa 貴司堀川, *Shōshō hakkei: Shiika to kaiga ni miru nihonka no yōsō* 瀟湘八景: 詩歌と絵画に見る日本化の様相 [Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers] (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Murck, “Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers by Wang Hung,” 214-35; Richard M. Barnhart, “Shining Rivers: Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang in Sung Painting” in Vol 1 of *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Chinese Art History: Paintings and Calligraphy*, ed. National Palace

complete sets, a few Eight Views scenes by the ink masters Mu Qi (牧谿, ca. 1200 to after 1279) and Yujian (玉澗, active mid-13<sup>th</sup> century) have survived and are now scattered among several collections in Japan.<sup>26</sup> The famous court painters Ma Yuan (馬遠, ca. 1160/65-1226) and Xia Gui (夏珪, active 1195-1224) also produced works of this subject.<sup>27</sup> None of them has survived, but a late source speaks of a work of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang after Ma Yuan* painted by Dong Bang-da (董邦達, 1699-1769) dated to 1746 in the Wong Nan-ping Family Collection (Fig. I-19),<sup>28</sup> and a Muromachi copy the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* suggests a stylistic base on a work by Xia Gui.<sup>29</sup>

Only a few paintings of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers have survived from the Yuan (1271-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties. The only survivor from the Yuan dynasty is a handscroll by Zhang Yuan (張遠, active 14<sup>th</sup> century), now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum (Fig. I-20). Unlike previous Chinese paintings of

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Museum (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1991), 48-95; Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, 203-27.

<sup>26</sup> Takaki Fumi 高木文, *Mokkei gyokkan meibutsu Shōshōhakkeie no denrai to kōsatsu* 牧谿玉澗名物瀟湘八景繪の傳來と考察 [A study of the transmission of Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers paintings by Muqi and Yujian] (Tokyo: Yoshinichi shoin 1935); Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, 252-58. Current collections with *Eight Views* scenes painted by Mu Qi: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (Tokuyawa Museum, Nagoya), *Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple* (Hatakeyama Memorial Museum Fine Art); *Sunset Glow over a Fishing Village* (Nezu Museum); *Sail Returning from Distant Shore* (Kyoto National Museum), and *Geese Alighting on a Sandy Shore* (Idemitsu Museum of Art). Collections with *Eight Views* paintings by Yujian: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (Agency of Cultural Affairs) and *Sail Returning from Distant Shore* (Tokugawa Art Museum).

<sup>27</sup> Watanabe Akiyoshi 渡辺明義, *Shōshō hakkeizu* 瀟湘八景図, 24-34.

<sup>28</sup> Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, 233-43, Fig.34.

<sup>29</sup> Barnhart, "Shining Rivers: Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang in Sung Painting," 47-61.

the Xiao and Xiang subject, in which the eight scenes appear to have been depicted as individual works in the album leaf or hanging scroll format, the preferred format for the subject from the Yuan onwards seems to have been the handscroll. Zhang also apparently abandoned the Southern Song ink and wash manner of Muqi and Yujian in favor of the more linear style of Xia Gui, who also favored the handscroll format. Although it no longer survives, a handscroll of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* was reportedly painted by Li Bi (李弼 ?-?), who lived during the Yuan dynasty. It was one of 222 paintings and calligraphies in the collection of Prince Anpyeong (Yi Yong, 安平大君 李容, 1418-53) that were catalogued in the *Commentaries on Painting* (*Hwagi* 畫記) of 1445 by the scholar-official Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417-1475).<sup>30</sup> The Yuan literati painter Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322) is also recorded as having explored the Eight Views subject. Although he never attempted a complete set of the Eight Views, he reportedly depicted “Night Rain over Xiao and Xiang” (瀟湘夜雨)<sup>31</sup> and “Mountain Market, Spring Mist” (山市春嵐)<sup>32</sup> from the series. Another Yuan painter, Zheng Xi (鄭禧, active mid-14<sup>th</sup> century) is credited with painting “Night Rain over Xiao

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<sup>30</sup> Sin Sukju 申叔舟, *Bohanjaejip* 保閑齋集 [Collected Writing of Bohanjae], vol. 14: “*Hwagi* 畫記: ... 李弼瀟湘八景...,” in *Hanguk munjip chongan* 韓國文集叢刊 [Comprehensive Publication of Korean Literary Collections in Classical Chinese], vol. 10, 107c. In DB of Korean Classisc.

<sup>31</sup> Ferguson John Calvin 福開森, ed. *Lidai zhulu huamu* 歷代著錄畫目 [Painting Lists in the Bibliographic Records] (Taipei: Wenshizhe, 1982), 394.

<sup>32</sup> Wang Yuxian 王毓賢 (fl.1691), et al., comps., *Huishi beikao* 繪事備考 [Painting Notes for Reference], vol.7, 11. In vol. 826 of *Yingyin Wenyuange sikuquanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 [Complete Books of the Four Treasures: The Printed Edition of the Pavilion of Literary Profundity] (Taipei: Taiwan shang wuyinshuguan, 1983), 289.



and Xiang” (瀟湘夜雨) and “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” (山市晴嵐),<sup>33</sup> two titles that fall under the sphere of the Eight Views. These fragmentary records and paintings give us a glimpse into the popularity of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers theme during the Yuan dynasty. Mention should also be made of the anonymous painting *Temple in Winter Mountains* (Fig. I-21). Identified as a Yuan work from the fourteenth century, this work is now housed in the Singapore collection of Lincoln Cheng. Given its iconography and composition, it could be either “Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple” or “Evening Snow in River and Sky” from the Eight Views.<sup>34</sup>

The Eight Views continued into the subsequent Ming period as a painting subject, although by this time it had apparently lost much of the popular appeal it had previously enjoyed in China. *Poetic Flavor of the Xiao and Xiang* (*Xiaoxiang shiyitu juan*, 瀟湘詩意圖卷) (Fig. I-22), a handscroll begun by Chen Shuqi (陳叔起 1342? -1406) and completed in 1412 by Wang Fu (王紱, ca. 1362-1416), now in the Palace Museum, Beijing, is considered a rendering of the Eight Views on the basis of its inscription.<sup>35</sup> An

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 41-42. Reprinted in *Yingyin Wenyuange sikuquanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 826, 304-05.

<sup>34</sup> Richard M. Barnhart, “A Lost Horizon: Painting in Hangzhou after the Fall of the Song,” in *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, ed. Richard M. Barnhart (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1992), 28-31. Cat. 3; in addition, *A Fishermen’s Abode After Rain* (cat. 4), a later work of the Xia Gui school is now considered a rendition of “Sunset Glow over a Fishing Village” scene from the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, 30-1.

<sup>35</sup> Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, *Min* 明 [Ming]. Vol 3 of *Chūgoku kaigashi* 中國繪畫史 [History of Chinese Painting]. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 148-50, pl.129. 25×441.2cm, Ink on paper, Palace Museum, Beijing. According to the inscription by Jinganjushi 靜庵居士 Huang Xing (黃性 1339-1431) in 1429, this scroll was co-painted by Wang Fu and Chen Shuqi. In order to depict the “grand view 大觀” of the Xiao Xiang 瀟湘 in Henan province, they painted the Eight Views of the Xiang Xiang in one scene. However, it was not easy to fit all eight scenes in a single handscroll composition and have it come out looking like a natural landscape. Therefore, they had to omit three scenes from the series, *Night Rain on the*

*Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* 瀟湘八景圖 (Fig. I-23) handscroll by the great Ming master Wen Zhengming (文徵明, 1470-1559) is in the Shanghai Museum.<sup>36</sup>

Literary records document other Ming paintings of the theme. The Xuande Emperor (Xuanzong 宣宗, r. 1425-35), wrote poems about the pleasure he took in viewing a work of this subject. The eight imperial poems, which name each of the eight scenes, suggest that the now-lost work consisted of eight album leaves or hanging scrolls.<sup>37</sup>

Textual records indicate that the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers theme was transmitted to Korea by the twelfth century in the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392). King Myeongjong (明宗, r. 1171-1197) requested that scholar-officials in his court write poems about the Eight Views and commissioned a court artist, Yi Guangpil (李光弼 ?-?), to depict them in paintings.<sup>38</sup> All pictorial renditions of the Eight Views made during the Goryeo period are now lost. However, records that this was a favored subject for poetry and painting are still extant in the munjip of elite Goryeo literati. Men of letters such as Yi Inro (李仁老, 1152-1220), Jin Hua (陳華, active 13<sup>th</sup> century), Yi Gyubo (李奎報,

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*Xiao and Xiang, Autumn Moon in Dongting, and Evening Snow in River and Sky*. They then give a variant title *Poetic Flavor of Xiao Xiang* 瀟湘詩意 to their handscroll.

<sup>36</sup> Zhongguo gudai shuhua jiatingz 中國古代書畫鑑定組, ed, *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目 [Catalogue of authenticated works of ancient Chinese painting and calligraphy], vol 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983), 322-324. Hu (滬)1-0588; It is an album which has eight panels. Ink on silk, 24.3×44.8cm, Shanghai Museum.

<sup>37</sup> Chen Bangyan 陳邦彥 (1678-1752) et al., comps., “Xuanzong Xixiang bajingtu 宣宗‘瀟湘八景圖,’” *Yuding lidai tihua shilei* 御定歷代題畫詩類, vol 29, 4-5 in vol 1435 of *Yingyin Wenyuange sikuquanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, 369-71.

<sup>38</sup> Goryeosa 高麗史 [History of Goryeo] vol. 122, Yeoljeon 列傳 [Biography Section] vol. 35: “李寧: ... 子光弼, 亦以畫見寵於明宗. 王命文臣, 賦瀟湘八景, 仍寫爲圖,” in DB of Korea History: <http://db.history.go.kr/KOREA/>

1168-1241), and Yi Jehyeon (李齊賢, 1287-1367) all left jewhasi on the subject of the Eight Views.<sup>39</sup>

The Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers became the most popular subject in both painting and poetry early in the Joseon dynasty.<sup>40</sup> The earliest Joseon record about the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers is dated to about 1442, when Prince Anpyeong saw a set of poems on the Eight Views written by the Southern Song emperor Ningzong (寧宗, r. 1195-1224) and had them copied into an album, *Poems for the Eight Views of the Sosang Rivers commissioned by Prince Anpyeong (Bihaedang Sosang Palgyeong sicheop* 비해당소상팔경 시첩, 匪懈堂瀟湘八景詩帖).<sup>41</sup> The story of how Prince Anpyeong came to commission the copying of Ningzong's poems on the Eight Views into an album and the subsequent production of a handscroll on the subject, was recorded by Yi Yeongseo (李永瑞, ? -1450) in the preface to the handscroll:

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<sup>39</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, "Hanguk ui sosangpalgyeongdo" 韓國의 瀟湘八景圖, 166-70.

<sup>40</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, "Hanguk ui sosangpalgyeongdo 韓國의 瀟湘八景圖," 162-249; Yeo Gi-hyon 呂基鉉, "Sosang palgyeong ui suyong gwa yangsang" 瀟湘八景의 受容과 樣相 [Acceptance and Development of the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang Rivers Painting], *Jungguk munhak yeongu* 中國文學研究 25 (2002): 305-326; Jeon Gyeongwon 전경원, *Sosang palgyeong: Dongasiaui siwa geurim* 瀟湘八景: 동아시아의 시와 그림 [Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang: Paintings and Poems in East Asia] (Seoul: Konkuk University Press, 2007); Park Haehoon, "Joseon sidae Sosangpalgyeongdo yeongu 朝鮮 時代瀟湘八景圖.

<sup>41</sup> Im Changsun 林昌淳, "Bihaedang Sosangpalgyeong sicheop haeseol" 匪懈堂 瀟湘八景詩帖 解說 [Interpretation on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Poems Album Collected by Bihaedang], *Taedong gojeon Yeongu* 太東古典研究 5 (1989): 257-77; Im Jaewan 林在完, "Bihaedang sosangpalgyeongsicheop beonyeok" 匪懈堂 瀟湘八景詩帖 翻譯 [Translation of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Poems Album Collected by Bihaedang], *Hoam misulguan yeongu nonjip* 호암미술관 연구논집 2 (1997): 234-258; Munhujae-cheong 文化財廳, ed. *Bihaedang sosangpalgyeong sicheop* 匪懈堂瀟湘八景詩帖 [Album of Poems for the Eight Views of the Sosang Rivers commissioned by Prince Anpyeong](Daejeon: Munhwajae-cheong, 2008)

One day, Prince Anpyeong said to me: “At an earlier time, I [Prince Anpyeong] saw the poems of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* by Emperor Ningzong in the *Ancient Calligraphic Models Collected in the Eastern Library* (*Dongxitang jigū fatie*, 東西堂集古法帖) and considered them precious. After reading the set of poems, I could imagine the true scenery of the Eight Views and commanded that the imperial poems to be copied and the scenes to be painted. [I] titled the eight scenes of the handscroll *Poems of Eight Views* (Palgyeongsi, 八景詩). Then, [I] ordered copies of poems on the Eight Views by Jin Hwa and Yi Inro, who had achieved great fame as poets of the Goryeo, attached to the handscroll as colophons. In addition, I requested that eighteen literati who excel at poetry write verses about the Eight Views for the handscroll. I also asked the Buddhist monk Manu [Ucheonbong 雨千峯, 1357-ca. 1447], famed in poetry, to contribute a verse. I [Prince Anpyeong] asked you [Yi Yeongseo] to write how this handscroll came to be made...” My skill is not good enough to write this story, but because I received many favors from him [Prince Anpyeong] and he specially asked me to do this, I could not refuse and humbly composed this introduction...<sup>42</sup>

The poems by the nineteen men of letters mentioned in the Yi Yeongseo’s preface survive, but the rest of the scroll has been lost. If we could restore it to its original form, it would be composed of: 1) a copy of Emperor Ningzong’s poems on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers; 2) a painting of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers; 3) poems by Jin Hwa and Yi Inro of the Goryeo dynasty on the Xiao and Xiang; 4) nineteen poems by eighteen Joseon scholars and one monk on the Xiao and Xiang theme; and 5) the preface

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<sup>42</sup> Yi Yeong seo’s preface to the *Poems of the Eight Views*: “匪懈堂 一日 謂余曰 我嘗於東書堂古帖 得 宋寧宗八景詩 寶其宸翰 而因想其景 遂令搨其詩畫其圖 以名其卷 曰八景詩 仍取麗代之能於詩者陳 李二子之作系焉. 又於當世之善詩者 請賦五六七言以誦之 學佛人雨千峯 亦詩之 千峯 蓋亦以詩鳴於 釋苑者也. 請子叙其顛末 余以文句微識 久蒙知待而又辱雅命 敢以不文辭諸 余嘗觀自古貴.”

by Yi Yeongseo detailing its entire history, from conception to finished product.<sup>43</sup> The painter of the eight Xiao and Xiang scenes for this handscroll is unknown, but it is assumed to have been the court painter An Gyeon, who was highly favored by his royal patron, Prince Anpyeong. Interestingly, a complete set of Eight Views paintings by An Gyeon is catalogued in the *Hwagi* of 1445 as one of thirty paintings by the artist in Prince Anpyeong's collection.<sup>44</sup>

Prince Anpyeong's interest in the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang River was partly responsible for the popularity of this subject matter in both poetry and painting throughout the early Joseon period. This is documented by the many poems written about the wondrous beauty of the Xiao and Xiang as well as the many *jehwasi* on the

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<sup>43</sup> At the request of Prince Anpyeong, eighteen scholars and one monk each wrote verses in various poetic forms for the *Bihaedang Sosangpalgyeong sicheop* in 1442. The poetic forms included : old-style five-character verse (*Oeon gosi* 五言古詩) and old-style seven-character verse (*Chileon gosi* 七言古詩) by Ha Yeon (河演, 1376-1453), *Oeon gosi* 五言古詩 by Kim Jongseo (金宗瑞, 1390-1453), seven-character eight-line regulated verse (*Chileon yulsi* 七言律詩) by Jeong Inji (鄭麟趾, 1396-1478), five-character expanded verse (*Oeon baeyul* 五言排律) by Jo Seogang (趙瑞康, ?-1444), ten stanzas (10 首) of seven character four-line curtailed verse (*Chileon geolgu* 七言絕句) by Kang Seokdeok (姜碩德, 1395-1459), *Chileon yulsi* (七言律詩) by An Ji (安止, 1367-1464), *Chileon yulsi* by An Sungseon (安崇善, 1392-1452), *Chileon yulsi* by Yi Boheum (李甫欽, ?-1457), four stanzas (4 首) of six-syllable curtailed verse (*Yukeon jeolgu* 六言絕句) by Nam Sumun (南秀文, 1408-43), old-style long and short verse (*Jangdangu gosi* 長短句古詩) by Sin Seokjo (辛碩祖, 1407-1459), *Chileon gosi* 七言古詩 by Yu Uison (柳義孫, 1398-1450), five stanzas of *Chileon yulsi* 七言律詩 5 首 by Choe Hang (崔恒, 1409-74), five stanzas of *Chileon geolgu* 七言絕句 5 首 by Park Peangnyeong (朴彭年, 1417-56), eight stanzas of *Oeon geolgu* 五言絕句 8 首 by Seong Sammun (成三問, 1418-56), *Oeon gosi* 五言古詩 by Sin Sukju (申叔舟 1417-75), *Chileon gosi* 七言古詩 by Yun Gyedong (尹季童, ?-1453), *Chileon gosi* 七言古詩 by Kim Meang (金孟, ?-?) and ten stanzas of *Oeon geolgu* 五言絕句 10 首 by Buddhist monk Manu (釋卍雨, 1357-?). Of the nineteen verse contributors to the handscroll, Gang Seokdeok, Seong Sammun and the monk Manu wrote poems for each of the eight individual scenes of the Xiao and Xiang (Munhuajaecheong 文化財廳, *Bihaedang Sosangpalgyeong sicheop* 匪懈堂瀟湘八景詩帖, 124-25).

<sup>44</sup> Sin Sukju 申叔舟, *Bohanjaejip* 保閑齋集, vol. 14 in DB of Korean classic: “*Hwagi* 畫記: ...安堅...有八景圖 各一” in *Hanguk munjip chongan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 10, 107c. (see Table 3 in Chapter Three, page. 154-57)

subject that appear in literary works of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. In addition, the majority of landscape paintings now attributed to the early Joseon period are either titled *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* or could be assigned to the Eight Views theme all appear to descend from a common prototype (see Table 1).

<b>Table 1 Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers Paintings of the early Joseon Dynasty (1392-1592)</b>				
Painter	Name	Format	Measure	Collection
Complete sets				
Anonymous	<i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers</i> (Before 1539)	Eight panel Folding screen 屏風	98.3×49.9cm (each) Ink on paper	Daiganji Temple, Hiroshima.
Anonymous	<i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers</i>	Eight panels Hanging Scroll	91×47.7cm (each) Ink on paper	Jinju National Museum, Jinju.
Anonymous	<i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers</i>	Eight panels Album 畫帖	31.1×35.4cm (each) Ink on silk	National Museum of Korea, Seoul.
Anonymous	<i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers</i>	Eight panels Album	Each 28.5×29.8cm (each) Ink on silk	Yuhyeonjae collection, Kyoto
Anonymous	<i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers</i> (Before 1584) Kim Hyeonseong (1542-1621) inscription	Eight panels Folding screen	47×41 cm (each) Ink on silk	Kyushu National Museum, Dazaifu
Attributed to Wen Zhengming	<i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers</i> Gu Han (具濟 1524-1558) (?) inscription	Eight panels Album	34.5×26.9cm (each) Ink on silk	Private collection. Japan
Two or one scenes from the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers				
Anonymous	<i>Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting and Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple</i>	Two scenes from a set. Hanging scroll	88.3×45.1cm Ink on silk	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Attribute to An Gyeon	<i>Fishing Village in Evening Glow</i> and <i>Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar</i>	Two scenes from a set. Hanging scroll Scroll	68.4×42.2cm 65.2×42.4cm Ink and light color on silk	Yamato Bunkakan, Nara
Attribute to Josetsu 如雪 (1405-1423)	<i>Autumn Over Lake Dongting</i> and <i>Night Rain on Xiao and Xiang</i>	Two scenes from set	Each 30.1×31cm Ink and light color on silk	Private collection. Japan
Seal of Mungcheon g (文清)	<i>Returning Sail from Distant shore</i> and <i>Fishing Village in Evening Glow</i>	Two scene from set	Each 42.3×22.5cm Ink on paper	Seikado Bunko Art Museum, Tokyo
Anonymous	<i>Evening Bell form Mist-shrouded Temple</i>	Hanging scroll	80.4×47.9cm Ink on silk	Yamato Bunkakan, Nara
Anonymous	<i>Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist</i>	Hanging scroll	96×42cm Ink on silk	Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art
Anonymous	<i>Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar</i>	Hanging scroll	126.4×48.5cm Ink on silk	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the subject of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers was as popular in Japan as it was in Korea. However, while the cultural elite in both countries shared a simultaneous craze for the subject, the artists who carried out their commissions appear to have worked from different prototypes. The style and iconography of paintings of the Eight Views produced during the Muromachi period in Japan were largely influenced by the Zen painter Mu Qi (牧谿, 1210?-1269?), the court painter Xia Gui (夏珪, act. 13<sup>th</sup> century), and other ink masters of the Southern Song Academy.<sup>45</sup> The atmospheric ink wash style of Mu Qi appears strongly in Muromachi works of the Eight Views subject by such painters as Sōami (相阿弥, ca. 1455-1525), whose *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* is now housed at the

<sup>45</sup> Richard Stanley Baker, "Gakū's Eight Views of Hiao and Hsiang," *Oriental Art* 20 (1974); 284-330; Watanabe Akiyoshi 渡辺明義, *Shōshō hakkeizu* 瀟湘八景図, 33-83.

Daisen' in 大仙院, a subtemple of Daitokuji 大徳寺 in Kyoto (Fig. I-24).<sup>46</sup> Xia Gui's more linear ink-wash style inspired another Muromachi example, *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (Fig. I-25), now housed in the Kosetsu Museum of Art (香雪美術館). It was painted by Gakūo (岳翁, active ca. 1482-ca. 1514), a faithful follower of the ink master Shūbun (周文, ?- ca.1460).

Although early Joseon depictions of the Eight Views differ in style and iconography from those produced in contemporary Muromachi Japan, it is unclear if the differences reflect a native Korean tradition inherited from Goryeo times or a lost Chinese tradition handed down from the Northern Song, Jin, or Yuan dynasties. The only surviving Yuan example is the previously-mentioned handscroll by Zhang Yuan, and it is not comparable in style or composition to the Mōri scrolls. It is also possible that early Joseon painters were taking their cues for Eight Views paintings from contemporary Ming models, as diplomatic relations between the two courts were fairly frequent. A third possibility is that early Joseon paintings of the Eight Views theme were created based on a mixture of Korean and Chinese prototypes, old and new.

#### **I. 4. Evidence from Jehwasi and The Mōri Scrolls as a Representative Variation of the “Xiao and Xiang” Theme**

We now return to the question of the subject matter of the Mōri scrolls and pursue the notion that the set was one of many from early Joseon that eclectically combined titles and motifs derived from the Eight Views with those drawn from other sources. An

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 42-3, pl.37.



abundance of colophons in the form of *jehwasi* points to this phenomenon. Indeed, the importance of *jehwasi* to understanding the subjects of the Mōri scrolls cannot be overstressed.

*Jehwasi* customarily list the titles or subjects of paintings that the scholars had the pleasure of viewing at literary gatherings. From these poems we learn that early Joseon landscape paintings came in sets—typically as a set with eight compositions, but sometimes ten or more. In the case of Eight Views paintings, titles were not standardized for either the set or individual scenes. Moreover, titles of Eight Views paintings given in *jehwasi* literature do not accord exactly with the titles we know from existing paintings of the Eight Views subject.<sup>47</sup> In *jehwasi*, some set titles are not explicitly given as “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” but only suggest this subject.<sup>48</sup> Within a set, some scene titles may come from the Eight Views series while others do not. The latter may be corrupted or “transformed” Eight Views titles or may have nothing to do with them. I will refer to these painting sets that combine standard titles from the Eight Views repertoire with non-standard titles or titles from other sources as “variations on the Eight Views theme.” Such sets of paintings were often mounted in the folding screen format.

Below I will introduce *jehwasi* records of early Joseon landscape painting sets, related to the Eight Views, that represent three different approaches to naming the scenes:

1) combinations of standard Eight Views titles with titles of other landscape subjects; 2)

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<sup>47</sup> As we can see in Table 1, the titles of existing sets of Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang are “standardized.” However, of all the sets listed, only the one in the Yuheyeonjae collection actually contains individual scenes with individually inscribed titles. The titles of the individual scenes in the other sets were apparently assigned later. A closer examination into the provenance, dating, and exactness of the titles for each painting set as well as their individual scenes, is needed.

<sup>48</sup> Jin Hongseop 秦弘燮, *Joseon Jeongi Hoehwapyeon* 朝鮮前期繪畫編, 39-90.

combinations of non-standard Eight Views titles and titles of other landscape subjects; and 3) poems that do not give titles but describe scenes related to the Eight Views by their subject matter and overall atmosphere.

Yi Seongso's (李承召, 1422-84) "On Inscribing a Screen of Paintings"

(*Jehwabyeong*, 題畫屏) describes a set of the first type. Six of the eleven scenes on this folding screen are given standard Eight Views titles: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (洞庭秋月), *Night Rain on Xiao and Xiang* (瀟湘夜雨), *Returning Sail from Distant Shore* (遠浦歸帆), *Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple* (煙寺暮鐘), *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* (漁村落照), and *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* (山市晴嵐); the titles of the five remaining subjects are distinct from the Eight Views: *Yellow Crane Tower* (黃鶴樓), *Pavilion of Prince Teng* (滕王閣), *Waterfall at Mount Lu* (廬山瀑布), *Blue Mountains and White Clouds* (青山白雲), and *Bakyeon Waterfall* (朴淵瀑布)—to make up the eleven-panel screen.<sup>49</sup> In this folding screen with an odd number of panels, two titles from the Eight Views series are omitted—*River and Sky in Evening Snow* (江天暮雪) and *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (平沙落雁)—but five unrelated landscape subjects are added. The five added subjects are intriguing because of all of them were, like the Eight Views, popular landscape subjects during the early Joseon dynasty.

*Pavilion of King Teng*, *Yellow Crane Tower*, and *Waterfall at Mount Lu* are three famous

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<sup>49</sup> Yi Seongso 李承召, "Huabyeonpung 題畫屏 [Inscribing on a Screen Painting], *Samtanjip* 三灘集 [Collected Writings of Samtan], vol. 9 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 10, 461: Each panel's title is 洞庭秋月, 瀟湘夜雨, 遠浦歸帆, 煙寺晚鐘, 漁村落照, 山市晴嵐, 黃鶴樓, 滕王閣, 廬山瀑布, 青山白雲, 朴淵瀑布.

views in China, which Koreans considered to be “exemplary landscapes” for painting. *Blue Mountains and White Clouds* was one of the most popular “ideal landscape” (*visanggyeong sansu*, 理想景山水) subjects, and *Waterfall at Bakyeon* was a popular Korean “true view” (*silgyeong sansu*, 實景山水) landscape subject during the early Joseon dynasty.<sup>50</sup> This screen offered a fairly normal assortment of landscape subjects that were popular at the time.

A *jehwasi* poem by Seo Geojeong (徐居正, 1420-88) recorded a set of landscapes painted by the scholar-official Gang Huian (姜希顔, 1417-64) that represented the second type of “variation on the Eight Views theme,” one identified by both non-standard or “transformed” Eight Views titles and other titles.<sup>51</sup> The composition of this twelve-piece set is a bit more complicated than the one just described. Only three titles are related to the Eight Views series, and of these, only one is standard: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*. The two variant titles are *Fishing in the Evening* 日暮捕漁, adapted from the standard title *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*, and *New Snow from the Evening Past* 歲暮新雪, adapted from *River and Sky in Evening Snow* 江天暮雪). Among the nine titles that are unrelated to the Eight Views repertoire are *Viewing a Stele on a Spring Day* (春

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<sup>50</sup> Hong Sunpyo 홍선표, “Joseon chogi hoehwa ui sasangjeok giban” 朝鮮初期繪畫의 思想的 기반 [Aesthetics of Painting during the Early Joseon Dynasty] in *Joseon sidae hoehwa saron* 朝鮮時代繪畫史論 [History of Korean Painting in the Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: Munyeo Chulpansa, 1999): 216-20.

<sup>51</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Gang Gyeonguhwa sipido Shi Sangtaek sojang 姜景愚畫十二圖 申相宅所藏” [Inscribed a set of Twelvepanels’ of the Gang Huian’s painting in Shin Sangtaek collection]. *Sagajip* 四佳集 [Collected Writings of Saga], vol. 5 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 10: 300: Each panel is titled as 洞庭秋月, 春日看碑, 風雨山郭, 深山友鹿, 秋社醉散, 秋郊落日, 日暮捕魚, 彈琴舞鶴, 張帆出海, 歲暮新雪, 關山行旅晴窓賞梅, 柳陰看碁野渡爭舟. In DB of Korean classics: <http://db.itkc.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=MM>

日看碑) and *Mountain Fortress in Wind and Storm* (風雨山郭). The latter was likely similar in mood and iconography to the Eight Views scenes “Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang” and “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist.”

A second *jehwasi* poem by Seo Geojeong offers another example of a landscape set with variant titles from the Eight Views series and titles from unrelated landscape subjects, a work by the famous court painter Choe Gyeong (崔涇, act. second half of the fifteenth century).<sup>52</sup> The “transformed” titles of the Eight Views in Choe’s set are as follows: *Boat on the Riverside at Night* 江皋晚泊 (a variant on the standard title *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*), *Beautiful Moon on Autumn Night* 秋宵好月 (variant of *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*), *Fishing Boat, Evening Scene* 魚舟晚景 (variant of *Fishing Village in Evening Glow*), *Rainstorm in Streams and Mountains* 溪山驟雨 (variant of *Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang*), *Mountain Market, Cloudy with Light Mist* 山市輕嵐 (variant of *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist*), *Returning Sail to Evening Shore* 晚浦歸舟 (variant of *Returning Sail from Distant Shore*), and *High Mountain in Deep Snow* 高山積雪 (variant of *River and Sky in Evening Snow*). To this Eight Views repertoire Choe added two unrelated titles, *Blue Mountains and White Clouds* 青山白雲 and *Flying Falls on Distant Cliff* 懸崖飛瀑, indicating a ten-panel folding screen. Interestingly, the two supplementary panels described by Seo Geojeong in Choe’s set, an ideal landscape and a waterfall, are identical in subject matter to two of the

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<sup>52</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Je choe hogun sansuhwa sipsu” 題崔護軍山水畫十首 [Inscribing a Ten-panel Landscape set by Choe Gyeong]. *Sagajip* 四佳集, supplementary. vol. 1 補遺編, in *Hanguk misul jaryo jipseong* 韓國美術資料集成 (2), 36-7: Each title is listed as 江皋晚泊, 秋宵好月, 魚舟晚景, 溪山驟雨, 山市輕嵐, 晚浦歸, 高山積雪, 青山白雲, 懸崖飛瀑.

supplementary landscapes in the painting set described by Yi Seongso in his “On Inscribing a Screen of Paintings” *jehwasi*.

Finally, a *jehwasi* poem by the scholar-official Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417-75) describes a set of early Joseon paintings of the third type: untitled landscapes that should be considered part of the Eight Views repertoire due to their subject matter. Although Sin did not name his screen, his poem vividly described each of the eight scenes of the Xiao and Xiang.<sup>53</sup> There are many *jehwasi* in which the poet does not give the title or titles of the paintings that inspired his ode. However, judging from the content of such poems, numerous lost paintings were “variations on the Eight Views” theme and, more often than not, were eight-panel folding screens.<sup>54</sup> We can speculate that the Mōri set came from such a work.

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<sup>53</sup> Sin Sukju 申叔舟, “*Jehwabyeong* 題畫屏” [Inscribing a Screen of Paintings], *Bohanjeip* 保閑齋集 [Collected Writings of Bohanjae], vol 3 in *Hanguk munjip chonggna* 韓國文集叢刊, vol.10,28b: The entire Sino-Korean poem reads:

“雨後山光淨. 蔥蔥滿郭青. 欲知無限意. 有客倚風檣.”—imagery of scene is similar in content to “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” (山市晴嵐) scene from the Eight Views.  
天外雲山碧, 門前賈舶浮. 家家村酒熟. 漁唱一江秋.”—similar content to “Returning Sail from Distant Shore” (遠浦歸帆)  
“江靜漁村晚. 西岑落照低. 孤塔草山遠. 輕舟艤岸迷.”—similar content to “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” (漁村夕照)  
“溪山酣晦暝. 樹木困淋漓. 橫江蓑笠客. 風味欠委蛇.”—similar content to “Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang” (瀟湘夜雨)  
“汲江引脩綆. 投釣窺巨鱗. 鍾聲何處寺. 寂寞荻蘆濱.”—similar content to “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple” (煙寺暮鍾)  
“雲鴻秋渺渺. 一一落圓沙. 扁舟棹歌發. 談咲俯江涯.”—similar content to “Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar” (平沙落雁)  
“江山秋風早. 汀洲落晚潮. 尊前歡未已. 缺月在雲霄.”—similar content to “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting” (洞庭秋月)  
“溪駛凍未合. 雲凝雪勢遲. 天機應有處. 只許江客知.”—similar content to “River and Sky in Evening Snow” (江天暮雪)

<sup>54</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Je an gyeon sansu palsu” 題安堅山水八首 [Inscribing Eight Stanzas on Landscapes by An Gyeon], *Sagajip* 四佳集, vol 14, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 11,

The Mōri scrolls likely originated as screen panels in a “variation of the Eight Views theme” as such works were common. In fact, early Joseon sets with all of the standard titles and typical iconography of the Chinese Eight Views seem to have been rather rare. More specifically, we might regard the three Mōri panels as transformations of *Mountain Market*, *Clear with Rising Mist*, *Fishing River Village in Evening Glow*, and *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*. We can easily imagine them as part of a landscape set like the one by Choe Gyeong recorded in the *jehwasi* of Seo Geojeong. At the same time, the evocative vignette of figures resting on a rocky ledge viewing a waterfall overhung with autumnal trees and bushes in *Scroll Three* recalls subjects like *Waterfall at Bakyeon* or *Waterfall at Mount Lu* that were sometimes combined with scenes from the Eight Views.

## Conclusion

The subject of the Mōri panels is likely not the *Four Seasons*. It has more in common with the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, but is more broadly eclectic in character. Each scroll contains motifs like those in Xiao and Xiang scenes, but some are

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132-33; Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Je sansudo palcheop” 題山水圖八疊 [Inscribing Eight Panels of Landscapes], *Sagajip* 四佳集, vol.46 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 11, 72c; Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Je hwabyeong palsu” 題畫屏八首 [Inscribing Eight Stanzas on a Screen of Paintings], *Sagajip* 四佳集, vol.14, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 10, 412d; Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Je hwa sipsu wi choe yemun sukjeongsak” 題畫十首爲崔藝文淑精作 [Inscribing Ten Stanzas on Paintings by Sukjeong Choe Sukjeong], *Sagajip* 四佳集, vol 29, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 10, 499c; Shin Yonggae(申用溉, 1463-19), “Je hwabyeong paljeol” 題畫屏八絕 [Inscribing Eight Verses on a Screen of Paintings], *Yirakjeongjip* 二樂亭集 [Collected Works of Yirakjeong], vol 1, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 17, 37a.

combined and include motifs taken from unrelated painting subjects. Thus, I consider the Mōri scrolls to be variations on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers theme.

They most likely came from a screen like the now-lost twelve-panel landscape screen by Gang Huian documented in Seo Geojeong's *jehwasi*. In this case, there were only three scenes with titles related to the Eight Views series — *Autumn Moon over Dongting Lake* (a standard title), *Fishing in the Evening* (a variant title), and *New Snow from the Evening Past* (a variant title). The other nine panels consisted of supplementary scenes from unrelated landscape subjects with such titles as *Travelers in Mountains*.<sup>55</sup> The three Mōri scrolls also depict scenes related to the Eight Views series like the three just described in the Gang Huian landscape set. From this, we can surmise that the three Mōri scrolls were once part of a twelve-panel screen set like the “variation on the Eight Views” painted by Gang Huian. Finally, as attested by *jehwasi*, “variations on the Eight Views” theme was more the rule rather than the exception in early Joseon painting, when landscape iconographies were eclectic and complex rather than straightforward and easily identifiable.

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<sup>55</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Gang gyeongu hwa sipido sin sangtaek sojang” 姜景愚畫十二圖 申相宅所藏 [Twelve Paintings by Gang Huian in the Sin Sangtaek Collection], *Sagajip* 四佳集, vol 5, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol 10, 300a. The individual panels are titled by Gang as follows: *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* 洞庭秋月, *Viewing a Stele on a Spring Day* 春日看碑, *Mountain Fortress in Wind and Storm* 風雨山郭, *Keeping a Deer Company in the Deep Mountains* 深山友鹿, *Parting Drunk on the Day of Chusa* 秋社醉散, *Sunset in the Fall Suburb* 秋郊落日, *Fishing in the Evening* 日暮捕魚, *Making Cranes Dance by Playing Zither* 彈琴舞鶴, *Going Out to the Sea with Sails Up* 張帆出海, *New Snow From the Evening Past* 歲暮新雪, *A Traveler in a Distant Mountain Enjoys Japanese Apricot Blossoms From Under the Window* 關山行旅晴窓賞梅, *Watching a Game of Go from Under the Willow Trees and Boats are Competiting at the Shore* 柳陰看碁野渡爭舟.

## Chapter Two

### The Style, Themes, and Format of the Mōri Scrolls

This chapter examines the style of the Mōri scrolls (Figs. II-1~3) in relation to Chinese and early Joseon painting styles. The scrolls have been in Japan since pre-Edo times, but no one has ever suggested they are Japanese in origin. To Japanese viewers, they have always been *karamono*, treasured art objects that were imported from the continent, which includes both China and Korea. Stylistically, the three panels look like they could have originated in either the early Ming or the early Joseon, when professional painters of both countries were turning out landscapes related to the Mōri scrolls in conception. To situate these paintings historically, we will begin by tracing the roots of their style back to Song dynasty, as suggested by their old attribution to the Song master Mi Youren (1074-1151). The Mōri scrolls are not, however, easily placed in the Mi family tradition. Dominated by towering mountains, they are more akin to the monumental landscapes of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127) than to the gentle, misty hills associated with the Mi Youren. As noted in the Introduction, the painter of these three landscapes was clearly inspired by the Northern Song painting tradition of Li Cheng (919-67) and Guo Xi (act. 11<sup>th</sup> century) as exemplified by Guo Xi's *Early Spring* of 1072 (Fig. II-4).<sup>1</sup> The Li-Guo tradition, one of the most influential landscape traditions in the history of the Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> On the Li-Guo tradition in China and Korea, see: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, *Liguo shanshuihuaxi tezhan* 李郭山水畫系特展 [Special Exhibition of the Landscape Painting Tradition of Li Cheng and Guo Xi] (Taipei: Guoli Gu- gong bowuyuan, 1999). Also see, Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Sūkō naru sansui: Chūgoku chōsen rikakukei sansuiga no keifu tokubetsuten* 崇高なる山水: 中国・朝鮮、李郭系山水画の系譜特別展 [Sublime Landscape Visions: Li-Guo school Painting from China and Korea] (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 2008).



painting, was transmitted and transformed through successive dynasties in both China and Korea, when the two countries had close political, economic, and cultural relationships and shared trends in the arts. Through stylistic comparison with earlier and contemporary Li-Guo style landscapes from both countries, I will support the proposition that the Mōri scrolls are of Korean origin.

## **II. 1. Stylistic Examination of the Mōri Scrolls as Chinese Works**

### **II. 1-1. The Guo Xi Tradition in Jin, Yuan, and early Ming Painting**

After it lost control of northern China to the Jin dynasty (金代, 1115-1234), the Song retreated south to the Yangzi delta region, established its capital at Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou), and ruled as the Southern Song (南宋, 1127-1279). The Li-Guo landscape tradition of the Northern Song was not continued in the painting academy of the Southern Song court. However, it did not die out in north China. It survived and thrived under the patronage of the Jin dynasty. The anonymous *Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains* (岷山雪霽圖) (Fig. II-5) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, and *Wind in Fir Pines* (風雪彬松圖) by Li Shan (李山, ac. mid-12<sup>th</sup> to early 13<sup>th</sup> century) (Fig. II-6) in the Freer Gallery of Art are good examples of works in the Li-Guo manner from the Jin dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The unknown Jin painter of *Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains* faithfully captured the monumentality of the Northern Song tradition, the restless animation of Guo Xi's landscape forms, and some of the Northern Song master's signature flourishes, like pine

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<sup>2</sup> Susan Bush, "Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains and Chinese Landscape Painting." *Oriental Art* 11, no. 3 (Autumn 1965):163-72; Angela Li Lin, "Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines by Li Shan of the Jin Dynasty," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 15, no.1 (1980): 4-5.

trees with branch tips that look like “crab-claws” and cloud-shaped mountain forms. However, he also made some changes. The twin pines that appear in the foreground of Guo’s *Early Spring* are placed in the right corner of the Jin composition, separated from the monumental mountains of the background by a body of water but connected by a rustic bridge.<sup>3</sup> The strong brushstrokes used to outline the contours of the mountain have less to do with the representational goals of Northern Song landscape painting than with the more subjective brushwork of the following Yuan dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Li Shan was both a court painter and a Confucian scholar-official. His adoption of the Li-Guo style, which begun at the Song court, matches its use by court masters and scholar-painters in the Jin and Yuan dynasties. In style, the overall composition of *Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines* seems to be influenced by Li Cheng, the founder of this classical landscape subject, while the barren pines with exaggerated branches and crab-craw tips come from the style of Guo Xi.<sup>5</sup>

In the following Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), the Li-Guo tradition was taken up and transformed by the influential scholar-painter Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) as can be seen in his *Twin Pines in a Flat Vista* (Fig. II-7). In this landscape, Zhao pioneered a new direction for the Li-Guo tradition by simplifying the composition and using brushwork

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<sup>3</sup> For the Jin transformation of the Li-Guo tradition, see Susan Bush, “Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains and Chinese Landscape Painting.” *Oriental Art* 11, no. 3 (Autumn 1965):163-72. Also see, Richard M. Barnhart リチャードMバーンアハート, “Sō, Ryo ni okeru sansuiga no seiritsu to tenkai 宋金における山水畫の成立と展開” [The Establishment and Development of Song and Jin Painting], in *Tōgen, Kyonen* 董源 巨然 [Dong Yuan, Juran]. Vol. II of *Bunjingga suihei* 文人畫精篇 [Essence of Literati Paintings], ed. Kohara Hironobu (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977), 111-21.

<sup>4</sup> Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, *Nansō, Ryo, Kin* 南宋, 遼, 金 [Southern Song, Liao and Jin], vol. 2, no.1 of *Chūgoku kaigashi* 中國繪畫史 [Chinese Painting] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984), 143-45.

<sup>5</sup> Lin, “Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines by Li Shan of the Jin Dynasty,” 7-9.

for self-expression rather than simply for the representation of forms, as had been the case in landscape art of the Northern Song.<sup>6</sup> Under Zhao's leadership, the so-called Li-Guo tradition became fashionable among scholar-painters of Wuxing in southern China and was revived as an important landscape tradition during the Yuan dynasty.<sup>7</sup>

Tang Di (唐棣, ca. 1287-1355), Zhu Derun (朱德潤, 1294-1365), Yao Yenjing (楊維禎, 1296-1370), Cao Zhibai (曹知白, 1271-1355) and Luo Zhichuan (羅稚川, 1271-1368) are well-known followers of the Li-Guo tradition of different social ranks, from court painters to scholars.<sup>8</sup> These Yuan painters did not fully embrace the formative features of the Li-Guo tradition, nor did they follow Guo's philosophy about landscape art as espoused in his treatise, *Lofty Message of Forest and Streams* (Linquan Gaozhi, 林泉高致). Rather, they took some typical landscape motifs from Guo's paintings, such as the paired pine trees and crab-claw brushstrokes as shown in *Twin Pines in a Flat Vista* by Zhao Mengfu. Like Zhao, they also abandoned the use of an objective "descriptive"

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<sup>6</sup> For the Yuan transformation of the Li-Guo style, see Mu Yiqin, "On Yuan Painting: The Li-Guo School." *Oriental Art* 37, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 48-55. Also see, Suzuki Kei, "A Few Observations Concerning the Li-Kuo School of Landscape Art in the Yuan Dynasty." *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 15 (1968): 27-67.

<sup>7</sup> For the literati transformation of the Li-Guo style, see Chu-tsing Li, "Stages of Development in Yuan landscape painting." *The National Palace Museum Bulletin* IV, no.3 (1969): 1-12; Chu-tsing Li, "The Role of Wu-Hsing in Early Yuan Artistic Development under Mongol Rule," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 359- 61. Also see Maxwell K. Hearn, "Shifting Paradigms in Yuan Literati Art. The Case of the Li-Guo Tradition." in *Current Direction in Yuan Painting*, special edition of *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2009): 78-106 and Richard Vinograd, "River Village: The Pleasures of Fishing and Chao Meng-Fu's Li-Kuo Style Landscapes." *Artibus Asiae* 40, no. 2/3 (1978): 124-32.

<sup>8</sup> For professional artists working in the Li-Guo style, see James Cahill, "Followers of the Li-Kuo Tradition," in *Hills Beyond a River* (New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1976), 76-84. Also see, Suzuki Kei, Gen 元 [Yun] in vol. 2, no. 2 of *Chūgoku kaigashi* 中國繪畫史 [Chinese Painting] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988), 67-105.

brushwork in favor of more subjective “calligraphic” brushwork for self-expression. The monumentality and compositional symmetry found in Northern Song landscape paintings was weakened in the Yuan version of the Guo Xi style. Guo Xi’s Yuan followers often abandoned the harmonious balance of pictorial elements Guo used to present a perfected world in *Early Spring*. Visually, the Yuan transformation of Guo Xi’s landscape style became radically different from his original vision. For instance, in his *After Guo Xi’s Traveler in Autumn Mountains* (Fig. II-8), Tang Di faithfully adopts the Northern Song master’s overall composition, a central mountain, crab-claw branch tips, and small figures, but also deliberately distorts landscape forms and space. Unlike the well-organized pictorial elements in Guo’s *Early Spring*, the pictorial elements in Tang’s composition appear arbitrary and contradictory, undermining the sense of space in the painting.<sup>9</sup> While Guo Xi had used descriptive and restricted brushwork, Tang used the non-descriptive calligraphic brush pioneered by Zhao Mengfu.<sup>10</sup> As a result, although Tang’s work is titled “after Guo Xi” (倣郭熙), his landscape vision is radically different from the Northern Song master’s.

*Playing Chin Under the Tress* (Fig. II-9) by Zhu Derun shows another typical Yuan transformation of the Li-Guo style. Zhu has taken the iconic “twin pines” motif of the Li-Guo tradition, enlarged both the quantity and scale of the pines and placed them in the foreground as the main focus of the composition. Under the pines is a significant

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<sup>9</sup> Suzuki, “A Few Observations Concerning the Li-Kuo School of Landscape Art in the Yuan Dynasty,” 27-67

<sup>10</sup> Maxwell K. Hearn, “Reunification and Revival” in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, eds. Richard M. Barnhart, Wen Fong and James C.Y. Watt (New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 287.

group of figures that plays a much larger psychological role in the composition than do the figures in Guo Xi's *Early Spring*. This figural vignette in the foreground and the abundant use of foggy mist are additions from the Southern Song.<sup>11</sup> This Yuan painting shows the Southern Song transformation of monumental Northern Song landscape space into something more modest and intimate in scale. Other characteristics of the Guo Xi style that appear in the Yuan, such as the schematized and heavily contoured mountain forms and the bleakness of the terrain, are inherited from the previous Jin-dynasty followers of the Li- Guo lineage that continued unbroken in north China after the Song court moved south in the year 1127.<sup>12</sup>

During the transition period between Yuan and Ming dynasties, a few artists continued working in the Yuan literati version of the Li-Guo tradition. An example is the unsigned *Reading in a House amidst Pines* (Fig. II-10), painted sometime before 1495, recently excavated from the tomb of Wang Zhen (d. 1495).<sup>13</sup>

After the collapse of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty and restoration of Han Chinese rule under the Ming dynasty in 1368, the early Ming emperors attempted to return the court to its pre-Mongol glory. Great traditions of previous Chinese dynasties

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<sup>11</sup> Cahill, "Followers of the Li-Kuo Tradition," 78-80.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 76-7.

<sup>13</sup> On the paintings from the tomb of Wang Zhen, see Kathlyn Liscomb, "A Collection of Painting and Calligraphy Discovered in the Inner Coffin of Wang Zhen (d.1459)." *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 6-34. Also see, Gao Juhan [James Cahill], "Zhepai de xieyi- guanyu Huaianmu chutu shuhau de yixie kanfa 浙派的寫意—關於淮安墓出土書畫的一些看法." *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 上海博物館集刊 6 (1992):1-23.

were revived, particularly in art and culture of the native Song dynasty court.<sup>14</sup>

Professional painters from the southeastern provinces were summoned to the capital to promote the power and authority of the new Chinese dynasty.<sup>15</sup> These masters drew largely on court painting styles of the Tang and Song periods. In fact, many painters in and outside the Ming court academy went back to the styles of the Song, copying the work of masters like Guo Xi, Ma Yuan (ca. 1160~65-1225) and Xia Gui (fl. 1195-1224), even adding such illustrious names to copies. As a result, until recently, many fine Ming paintings were misattributed to famous Song painters.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Richard M. Barnhart, "The Return of the Academy," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, eds. Richard M. Barnhart, Wen Fong and James C.Y. Watt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 335.

<sup>15</sup> For more information on the Ming academy of painting, see Shan Guoqiang 單國強, "Mingdai gungding huihwa gaishu 明代宮庭繪畫概說 (I)" [Outline of Ming Court Painting (I)]. *Gugong bowuyuan yuangan* 國立故宮博物院院刊 no.4 (1992): 3-17; —, "Mingdai gungding huihwa gaishu 明代宮庭繪畫概說 (II)" [Outline of Ming Court Painting (II)]. *Gugong bowuyuan yuangan* 國立故宮博物院院刊 no.1 (1993): 56-63. Also see Sung Hou-mei, "The Formation of the Ming Painting Academy." *Ming Studies* no. 29 (1991): 30-55; —, *The Unknown Ming Court Painters: The Ming Painting Academy*. Vol. 18 of *Yi shu cong kan* (Taipei: Liberal Arts Press, 2006); Harrie A. Vanderstappen, "Painters at the Early Ming Court (1368-1435) and the Problem of a Ming Painting Academy (Part 1)." *Monumenta Serica* 15 (1956): 258-302; —, "Painters at the Early Ming Court (1368-1435) and the Problem of a Ming Painting Academy (Part 2)." *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1957): 315-46.

<sup>16</sup> Many paintings listed under the Northern Song dynasty section in vol. 1 of *Gugong shuhua tulu* 故宮書畫圖錄 published in 1989 have turned out to be works produced during the Ming dynasty. For instance, *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (fig. 10) was listed there as a work by Guo Xi. However, it is now reattributed to Li Zai who worked in the Ming painting academy during the Xuande era (1426-35). On this, see Richard Barnhart, "The Return of the Academy," 349-52. *Snowy Scene* (fig.11) attributed to Guo Xi has also turned out to be a spurious work painted by an anonymous Ming painter. James Cahill has suggested that it was possibly done by Zhu Duan (朱瑞, active 1506-21) in *Guogong shuhua tulu*, pl. 92. On this, see James Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Paintings* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1980), 108.

The monumental works by Guo Xi were at the top of the revivalists' list as models.<sup>17</sup> Prominent early Ming landscape artists who appear in court records as followers of Guo Xi include Li Zai (李在, act. 1424), Dai Jin (戴進, 1388-1462) and Ma Shi (馬軾 ac. 1426-35).<sup>18</sup> These professional painters were particularly active in the court of the Xuande emperor (Xuanzong, r.1426-1435). During the early Ming dynasty, court painters did not choose their painting subjects or styles; rather, the Ming emperor's choice and preference dictated what and how and they painted. Apparently, the Xuande emperor's preferred styles of the Northern Song, and his taste directly influenced the popular revival of the landscape art of Guo Xi at that time.<sup>19</sup> In succeeding reigns, imperial taste changed, and Ming emperors after the Xuande era favored landscape art of the Ma-Xia tradition on which the Zhe school style of Ming landscape painting was based.<sup>20</sup> We inferred from this that court painters were turning out works in the Guo Xi tradition slightly before the so-called Zhe school revival of Southern Song landscape styles became dominant among professional painters of the Ming court.

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<sup>17</sup> On the Ming revival of the Guo Xi style, see Howard Rogers, "Packaging the Past; Chinese Painting of the Ming Dynasty," *Orientalism* 4 (Winter 1989): 42-63. Also see Mary Ann Rogers, "Visions of Grandeur: The Life and Art of Dai Jin," in *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, eds. Richard M. Barnhart (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1992), 127-94.

<sup>18</sup> The Chinese text reads: "李在, 字以政, 蒲田人, 遷雲南, 宣德間被徵, 精工山水, 細潤者宗郭熙, 豪放者宗馬夏, 人物氣韻生動, 名傾一時," in *Ming hualu*, 明畫錄, chap. 2. Vol. 2 of *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 [Comprehensive History of Painting] (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974), 1143-44 and "戴進, 字文進, 號靜庵, 又號玉泉山人, 錢塘人, 其山水源出郭熙, 李唐, 馬遠, 夏珪, 而妙越多自發之, 俗所謂行家兼利者也 in *Ming hualu*, chap. 2, vol. 2 of *Huashi congshu*, 1144; "馬軾, 字敬瞻, 嘉定人. ... 畫宗郭熙, 高古有法, 與戴進并重京師" in *Minghualu*, chap. 3, vol. 2 of *Huashi congshu*, 1147.

<sup>19</sup> Richard M. Barnhart, "Emperor Xuanzong and the Painting Masters," in *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, ed. Richard M. Barnhart (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 77.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

If we analyze the Northern Song landscape paintings produced by known and anonymous (or unknown) early Ming professional artists active both in and outside the court academy, we find stylistic commonalities. Like the *Early Spring* of 1072 by Guo Xi, these newly created “old” hanging scrolls in Northern Song style are huge in size and depict a monumental landscape with a towering main mountain that soars up from the middle ground and tall pine trees on rocky cliffs in the foreground. These characteristics are present in early Ming works such as Dai Jin’s *Spring Mountains in Rich Verdure* (Fig. II-11) and *Mountain in Snow* formerly attributed to Liu Guandao (act. ca. 1275-1300) (Fig. II-12).<sup>21</sup> However, unlike Guo Xi, who presents a harmonious balance of pictorial elements in his composition (Fig. II-4), the Ming revivalists seem to have been less interested in harmony of form and compositional balance. Instead, they focused more on individual pictorial elements and anecdotal detail, such as mounted travelers crossing a stream or secluded temples and villas hidden in mist. Compared to Northern Song landscapes, the Ming revivalists also tended to enlarge and put visual emphasis in the middle ground or background of the composition. As a result, Ming landscape paintings became unsymmetrical and exaggerated in overall composition, as exemplified by Li Zai’s *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (Fig. II-13) and *Landscape* (Fig. II-14). Compared to Song landscape painting, in these works the background is drawn forward; therefore, the viewer’s eye is also pulled forward, as shown in another early Ming work, Dai Jin’s *Landscape* (Fig. II-15). Although these professional Ming painters were interested in describing the visual reality of landscape form, their brushwork often takes

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<sup>21</sup> Although *Mountain in Snow* has an attribution to the Yuan master Liu Guandao, it has been pointed out that the painting shows stylistic characteristics of the early Ming dynasty and stylistic similarities with Li Zai’s *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (fig. II-14). See Guoli gugong bowuyuan, *Liguo shanshuihuaxi tezhan* 李郭山水畫系特展, pl. 23, 89-90.



on a life of its own. Brushstrokes used for texturing mountains and cliffs are repetitive and tend to sit on the painting surface as “strokes” made by a calligraphic brush. Among lesser artists, brushwork tended to become stylized and schematized. In the rendering of pictorial elements, heavy outlines are used, and tonal contrasts between dark and light are exaggerated. It is likely that the Ming painters made their paintings not by contemplating nature, but by studying and copying old paintings of the past.

Li Zai’s *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (Fig. II-13), formerly attributed to Guo Xi, is a typical example of how Ming court painters recast Northern Song models. Li Zai emulates Guo Xi by employing a central monumental mountain, “crab-claw” branches, and “cloud-head” texture strokes. However, Li Zai could not completely free himself from the stylistic traits of his time—the exaggerated forms of mountains and cliffs, the packed composition with too many pictorial elements, the exaggerated brushwork, and the strong tonal contrasts which are typical Ming features. These later stylistic features set his landscape apart from the original Northern Song idiom of Guo Xi.<sup>22</sup>

In sum, the Northern Song style of Guo Xi was transformed into new versions or “period styles” down through successive centuries of Chinese painting history. Like his Chinese predecessors, the painter of the Mōri scrolls also admired and emulated the style of Guo Xi and made it his own in accordance with the taste of his time and place. The time was most likely in the fifteenth century and the place was either a court circle in China or Korea. In the section below we will explore the stylistic connections between

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<sup>22</sup> James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Paintings of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368-1580* (New York: Weatherhill, 1978), 27 and 45.

the Mōri scrolls and paintings in the Guo Xi style produced by revivalists in the early Ming court academy.

## **II. 1-2. Stylistic Comparison between the Mōri Scrolls and Early Ming Painting**

As discussed in the section above, *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* by the court painter Li Zai (Fig. II-13) is a typical example of a Ming version of the Guo Xi tradition. A comparison between *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* and the Mōri scrolls reveal that both have significant characteristics in common in terms of composition, pictorial components, and use of brush and ink. For instance, they both show a large, towering mountain that zigzags upward but not necessarily backward in space, strong contrast between dark and light ink tones, schematic U-shaped patterning in the mountains and slopes, and exaggerated “crab-claw” tips at the tips of tree branches. There is also similarity in the schematized and stylized use of texture strokes in the mountains and hills in both the Li painting and the Mōri scrolls.

The Mōri scrolls also share similarities in composition, pictorial elements and use of ink and brush with other paintings by Li Zai. This is apparent when we compare *Scroll Three* (Fig. II-3) of the Mōri set with two *Landscape* works (Figs. II-14 and 15) by Li Zai, now both housed in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. The composition of all three works is similar—twin pines shelter a secluded retreat on one side of the pictorial space in the foreground while a thrusting, multi-layered mountain fills the middle and backgrounds. Both artists used short brush strokes and strong ink to texture mountain and rock forms. As a result, the mountain forms of both artists appear very schematized.

Looking further afield, we find that the Mōri scrolls also share stylistic similarities with the other paintings of early-Ming date, such as *Mountain in Snow* (Fig. II-12), formerly attributed to Li Guandao, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Comparing this work with Mōri *Scroll Three* (Fig. II-3) we see that both artists added height and thrust to their main mountain through the layering of oyster-shell or U-shaped patterns in the middle ground and background. Both artists also depicted a cluster of tall trees jutting out of rocky promontories in the foreground. The building up of the mountain range with layer upon layer of repeated shapes appears unrealistic and stylized; however, it is a very effective way to conceptualize the grandeur of the mountain.

Other early Ming paintings related to the Mōri scrolls include works by Dai Jin (1388-1462), founder of the so-called Zhe school and the most influential professional painter of the early Ming dynasty. The composition of Mōri *Scroll Three* (Fig. II-3) is similar to that of Dai Jin's *Landscape* (Fig. II-16), and in both paintings we find that the portrayal of mountain forms is unrealistic and stylized while the use of brush and ink is arbitrary and overly expressive.

In terms of iconography, the Mōri scrolls also contain multiple motifs that are common to landscape works coming out of early Ming court circles. We begin our exploration of some of these shared iconographies with the ubiquitous “travelers [in landscape]” (行旅) motif which seems to appear in almost all new “old” landscapes in the Northern Song style produced in the early Ming period. In the foreground of the Mōri *Scroll Two* (Fig. II-2) are two figures riding horses or mules, and one figure carrying a

bundle on his shoulder.<sup>23</sup> “Travelers” also appears in Dai Jin’s *Spring Mountains in Rich Verdure* (Fig. II-11), *Landscape* (Fig. II-17) in Tianjin Art Museum, and *Traveling Caravan in the Autumn Mountain* (Fig. II-18) in Fujii Saiseikai Yuriūkan Museum of Art, Kyoto. Although the last work bears a spurious Guo Xi signature, its style does not match that of the great classical landscape master. The painting has been reassigned to an anonymous painter of the Ming dynasty.<sup>24</sup> A comparison between this early Ming work and Mōri *Scroll Two* shows the “travelers” vignette in the same position emerging out of the mountains behind a tree-clad promontory. Another figural vignette shared by the Mōri scrolls and early Ming paintings is the pair of figures heading toward the gated wall that leads out of the mountain in the far middle ground of Mōri *Scroll One*. Such figures also appear in Li Zai’s *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (Fig. II-13) and Dai Jin’s *Landscape* (Fig. II-15). We can even compare the partially disrobed figure seated on a bench outside the thatched gate in the lower right foreground of Mōri *Scroll Three* (Fig. II-3) to the partially disrobed seated figure in *Autumn Colors of the Eastern Fence* attributed to Li Xiang (?-?) (Fig. II-19), although figures represent different social classes. The figure in the latter is a scholar whereas the one in the in the Mōri *Scroll Three* looks like a country bumpkin (村夫).

Turning to later Ming paintings inspired by the style of Guo Xi, *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (Fig. II-13) by Li Zai and *Landscape in Snow* (Fig. II-20) by an

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<sup>23</sup> Peter Sturman, “The Donkey Rider as Icon: Li Cheng and Early Chinese Landscape Painting.” *Artibus Asiae* LV, 1/2 (1995), 43-97.

<sup>24</sup> Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Sūkō naru sansui: Chūgoku chōsen rikakukei sansuiga no keifu tokubetsuten* 崇高なる山水: 中国・朝鮮、李郭系山水画の系譜特別展, pl. 40, 154-55.

anonymous painter are notably similar to the Mōri scrolls in overall composition, pictorial elements, exaggeration of form, and strong use of brush and ink.

While displaying many similarities, the Mōri scrolls and the early Ming paintings discussed above also differ in significant ways. These differences were not apparent to me until I examined the paintings in person and could appreciate their scale and the qualities of their brushwork. The huge size of Li Zai's *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (Fig. II-13) overwhelms the viewer. When the oversize landscape scroll was unrolled before me, the magnificent landscape dazzled my eyes, and I stood motionless before it, mesmerized by its striking beauty. Unlike my dramatic encounter with the spectacular Li Zai painting, the *Landscape in Snow* (Fig. II-20) with a spurious Guo Xi signature but reassigned to the early Ming on stylistic grounds, gave me the impression that it was done by no more than a well-trained professional painter. Different from the dazzling image presented in the Li Zai painting, this is a well-organized and composed winter scene spread out on a large painting surface. The snowy mountain is depicted with very delicate, refined, uniform, and restricted brushwork as if painted by a machine. While these two early Ming paintings are different in basic character, they have two things in common. The first is the grandeur of the Chinese monumental landscape tradition in which the magnitude of nature is transferred onto the silk intact with powerful and endless energy. The second is the level of technical perfection achieved by Chinese landscape painters, every detail is depicted with a sophisticated and confident brush.

The Mōri scrolls appear similar to early Ming works produced by professional artists when seen as reproductions in publications, but in person the scrolls gave me an entirely different impression. While the Ming paintings inspire awe in the viewer, the

Mōri scrolls exude a sense of approachability, intimacy, and familiarity as if one could stumble upon the depicted scenery in real life. Also, the brushwork in the Mōri scrolls is not as complex and as polished as that in the Ming paintings and detailing is not as refined. It could be said that these differences are due to the discrepancy in size: the Mōri scrolls are 125 cm high, while Li Zai's painting measures 188.4 cm in height and *Landscape in Snow* is 194 cm. However, similar differences are seen when the Mōri scrolls are compared to *Mountains in Snow* (Fig. II-12) attributed to Li Guandao, which measures (139 cm high). The painter of the latter recreated a grand and formidable view of nature with rich and bold brushwork. Thus I do not think that the difference in overall impression between the Mōri scrolls and other early Ming works is a matter of scale.

To conclude, it is evident that the Mōri scrolls are related to the early Ming transformations of the monumental Northern Song style of Guo Xi in many respects, again, in composition, iconography, pictorial form, and handling of brush and ink. Nevertheless, the Mōri scrolls differ from the Ming landscapes in overall impression. The Ming paintings have a greater sense of grandeur and technical perfection than the Mōri scrolls. The Ming paintings are imposing and solemn, while the Mōri scrolls convey a lively atmosphere and cozy familiarity. The differences point to an origin for the Mōri scrolls outside of the immediate sphere of the Ming court, but someplace where Ming court art and culture were well known. The Joseon court of Korea was such a place.

## **II. 2. Stylistic Examination of the Mōri Scrolls as Joseon Works**

### **II. 2-1. The An Gyeon Style of the Early Joseon**

To set the stage for arguing for the Korean identity of the Mōri scrolls, I will briefly introduce the style of An Gyeon. This great Joseon court painter was working in the Guo Xi manner in Korea at the same time that the Guo Xi style was being revived by court painters in Ming China.

An Gyeon, whose pen name was Hyeondongja (玄洞字) and used the courtesy names Gado (可度) and Deuksu (得守), was the preeminent court painter in the Royal Bureau of Painting (Dohwa-won, 圖書院) during the early Joseon dynasty. He served four rulers, from King Sejong (世宗, r. 1418-50) to King Sejo (世祖, r. 1455-68). An's main period of activity was during the reign of King Sejong, who promoted the painter to the position of Hogun (護軍), an office of the the upper fourth rank (正四品), which was exceptionally high for a court painter.<sup>25</sup>

An Gyeon's main patron at court was the Grand Prince Anpyeong, Yi Yong (安平大君 李容, 1418-53), the most influential and significant figure in art and cultural circles at that time. The fact that An Gyeon was the only Korean painter whose works were listed in Anpyeong's painting and calligraphy collection, recorded in the *Hwagi* (Commentaries on Painting, 畫記) by Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417-75), reflects An's exalted reputation as the best Joseon painter of his time.

The painter's skill was also highly regarded by scholars in his time. The scholar-official Seo Geojeong (1420-88) wrote: "An Gyeon's brushwork is the best in the world,

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<sup>25</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon and Yi Byeonghan, *An gyeon gwa mongyudowondo* 安堅斗 夢遊桃源圖 [An Gyeon and Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land] (Seoul: Yegyeong, 1991), 71-104.

what he accomplishes with the stroke of a brush in ink painting is truly admirable.”<sup>26</sup> Sin Sukju wrote: “As for the Hogun An Gyeon, he is clever, smart, meticulous, and knowledgeable. He learned all the skills of painting through the study of ‘old masters’ paintings (古畫).’ He was good at landscapes. There are no other painters who can compete with him, including all painters of the past.”<sup>27</sup> According to another scholar-official, Seong Hyeon (成倪, 1439-1504), “An Gyeon’s landscape reached the level of the ‘divine class’ (*sinmyo*, 神妙). People these days treasure An Gyeon’s paintings like gold or jade.”<sup>28</sup>

According to the *Joseon wangjo sillok*, An Gyeon took part in important court painting projects commissioned by the king and royal family members like Prince Anpyeong, although none of these paintings remain today. For example, King Sejong commissioned An Gyeon to depict *Honor Guards of a Small and Large Royal Procession* (Daeso gauijangdo, 大小駕儀仗圖) in 1448.<sup>29</sup> An Gyeon also took part in many court

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<sup>26</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “安堅萬壑爭流圖: 安生筆法天下無, 磅礴一掃水墨圖” *Dongmunseon* 東文選 [Anthology of Korean Literature], vol. 4 and Sagajip 四佳集, vol 14, in *Hanguk misul chonggan*, vol. 10, 426b. DB of Korean classics: <http://db.itkc.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=MM>

<sup>27</sup> An Gyeon as written by Sin Sukju 申叔舟 in his *Hwagi* 畫記 reads: “我朝得一人焉。曰安堅。字可度。小字得守。本池谷人也。今爲護軍。性聰敏精博。多閱古書。皆得其要。集諸家之長。總而折衷。無所不通。而山水尤其所長也。求之於古。亦罕得其匹。” *Bohanjaejip* 保閑齋集 [Collected Writings of Bohhanjae], vol. 14 in *Hanguk misul chonggan*, vol. 10, 107c. DB of Korean classics: <http://db.itkc.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=MM>

<sup>28</sup> Seong Hyeon 成倪 reads: “善畫人物, 其後安堅崔涇齊名, 堅山水涇人物。皆入神妙, 今人愛保堅畫如金玉...” *Yongjae chonghua* 慵齋叢話 [Miscellaneous Sayings of Yongjae], vol. 1 in Original Text of Korean Studies from DB of Korean Classics: <http://db.itkc.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=KO>

<sup>29</sup> *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄 [veritable records of King Sejong], vol.119, 30<sup>th</sup> year (1448 戊辰) March 5, 1<sup>st</sup> article reads: “傳旨禮曹: “凡製作禮器, 初雖至詳, 然傳之既久, 必失其真, 今考大小駕儀仗圖, 竝皆訛



events and did numerous paintings related to the establishment of the dynasty and the life of the royal family. For example, he was commissioned to depict *Eight Outstanding Horses* (Paljundo, 八駿圖), an illustration of chapter 69 from *Songs of Flying Dragons* (Yongbi eocheonga, 龍飛御天歌), following the imperial example set by Emperor Taizong (太宗, ca. 626-49) of the Tang dynasty (618-906). The purpose of this royal commission was to affirm the legitimacy of the newly founded Joseon dynasty.<sup>30</sup> Other of his recorded royal commissions include *Portrait of Prince Anpyeong at Age Twenty Five* (匪懈堂二十五歲眞, 1442), *Landscape of Yi Sama* (李司馬山水圖, 1443), and *Viewing the Moon on the River* (臨江翫月圖, before 1447).<sup>31</sup>

Despite his fame and influence, An Gyeon's works are now almost all lost. The only surviving painting unquestionably by his hand is the masterpiece *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* of 1447 (Fig. II-21), now in a Japanese collection. All other existing paintings associated with him are attributions. However, we have reliable textual records left by An's contemporaries that give us information about his painting subjects

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謬,不合古儀,今所製東宮儀仗,令護軍安堅依法圖寫,其大小駕儀仗圖,亦令改正,粧續成冊,新舊官相代,置簿交割。”

<sup>30</sup> Seo Geojeong's record of this painting title by An Gyeon appears as “八駿圖行,” *Sajajip* 四佳集 [Collected Writings of Saja], vol. 3 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 10, 259a. Another scholar-official of the time, Bak Paengnyeong (朴彭年), also recorded the same An Gyeon painting title with commentary: “八駿圖頌: 予恐子孫或未克知我聖祖創業艱難之跡. 爰命護軍臣安堅畫之,” in *Bakseonsaeng yugo* 朴先生遺稿 [Posthumous Writings of Mister Bak], song (頌) in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 9, 459a.

<sup>31</sup> Bak Paengnyeong's record of these commissions undertaken by An Gyeon reads: “三絕詩序: 匪懈堂命畫師安堅, 畫李司馬山水圖, 手書其詩於左方,” in *Bakseonsaeng yugo*, mun (文) in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 9, 464c. Also Seo Geojeong's record of An Gyeon's painting commissions: “Huiwujeong yayeondo 喜雨亭夜宴圖,” *Sajajip*, vol.2 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 10, 246d.

and style. According to *Record of Talks in Solitude by Yongcheon* (Yongcheon damjeokgi, 龍泉談寂記) by the early Joseon scholar Kim Anro (金安老, 1481-1537):

In our dynasty there is a painter named An Gyeon, whose sobriquet is Gado or Deoksu, from the hometown of Gigok. He has achieved the profound principles of painting by studying many old paintings. When he imitates Guo Xi, his painting becomes a Guo Xi; when he follows Li Bi (李弼, ?-?), his painting becomes a Li Bi; when he paints in the manner of the Liu Long (劉融, ?-?), his painting becomes a Liu Long; when he paints in the manner of the Ma Yuan (馬遠, ca.1160-1225), his painting becomes a Ma Yuan. He excels at landscape subjects. “本朝安堅字可度, 小字得守, 池谷人也, 博閱古畫, 皆得其用意深處, 式郭熙則爲郭熙, 式李弼則爲李弼, 爲劉融爲馬遠, 無不應向而山水最其長也”<sup>32</sup>

In his *Dream Journey* handscroll, An Gyeon captured a fairyland hidden in a remote river valley, where villagers enjoyed an idyllic existence without knowledge of warfare and old age, which his royal patron, Prince Anpyeong, had seen in a dream.<sup>33</sup> This work also shows how An Gyeon was inspired by the paintings of Guo Xi as represented today by *Early Spring* (Fig. II-2) An Gyeon seems to have been quite

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<sup>32</sup> Kim Anro 金安老, *Yongcheon damsukgi* 龍泉談寂記 [Record of Talks in Solitude by Yongcheon]. DB of Korean Classics.

<sup>33</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, “An Gyeon and *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*.” *Oriental Art* 26, no.1 (Spring 1980): 60-71; An Hwi-joon and Yi Byeonghan, *An gyeon gwa mongyudowondo* 安堅과 夢遊桃源圖 [An Gyeon and *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*] (Seoul: Yegyeong sanyeopsa, 1987); Hongnam Kim, “An Gyeon and the Eight Views Tradition: An Assessment of Two Landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” in *Arts of Korea*, eds. Chong Yang-mo and Judith G Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 366-401; Hong Sunpyo, “Mongyudowondo ui changjakseggye: seongyeong ui jaehyeon gwa goseon sansuhwa ui hwaklip 夢遊桃源圖의 창작세계: 仙境의 再現과 古典山水畫의 확립” [*Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*; Reappearance of Paradise and Establishment of Classical Landscape Paintings], *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 31 (2010): 32-54.

deliberate about recreating the formal qualities of Guo Xi's brush method. The Northern Song master used double lines with fine and restricted brushstrokes for outlining landscape form; so did An. The Northern Song master was subtle in his use of brush and ink; so was An. The Northern Song master used fog and mist to suggest vast landscape space and the season of spring (as he also recommended this in his teachings on landscape); so did An. However, it has also been pointed out that stylistic influences from the Yuan and Jin dynasties are also recognizable in the *Dream Journey*.<sup>34</sup>

Prince Anpyeong owned seventeen landscapes by Guo Xi, and An Gyeon's interest in the Guo Xi most likely reflects his patron Prince Anpyeong's enthusiasm for the Chinese master.<sup>35</sup> The Guo Xi style was not only by far the most fashionable landscape genre in early Joseon times, but also the most enduring. It appears to have had an unbroken line of transmission through the Goryeo period (during Northern Song, Jin and Yuan periods in China) into the early Joseon (during the early Ming period). In Korea, this imported style was transformed according to the caliber of the Korean artists and the tastes of their Korean patrons. In the case of the *Dream Journey*, the caliber of the Korean artist was very high and the taste of the patron impeccable.

The album *Eight Views of Four Seasons* (Fig. II-22) in the National Museum of Korea, which was introduced in Chapter One, is the only other extant painting likely to have come from the hand of An Gyeon. Although unsigned, the *Four Seasons* album is very important in early Joseon painting history not only as a genuine work of the master but also an exemplar of the "An Gyeon style" that dominated much of early Joseon

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<sup>34</sup> An Hwi-joon and Yi Byeonghan, *An gyeon gwa mongyudowondo* 安堅斗 夢遊桃源圖, 133-34.

<sup>35</sup> I will give more details on Prince Anpyeong's collection of Chinese painting in Chapter Four.

painting history. Later paintings of the Four Seasons theme in this An Gyeon style were repeatedly produced in Korea throughout the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>36</sup> Not many of these later works of the Four Seasons theme have survived, but all of those known to have survived are related to the prototypical *Four Seasons* album in the National Museum of Korea.<sup>37</sup>

In the “Early Spring” (Fig. II-22-1) scene from the *Four Seasons* album, the ground planes are relatively separate and the pictorial components on each one do not overlap much, thus there is a clear division of pictorial space. Pictorial elements are carefully selected and placed to achieve visual balance, a prominent characteristic of the An Gyeon style. Also characteristic of the master’s work are negative spaces, mist and fog, figural vignettes, and various types of architecture, from thatched huts to tile-roofed pavilions, all used to convey the sense of a real world in which ordinary human activities take place. As for the brushwork, the artist used stylized strokes consisting of short lines dabbed repeatedly along the mountain ridges or contours. These “signature traits” of the An Gyeon style, which recall characteristics of Li-Guo style paintings of the Yuan dynasty, are all found in the *Four Seasons* album. These traits were inherited and developed by Joseon painters into the sixteenth century. Later examples include the

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<sup>36</sup> For the so-called “An Gyeon school” see Ahn Hwi-joon, “Joseon jeongi an gyeonpa sansuhwa gudo ui yeongu 朝鮮前期 安堅派 山水畫 構圖의 系譜 [Lineage of An Gyeon School Compositions in the early Joseon dynasty],” in *Choyu Hwang Suyong baksa gohui ginyeom misulsahag nonchong* 蕉雨 黃壽永 博士 古稀紀念 美術史學 論叢 (Seoul: Tongmunguan, 1988), 823-44. Reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu* 韓國繪畫史研究, 408-27. Also see Dongju Lee, *The Beauty of Old Korean Paintings: A History and An Appreciation* (London: Saffron, 2005), 63-6. Lee calls this style ‘the convention of An Gyeon.’

<sup>37</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, “Jeon an gyeon pil sasipalgyeongdo 傳 安堅筆 四時八景圖,” 76. Reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu* 韓國 회화사 연구, 386.

anonymous *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (before 1539) folding screen in Daiganji (Fig. II-23), the single *Landscape* panel (Fig. II-24) attributed to Yang Paengson (梁彭孫, 1488-1545) in the National Museum of Korea, the anonymous *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* panel (Fig. II-25) in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, and the anonymous folding screen *Eight Views of the Xiao Xiang Rivers* (Fig. II-26) in the Jinju National Museum. Even though An Gyeon never actually headed a “school” of painting, we generally refer to such works as being in the “An Gyeon school” or place them in the “An Gyeon tradition.”

## **II. 2-2. The Mōri Scrolls and Early Joseon Paintings of the Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries**

To establish the Korean origin of the Mōri scrolls, I will compare them to the early Joseon paintings, several attributed works as well as two securely dated monuments, An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* of 1447 and Yi Jasil’s *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* of 1550.

Each of the Mōri scrolls employs a bisected “one-sided composition” with most of the motifs massed on the left or the right sides balanced by empty space on the opposite side of the picture space. Such asymmetrical balance is characteristic of early Joseon paintings in the Li-Guo tradition such as the *Landscape* panel attributed to Yang Paengson (Fig. II-24). Usually, the empty space is read as river and sky with the boundary between water and sky unclear, as described in *jehwasi*.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes, simple

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<sup>38</sup> Sin Sukju 申叔舟, “Han Chiui sansubyeong 韓致義山水屏: 水平天長一望通 [Han Chiui’s Painting Screen: Endless Rivers and Vast Skies]”, *Bohanjejip*, vol. 5, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol.10, 43d. DB of Korean classics.

horizontally oriented motifs, such as low hills, bushes, and distant mountains are depicted with faint brushwork in this otherwise negative space. In *Mōri Scroll One*, the negative space is huge. Most of the landscape forms are diagonally arrayed on the right side of the composition. One space on the left has only some horizontal hills and distant mountain depicted in faint brushwork.

Although in all three *Mōri* scrolls, the three grounds, fore, middle, and back, are clearly separated and any awkward transitions between the grounds are masked by obscuring mist or carefully placed pictorial elements, the landscape space nonetheless seems compressed into the frontal plane. This is due to the sameness of ink tonality between near and far pictorial elements such as foreground rocks painted in same tone as distant peaks. This compression is also due, but to a lesser extent, to objects such as trees and rocks in the middle ground depicted on almost the same scale as those in the foreground. The viewer therefore reads the landscape space as existing more in two dimensions than three. In other words, there is no real visual recession into space as found in the classical landscape art of the Song dynasty, so the viewer's eye remains very much on the foreground where the narrative detail—and the coziness and intimacy that connects the viewer to the scene—mostly takes place.

Taking each *Mōri Scroll* composition in turn, in *Scroll One* (Fig. II-1) the main mountain look like the spine of a dragon's back meandering up and back into space. The eye moves back in a zigzag through successive layers of tall pines growing across the horizontal tops of the mountain's many ridges. In *Mōri Scroll Two* (Fig. II-2), the main mountain rises vertically from the left foreground, but is prevented from toppling over by the earth leading out of the mountain, which stabilizes the composition by forming an

anchor shaped like the letter “V” laid on its side. In *Mōri Scroll Three* (Fig. II-3), the main mountain appears more stable, the vertical peaks balanced by horizontal pictorial elements like trees and building complexes. This balancing act begins in the foreground with two nearly identical tree-topped promontories in the left and right corners anchoring the composition, while above the vertical peaks are balanced by the horizontal orientation of clouds, tile-roofed buildings, boats, land splits and rocks in the water.

In the early Joseon paintings, fog and atmospheric mists abound as shown in the “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” (Fig. II-27-1) and “Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple” (Fig. II-27-2) scenes from Jinju National Museum *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* screen. This kind of foggy atmosphere gives an evocative and poetic feeling to the scenes. It also hides any distortions in the landscape space and obscures spatial disjunctures between pictorial elements. The painter of the *Mōri* scrolls uses fog and mist to the same great effect in his three panels, particularly in *Scroll Three*, where an abundance of moisture-laden clouds float from the right side across to the temple complex on the left (Fig. II-28). This depiction of clouds is very similar to the *Cloudy Mountains* panel (Fig. II-29) attributed to Seo Munbo (徐文寶, act. late fifteenth century) in the collection of the Yamato Bunkakan, Nara. Both painters depict clouds with vivid and rhythmical brushwork.

Rhythm and movement appear to have been concerns of early Joseon painters including the anonymous painters of the Jinju *Eight Views* and the *Mōri* scrolls. The basic rhythmic “dragon vein” thrust of the mountain range back into space is the same between *Mōri Scroll One* (Fig. II-1) and the “Evening Bell from the Distant Mountains” panel (Fig. II-30) of the Jinju *Eight Views* set. In both compositions, the ridge of the mountain

range, like a coiled dragon's back, rises in the middle ground and zigzags upward and backward to link with frontally-depicted peaks in the background. In a similar manner, the painter of the "Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting" panel (Fig. II-31) from the same Jinju *Eight Views* set and the painter of *Mōri Scroll Two* (Fig. II-2) captured the rhythmic forces of nature by depicting the mountain peaks thrusting to the right and then to left as they move up (rather than back) into space.

Early Joseon painters also tended to put narrative vignettes or anecdotal elements into small "space pockets" created by landscape forms.<sup>39</sup> Thus, a scene with thatched-roof houses is enclosed in a space created by mist, trees and a cliff on the valley floor in the "Early Spring" leaf (Fig. II-32) in the National Museum of Korea of Korea *Eight Views of the Four Seasons* album and the "Evening Bells from the Distant Mountains" scene (Fig. II-33) from the Jinju *Eight Views* set. The painter of the *Mōri* scrolls also uses this pictorial device. In *Mōri Scroll One* (Fig. II-34-1), rocky cliffs and outcrops enclose a mountain market; in *Mōri Scroll Two* (Fig. II-34-2), a U-shaped gap formed by outcrops holds a luxurious building complex; and in *Mōri Scroll Three* (Fig. II-34-3), an opening in the bedrock of the mountain reveals a remote temple complex.

Tall trees, usually pines, sheltering a cottage or growing alone on a rocky promontory in the foreground of the composition are another pictorial device that the *Mōri* scrolls have in common with other early Joseon landscapes. This is by far the most clichéd of motifs in landscape paintings produced in the Li-Guo style during the early Joseon period. The *Mōri Scroll Three* (Fig. II-35) employs this "tall trees on cliff" motif,

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<sup>39</sup> Ahn, "Jeon an gyeon pil sasipalgyeongdo 傳安堅筆四時八景圖," 76. Reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu* 韓國繪畫史研究, 386.



as do the *Landscape* (Fig. II-36) attributed to Yang Paengson, the National Museum of Korea *Eight Views of the Four Seasons* (Fig. II-37), and the Jinju *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (Fig. II-38-1) and (Fig. II-38-2).

The painter of the Mōri scrolls also used brush and ink in an early Joseon manner as seen, for instance, in the strong, black brushstrokes that depict the contours of the mountains. After giving shape to the mountain using a strong, black contour line, he applied interior lines of the same shape as the contour line until he has achieved a mountain peak layered like an oyster shell. He then added surface texture to the peak by using repeated short strokes and dots applied between the layers (Fig. II-39). The repeated oyster-shell patterns on the mountains produce a flamboyant and decorative if somewhat schematized overall effect. We see something similar in the mountains in the Jinju *Eight Views of the Xiao Xiang Rivers* (Fig. II-40). The texturing strokes in Mōri *Scroll One* (Fig. II-41) are also similar to the National Museum of Korea *Eight Views of the Four Seasons* (Fig. II-42).

In spite of the many similarities in compositional design, pictorial elements, and use of brush and ink shared by the Mōri scrolls and early Joseon landscapes painted in the so-called An Gyeon style, there are a few differences. If we go back and compare the *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson (Fig. II-24) with Mōri *Scroll Three* (Fig. II-3), the difference is immediately apparent. Overall, Yang's *Landscape* is flat, calm, and spacious; there is little interest in three-dimensional effects. The pictorial components are not heavily built up and the brushwork of the mountains and trees is also simple. In contrast, in *Scroll Three* there is an interest in three-dimensionality, as seen in the

massively built-up main mountain, the exaggerated fullness of mountain and rock forms, tress, and clouds. There is also less robust form and volume in the “Autumn Moon at Dongting,” (fig. II-31) from Jinju *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (fig. II-26). Here the mountains and cliffs are again not as massive as those of the Mōri scrolls. It would be fair to say that most of early Joseon painters working in the Li-Guo-inspired An Gyeon style do not match the Mōri scrolls’ three-dimensionality and tectonic landscape forms. In fact, of all early Joseon introduced in this section of this study, only the landscape in “Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar” (Fig. II-43-1) in the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* folding screen in the Kyushu National Museum (Fig. II-43) approaches the three-dimensionality of that in the Mōri scrolls.

The Mōri scrolls also differ from most other early Joseon landscape paintings in their compositional complexity and quantity of pictorial elements used. All the comparative works introduced here are simpler with fewer, more sparsely distributed pictorial elements. The divisions between ground planes in all the Mōri scrolls, while distinct, are also more complex than in the comparative paintings. Finally, although the “negative space” of Mōri *Scroll One* is large, both *Scroll Two* and *Scroll Three* have less empty space than comparable early Joseon paintings.

The brushwork in the Mōri scrolls is also distinctive. Generally speaking, few early Joseon painting can match its sophistication and variety. The brushwork of the Kyushu *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang River* (Fig. II-43), for instance, is comparatively uniform and conservative, lacking the complexity, detail, and flourishes found in the Mōri scrolls. The description of the trees in the Mōri scrolls stands apart for its detail, meticulousness, appearing even somewhat decorative and creating a lush and

complex appearance in contrast to that the more stylized trees with their “crab-claw” typical of other early Joseon paintings.

## II. 2-3. Mōri Scrolls and Two Pedigree Early Joseon Paintings

Now we will compare the Mōri scrolls with two early Joseon works of impeccable pedigree, An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* of 1447 and Yi Jasil’s *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* of 1550 (Fig. II-44). Both of these two paintings have an intact painting title, a painter’s signature, inscriptions, and colophons as well as a production date. *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*, it will be recalled, was commissioned by Prince Anpyeong to record his dream of visiting an idyllic land in the company of the scholar Bak Paengnyeon (朴彭年, 1417-56).

According to the inscription on the upper right corner of the painting, *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* was commissioned by the Dowager Queen Gongui (恭懿王大妃, 1514-77) in 1550 in order to pray for the repose of the soul and rebirth in the afterlife of her late husband, King Injong (仁宗, r. 1544-1545), who passed away in 1545.<sup>40</sup> An inscription written in gold at the bottom right corner of the painting reads: “The subject Yi Jasil, paints this with utmost respect after cleansing his body and

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<sup>40</sup> The inscription on the painting reads: “嘉靖二十九年庚戌四月既晦我恭懿王大妃殿下伏為仁宗榮靖大王仙駕轉生淨域恭募良工綵畫觀世音菩薩三十二應幀一面送安于月出山道岬寺之金堂永奉香火禮” [In 1550, Dowager Queen Gongui commands Yi Jasil to create this Buddhist painting in order to pray for the repose of King Injong’s soul to Heaven. It was then enshrined in Dogapsa temple of Wolchul mountain in South Jeolla province]

burning incense” (臣李自實 沐手焚香敬畫).<sup>41</sup> Despite its Buddhist subject, *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokitesvara* has large areas of landscape, and its depiction is not far from that found in secular landscape painting of the period. The landscape styles of both paintings are somewhat different from those of the anonymous and attributed works in An Gyeon tradition discussed above, and thus offer different windows of opportunity in our quest to situate the Mōri scrolls through comparative analysis.

Like the Mōri scrolls, *Dream Journey* follows the Guo Xi tradition, but as a handscroll it has a horizontal composition in contrast to the vertical compositions of the Mōri panels.<sup>42</sup> In the *Dream Journey*, instead of a single towering mountain moving up the picture space, many peaks are depicted moving horizontally from left to right. Nevertheless the Mōri scrolls and *Dream Journey* are related by their exaggerated renderings of oddly shaped mountains and cliffs and the sense of vigorous and rhythmical movement they convey (Fig. II-45). In *Dream Journey*, the mountains are rough and abrupt forms, contorted and dancing shapes that enhance the fantastic and dreamlike atmosphere of the peach-blossom land.<sup>43</sup> The mountains in the Mōri scrolls rise up in

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<sup>41</sup> Yoo Kyung-hee 유경희, “Tokab-sa Guanseeumbosal 32eungtaek ui dosang yeongu 道岬寺 觀世音菩薩 三十二應幀의 圖像研究” [Thirty-Two Responsive Manifestation of Avalokitesvara from Tokab-Sa Temple], *Misul sahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 240 (2003): 149-79.

<sup>42</sup> Now mounted as hanging scrolls, the Mōri scrolls might have been mounted into a screen. *Dream Journey* is a handscroll mounted as a hanging scroll, which is very rare. For this, see Hong Sunpyo, “Mongyudowondo ui changjaksegye: seongyeong ui jaehyeon guseon sansuhua ui hwaklip 夢遊桃源 圖의 창작세계: 仙境의 再現과 古典 山水畫의 확립,” 38-9.

<sup>43</sup> Kim, “An Kyeon and the Eight Views Tradition: An Assessment of Two Landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” 388-91.

multiple layers of repeated contours against the sky. In other words, bizarre, exaggerated, and rippled mountain and rock forms are similarly created in both *Dream Journey* and the Mōri scrolls (Fig. II-46) and (Fig. II-47).

The pictorial elements are well organized and balanced in both paintings, yielding an unlikely harmony of exaggerated rock and mountain forms (Fig. II-48). As described earlier, the Mōri scrolls use complex thrusting and counter-thrusting diagonal, vertical, and horizontal movements in dynamic compositions that capture the rhythmic forces of nature. A similar balancing act in compositional design is achieved by An Gyeon his *Dream Journey*, although here the primary tensions are between the horizontal movements dictated by the format and narrative and the strong verticals of the fantastic peaks.

Space is clearly differentiated in the Mōri hanging scrolls by the distinct foregrounds, middle grounds, backgrounds, and distant mountains. An Gyeon used a similar approach in *Dream Journey*. Even though the viewer is presented with the image of a whole journey at once, the painting actually represents several different times and spaces.<sup>44</sup> To accomplish this, An Gyeon composed several separate sections to be read from left to right, which is unusual in East Asian paintings. The painting opens at the left with a section of low foreground hills through which a stream flows. Following the rightward course of the stream, the viewer is led to a second section with a towering rocky mountain, which has a narrow mountain road and a small cave. The cave leads to the third section consisting of an enormous open space where the peach blossom land is

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<sup>44</sup> Hong Sunpyo, "Mongyudowondo ui changjakseggye: seongyeong ui jaehyeon gwa goseon sansuhua ui hwaklip 夢遊桃源圖의 창작세계: 仙境의 再現과 古典 山水畫의 확립," 44-5.

hidden by bizarre rocks and craggy peaks. In the distant ground beyond the blossoming peach trees is a section consisting of a vertical wall of impenetrable peaks.

Through their compositional planning, An Gyeon and the painter of the Mōri scrolls depicted enormous landscapes on a small “canvas,” but compressing such monumental forms to fit the format resulted in unrealistic spatial relationships and a flattening of pictorial space. Both painters left areas of negative space that pull the viewers’ eye away from the spatial incongruities, filling the spaces with atmospheric mist and clouds that evoke a strong sense of the spring season. This use of atmospheric perspective smoothes transitions from one plane to the next while obscuring the visual disjunctures caused by packing multiple spatial layers onto the limited painting surface (Fig. II-49). The band of moisture-laden clouds depicted as wavy patterns in the negative space on the right side of Mōri *Scroll Three* is very reminiscent of the band of waving clouds floating over the peach blossom enclave in the *Dream Journey* handscroll (Fig. II-50). And the spring haze that hangs over the distant hills in the negative space in both Mōri *Scroll One* and *Scroll Two* is akin in style and feeling to the haze in the distant hills at the beginning section of *Dream Journey* (Fig. II-49). These elements, particularly the nuanced compression of landscape space, in the Mōri scrolls and An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey* suggest the cultural and temporal connections between these works.

The most notable differences between the Mōri scrolls and *Dream Journey* are in their brushwork and use of color. An Gyeon used very restrained, delicate, even soft brushstrokes to describe his unusual angular and jagged mountain forms, while the painter of the Mōri scrolls used somewhat stronger and more formalistic strokes that have a greater visual impact on the viewer. The texturing method (峻法) employed by An

Gyeon in *Dream Journey* is subtle and subordinate to the forms it describes. He used many gradations of ink wash rather than multiple layers of definable strokes to describe the surfaces of his rock and mountain formations. His handling of brush and ink throughout the handscroll is subdued, controlled, and cautious, more in keeping with Guo Xi's original brush method rather than the more mannered brush practices of Guo Xi's followers. In contrast, the painter of the Mōri scrolls relies more on ink wash than on brush strokes in his texturing method. The many short, repetitive strokes used to texture the surfaces of rock formations in all three Mōri panels are less restrained than An Gyeon's and call attention to themselves as "brushwork." We don't notice how the rock surfaces in the An's handscroll are textured, but in the Mōri scrolls, clearly defined "strokes" stand out and are used to create the schematic and patternized forms of the rocks and mountains (Fig. II-51). In sum, An Gyeon's brushwork, like that of Guo Xi, can be characterized as "objective," that is, dedicated to the depiction of physical forms, while the brushwork in the Mōri scrolls is more "subjective," seemingly more a vehicle for self expression or a means to show off skill with the brush. This more expressive brush mode was developed by literati artists of the Yuan dynasty, spread into the ranks of professional artists by early Ming times, and was adopted by the painter of the Mōri scrolls.

The application of light color accents in *Dream Journey* and the Mōri landscapes also differs substantially. For the pale pinks and white of the airy peach blossoms, An Gyeon used the "reverse" painting method, which involves painting the backside of the silk and letting the color permeate the front, producing more saturated and thus life-like color. This coloring technique was commonly used in Buddhist paintings of the Goryeo

dynasty, and suggests a close relationship between his work and that of other court painters in the Dohwa-won academy of painting.<sup>45</sup> Most of the colors have worn away on the Mōri scrolls, but we can see that the painter applied mineral colors like red, green, blue, and white as accents on buildings and foliage but did not use the back-painting method so the colors seem to “sit” on the painting surface.

Although their brushwork and modes of applying color were different, there are commonalities in their descriptions of mountain and rock forms. Both artists rendered oddly, even fantastically shaped rocks and mountains. In the Mōri scrolls, peaks look like oyster shells; in *Dream Journey* they look like stalagmites (Fig. II-52). Both built up large peaks and crags by piling up smaller rocks (Fig. II-53) and sometimes used small dots, perhaps as a tool to indicate the placement or boundary lines of mountain and rock forms (Fig. II-54). In texturing the undersides of overhanging cliffs, they used “repeated wrinkle” texture strokes (Fig. II-55). For contouring the summits of peaks and rocky cliffs where there is vegetation, they used double outlines (Fig. II-56). Further common pictorial elements include walls of pointy peaks glimpsed dimly on the horizon in the far hazy distance (Fig. II-57), mountain peak faces with flat sheer surfaces (Fig. II-58), and areas highlighted with strong dark-light contrasts. Dirt paths going in and out of the mountains, for instance, are left in reserve between areas of black ink (Fig. II-59), an element common in post-Song works in the Guo Xi style. In order to portray volumetric forms of mountains and rocks, they both used a layering method, building up rocks in

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<sup>45</sup> Hong, “Mongyudowondo ui changjaksegye: seongyeong ui jaehyeon gua goseon sansuhua ui hwaklip 夢遊桃源圖의 장작세계:仙境의再現과古典山水畵의 확립,” 34, 48-9. Professor Hong also mentions that An Gyeon also adapted some elements of Goryeo Buddhist painting in the depiction of rocks of the *Dream Journey*. This is because An participated in Buddhist events at the court, and had knowledge of the skills of Buddhist painters.



layers much as actually happens in the natural world. The layers are then linked in a continuous attachment to form a cliff or peak (Fig. II-60). Thus in general, An Gyeon and the Mōri artist were more interested in capturing the three-dimensionality and complexity of nature than were the painters of the anonymous and attributed works discussed in the previous section. They also retain yet another feature of the Guo Xi style seen in his *Early Spring* of 1072, the use of small rocks scattered in the water of the foreground stream (Fig. II-61). This suggests they were working from, or at least were aware of, a conservative lineage of the Guo Xi style.

Yi Jasil's *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* (Fig. II-44), like the *Dream Journey*, is a certifiable product of the Dohwa-won painting academy, but dated a century later (1550).<sup>46</sup> Many similarities can be found between the Mōri scrolls and the *Thirty-two Manifestations*, including a comparable emphasis on the three-dimensionality of landscape and volumetric form (Fig. II-62). Yi Jasil and the Mōri scrolls painter favored rock and mountain formations with round, billowing profile, in contrast to the jagged and angular peaks of An Gyeon's *Dream Journey*. High in the mountains of *Mōri Scroll One* and *Thirty-two Manifestations* we find a plateau picked out in reserve (Fig. II-63), a motif that appears in several early Joseon paintings, such as *Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple* in the Yamato Bunkakan (Fig. II-64) and *Gatherings of Government officials* (Fig. II-65) dated to about 1551 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The *Thirty-two Manifestations* and the Mōri scrolls further share a strong sense of movement; energy flows through these four landscapes due to the rhythmic

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<sup>46</sup> As noted earlier, stylistic connections between the Mōri scrolls and *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* have already been pointed out by Kim Jeonggyo in "Licho shoki rōkaku sansuizu," 157-58.

patterning of mountain forms and slow floating mists and clouds (Fig. II-62). Rather than leave the ridges of hills and cliffs bare of vegetation as found in some older works in the Li-Guo style, Yi Jasil and the painter of the Mōri scrolls filled the otherwise barren ridges with growing bushes (Fig. II-66). Finally, both artists used strong dark ink to indicate the contours of the mountains and hills, applied short lines and dots to the underside of hills and mountains, and scattered small dark rocks along the riverbed (Fig. II-67).

The clichéd placement of tall pine trees on rocky hillocks or cliffs mentioned earlier as ubiquitous in the anonymous and attributed early Joseon works in the An Gyeon style and in the Mōri scrolls, also appears in several places of *Thirty-two Manifestations*. The clusters of tall trees in the Mōri scrolls are more exaggerated and complex than the small clusters in *Thirty-two Manifestations*, but details like the wash-and-line rendering of the pine needle clusters on the branch tips are similar (Fig. II-68). Comparable trees appear in early Joseon paintings such as *Deer* in the Yamato Bunkakan (Fig. II-69), *Worship of Buddha in the Palace* (Fig. II-70) in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, and *Sarasu Family's Journey to the Paradise of Amitābha* (1576) (Fig. II-71) in the Seizan Bunko Museum, Sakawa.

As a Buddhist painting in the courtly blue-green landscape tradition, *Thirty-two Manifestations* displays a fairly full palette of mineral colors—reds, greens, blues, oranges, whites, and gold. As noted earlier, the largely monochromaic Mōri scrolls have color accents in each of the scrolls, tints of red and white in buildings and trees, blue in distant mountains and green-blue in the sky. Traces of blue and green are particularly visible in the distant mountains of *Mōri Scroll Three*. This blue of the distant mountains in the Mōri scrolls is not visible in photographs, but when viewed in person is

reminiscent of the blue mineral color used in *Thirty-two Manifestations*. The same use of mineral colors and the same use of the foreground trees in the Mōri scrolls suggest that its painting style could have originated in the same place or milieu as that of the blue-green tradition of *Thirty-two Manifestations*.

### II. 3. Mōri Scrolls and Aspects of Korean Architecture

Thus far we have only looked into early Joseon paintings for points of connections with the Mōri scrolls. This section draws on another aspect of early Joseon material culture, architecture, for evidence pointing to a Korean origin for the Mōri Scrolls. The architecture depicted in the Mōri scrolls matches real buildings of early Joseon date. For example, in *Mōri Scroll Two*, the small tile-roofed house surrounded by a wall with a thatched gate has a gable roof (*matbae jibung*, 맞배지붕) (Fig. II-72) very similar in framing to the gable roof of the Founder's Hall (Josadang, 祖師堂) (Fig. II-73) of Geukrakjeon Hall (極樂殿) of the Muwisa Temple (無爲寺) in Gangjin, South Jella Province, which was built in 1430.

The luxurious palace complex depicted in the middle ground (Fig. II-74) of *Scroll Three* shows a multi-storied pavilion with a distinctive Korean hip-and-gable roof (*paljak jibung*, 팔작지붕) that can still be seen at Changdeok Palace (昌德宮) (Fig. II-75) first built in 1412 and rebuilt in 1616 and on the Daeseong Hall (大成殿) (Fig. II-76) of the Munmyo (Confucian temple 文廟) built in 1602. The triangular portion of the wall under the gable of the Daeseong Hall is a bright vermilion as is also the case with the multi-storied pavilion (Fig. II-74) and the scholar's retreat in the foreground of *Scroll Three*

(Fig. II-77). The same roof line and red-painted gable wall also appear in the palace building of *King's Banquet Given to the Successful Candidates of the Government Service Examination* (Fig. II-78), a documentary painting (*gyehoedo*, 契會圖) dated to 1580 and produced in the court of King Seonjo (r. 1567-1608), now in the Yomei Bunko, Kyoto. The contour of the entire roof structure of the multi-storied pavilion (Fig. II-74) and the roof of the scholar's retreat (Fig. II-77) located on the left foreground in *Scroll Three* are outlined in thick black ink. This method of outlining a roof structure with a thick black line is also found in early Joseon Buddhist painting as exemplified by the mid-sixteenth century *Worship of Buddha in the Palace* (Fig. II-79) in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art and the *Thirty-two Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara*.

The scholar's retreat (Fig. II-77) in *Scroll Three* consists of several one-room structures. Although all the rooms are modest in size, this is nonetheless an upper-class residence (*giwajip*, 기와집) as demonstrated by the use of costly ceramic roof tiles throughout. And even though the fence enclosing the compound appears to be of thatch, the roof of its front entrance is tiled. A comparable scholar's retreat with a tiled roof (but a thatch gate) is also depicted on the right foreground of *Scroll Two* (Fig. II-72). The main houses of both scholar's retreats are built on raised foundations (*gidan* 基壇) of hand-hewn natural stone. The hewn fieldstone foundation was one of the most popular types of *gidan* in use during the Joseon dynasty. Existing examples are the Jewoldang hall (霽月堂) of Soswewon garden (瀟灑園) in Damyang, South Jeolla province (Fig. II-80) and the Song family house in South Gyeongsang province (Fig. II-81). The use of fieldstones as foundation material in Korean architecture is also documented in a Joseon painting now in a private Japanese collection dated to 1540, *Gathering of Government-*

*Officials* (Fig. II-82), where the base of a viewing pavilion or *nujeong* (樓亭) is constructed from piling up large blocks of natural stone.

In traditional Korean architecture, the difference between windows (*chang*) and doors (*mun*) is not always clear-cut and the Korean language has the inclusive designation of *changmun* (literally “window-door”) which can refer to either architectural element. The main room of the two scholars’ retreats depicted in *Scroll Two* both have a window as wide as a door (Fig. II-72). This kind of wide window is also depicted in the Leeum *Worship of Buddha in the Palace* (fig. II-83), but the same basic structure can be lengthened into a door in Joseon architecture as shown in the *Founder’s Hall* (Fig. II-84) of Buseoksa. In *Scroll Three*, there is a “window-door” that is equipped with a floor-length curtain for shade or privacy (Fig. II-85). This kind of curtained “window-door” is also depicted in a thatched-roof house of the aforementioned *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* scene from the Eight Views series in the Yuhyeonjae collection; *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* scene (Fig. II-86), also from the Eight Views series, in the Yamato Bunkakan collection; and in *Dream Journey* by An Gyeon (Fig. II-87).

In addition to the use of curtains to provide shade from the sun, Koreans attached awnings known as *chaeyang* (채양 or *chayang* 차양) under the entire length of roof eaves. Artists of the early Joseon period took great care to include this detail when depicting architecture in their landscape paintings, as exemplified by the protruding *chaeyang* awning from under the eaves of the thatched roof of the exterior room in the *Landscape* (Fig. II-88) attributed to Yang Paengson, the protruding *chaeyang* under the thatched roof of the wine shop in the Leeum *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* panel (Fig. II-89), and the protruding *chaeyang* under the tiled roof of the scholar’s retreat in the

Yamato Bunkakan *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* scene (Fig. II-86). The artist of the Mōri scrolls also took pains to paint *chayang* awnings in a detailed manner. In *Scroll One*, all the shops in the mountain market have *chayang* protruding from the eaves of their roofs (Fig. II-34-1). In *Scroll Two*, two tile-roof main buildings, one on the left foreground and the other on the right foreground of the composition, are both equipped with *chaeyang* (Fig. II-72). The *chaejang* of the building on the left foreground is even depicted with the support that holds it in place—a pole weighted down by a cylindrical block (Fig. II-85).

Two thatched pavilions or kiosts known in Korean as *nujeong* (樓亭), appear in *Scroll One* and *Scroll Three*. The riverside thatched pavilion in the left foreground of *Scroll One* (Fig. II-90-1) provides a great view of life on the water and the thatched kiost in the middle ground of *Scroll Three* (Fig. II-90-2) provides a close encounter with the waterfalls cascading off the opposite hillside. Such viewing pavilions are ubiquitously written about in early Joseon literature and a whole literary genre known as “pavilion writings” (*nujeonggi*, 樓亭記) developed around them. Many scholar-officials of the time built their own pavilions and wrote poems dedicated to their pavilions.<sup>47</sup> More than 200 *nujeonggi* records about pavilions from the fifteenth century still exist.<sup>48</sup> The records do

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<sup>47</sup> Kim Eunmi 김은미, “Joseon chogi nujeonggi ui yeongu 朝鮮初期樓亭記의 研究” [Research on *Nujeonggi* of the Early Joseon dynasty], Ph.D. dissertation (Seoul: Ewha Womans University, 1991); Choe Gyeonghwan 최경환, “Hanguk jehwasi ui jinsul yangsang yeongu 韓國 題畫詩의 陳述樣相 研究” [Aspects of Discourse on *Jehwasi* Poems in Korea], Ph.D. dissertation (Seoul: Seogang University, 1990), 8-10.

<sup>48</sup> Kim Jongcheol 김종철, “*Dongmunseon* sojae Nujeonggi yeongu 『東文選』 所載 樓亭記 研究” [Research on *Nujeonggi* Records from the *Dongmunseon*], Master’s thesis (Ulsan: Universtiy of Ulsan, 2000).

not tell us much about the structure and appearance of a *nujeong* pavilion, but it was always an open building without walls located in a high place or on the water for the contemplation of beautiful scenery, as shown by the Daebong terrace (待鳳臺) at Soswewon garden (Fig. II-91).<sup>49</sup> However, a fairly accurate pictorial record of what early Joseon *nujeong* pavilions looked like can be found in landscape paintings of the period. The *nujeong* under the shelter of tall trees on a jutting cliff side in *Scroll Three* is a fairly common type of pavilions depicted in early Joseon painting. It is square in shape and enclosed by a railing and comes equipped with two round stools for intimate talks between host and friend. The overall setting of this *nujeong* in *Scroll Three* is similar to the pavilion in the aforementioned National Museum of Korea *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson (Fig. II-92), the pavilion in the aforementioned National Museum of Korea *Late Winter* (Fig. II-93) scene from *Eight Views* set attributed to An Gyeon, the pavilion in a panel of the Jinju *Eight Views* of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in (Fig. II-94), the pavilion in a panel of the Yuhyeonjae *Eight Views*, and pavilions in many other early Joseon landscape works not cited in this chapter.

In sum, buildings in the Mōri scrolls show some similarities with actual architectural structures from the early Joseon dynasty. A viewer of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> would have found that the detailing of the buildings depicted in the three scrolls true to the life of Joseon Korea, despite the setting of the landscapes in Northern Song China. For the modern viewer, the accurate rendering of fieldstone foundations, roof styles,

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<sup>49</sup> Kim Eunmi, “Joseon jeongi nujeonggi ui yeongu 朝鮮前期 樓亭記의 研究,” 36-7.

gables, windows, doors and awnings in the three scrolls provide valuable pictorial records of early Joseon architecture.

#### II. 4. Mōri Scrolls and Aspects of Early Joseon Figure Painting

A considerable number of the figures appear in the Mōri scrolls, and they are similar to figures depicted in landscape paintings datable to the early Joseon. Some early Joseon depictions of figures in landscape, particularly ones coming out of a court milieu, are detailed enough to show clothing worn during the period. This aspect of early Joseon figure painting is best illustrated in *Mōri Scroll Two*, where there is a figure sitting on the floor of a tile-roof cottage in the left foreground of the composition (Fig. II-72). This figure is clothed in a Korean man's coat known as a *yoseonchellik* (요선철릭, 要線帖裏) (Fig. II-95). This man's costume is similar to an actual *yoseonchellik* excavated from the tomb of Byeon Su (邊脩, 1447-1524) in Yangpyeong county, Gyeonggi province (Fig. II-96). The Italian painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) left a pictorial record of this Korean costume in his *Man in Korean Costume* dated to 1617 (Fig. II-97) now in the J. Paul Getty Museum.

But the signature item of Korean costume is the *gat* (갓) or *heuklip* (黑笠), a brimmed black top hat made of very fine horsehair to be distinguished from the types of broad-brimmed black hats worn by travelers depicted in Chinese paintings. This type of headdress is unique to the Joseon period and worn by Korean gentleman the way top hats were worn by English and American gentleman. In early Joseon times the crown of a *gat* was not as high as in the later Joseon and it had a rounded top, as exemplified in *Portrait of Kim Siseup* (金時習, 1435-98) (Fig. II-98), painted by an unknown artist, now in the



collection of the Buddhist Center Museum, Seoul. It is recorded that King Seongjong (r.1457-95) disliked the rounded crown of *gat* because of its similarity to headdress worn by Buddhist monks, so after the late fifteenth century, the *gat* acquired a flat-crown.<sup>50</sup> Many figures in the Mōri scrolls wear the rounded top *gat* (Figs. II-99-1, to II-99-5). We have to interpret these *gat*-wearing gentlemen as *personas* of the owner and viewers of these scrolls, busy Yangban scholar-officials attending to the affairs of state but wishing they were enjoying the rustic pleasures of country life like the men in the scrolls.

Today in Korea it is still very common to make a deep ceremonial bow when greeting another person, as it was historically in Korea and elsewhere in East Asia. It shows humbleness on the part of the greeter and politeness towards the person being greeted. In the middle ground of Mōri *Scroll One*, many figures are seen bowing deeply from the waist in greeting. They must be old friends who see each other only on infrequent market days in the remote mountains (Fig. II-100-1). Similar “bowing figures” also appear in the mountain market vignette (Fig. II-101-1) and in the vignette of an innkeeper greeting a guest in front of his tavern (Fig. II-101-2) of the Leeum *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* panel. In the left foreground of Mōri *Scroll Three* a *gat*-wearing scholar and a servant holding his *qin* (seven-string zither) are in the process of executing a deep Korean bow to a visitor at the gate (Fig. II-100-2). This way of greeting was apparently part of the social fabric of life in Joseon Korea. The Chinese envoy Dong Yue (董越, *jinshi* degree holder of 1469), who visited the Joseon court in 1487 to

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<sup>50</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 226, 20th year (1489), March 25, 2nd article: “傳于承政院曰: “衣冠制度不可不正, 今時俗所尚笠樣, 有似僧笠, 令該司改其制”; Yang Jinsook 양진숙, *Joseon sidae gwanmo sajeon* 조선시대 관모사전 [Dictionary of Hats in Joseon Dyasty] (Seoul: Hwasan munhwa, 2005), 51-4.

announce the enthronement of the Ming emperor Hongzhi (弘治, r. 1487-1505), records this Korean way of greeting in his poetic memoir, *Songs of Joseon* (*Chaoxian fu*, 朝鮮賦). During his stay in Joseon, the Chinese envoy took notes on Korean culture and custom based on his observations and conversations with the residents of his host country. Dong wrote: “According to (Joseon) customs, bowing (蹲踞, which literally means “crouching”) is a way of showing respect to others. If a person is summoned, that person will hurry toward the caller with a deep bow in response.”<sup>51</sup> Dong also wrote of records that say: “(scholars) make ceremonial bows in greeting, ask solicitously about other people, and walk with mincing steps when they approach.”<sup>52</sup> For the early Ming envoy, the Korean “greeting bow” must have made a deep and lasting impression.

Another common figural vignette in early Joseon painting, as in contemporary Ming painting, shows figures in a fishing boat; either real fishermen hard at work or gentlemen enjoying an idle boat ride, with or without a fishing line in the water. Both types of fishing take place in the three Mōri scrolls. In *Scroll Two* we see professional fishing: a fisherman wearing a straw hat stands at the bow drawing in his net while a seated figure rows the skiff forward at the stern (Fig. II-102). An early Joseon *jehwasi* evokes such a scene: “After sunset only fishermen are out drawing in their nets. Heave-ho! The fishermen’s shoulders rise with each movement 日暮無人撤漁網,

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<sup>51</sup> Dong Yue 董越, “其俗見人以蹲 蹲踞爲敬有召命亦 跪進而答之,” *Chaoxian fu* 朝鮮賦 [Song of Joseon], trans. Yun Hojin 尹浩鎮 (Seoul: Kkachi, 1994), 82. Dong Yue visited Joseon in 1488; he wrote, edited and published his memoir of his journey by 1490 based on notes of his experience.

<sup>52</sup> Dong Yue 董越, *Chaoxian fu*, 49.

欸乃一聲見正高。”<sup>53</sup> Similar depictions of real fishing are shown in “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” (Fig. II-103) from the Jinju *Eight Views*, “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” (Fig. II-104), from the Daiganji *Eight Views* set, and *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* (Fig. II-105) from the National Museum of Korea *Eight Views*. Most notable given our concern with the national identity of these paintings are “fishermen” wearing a scholar’s robe and *gat* hat. One sits in the fishing skiff in the foreground of *Mōri Scroll One* (Fig. II-106-1). He is definitely a recreational fisherman. In *Mōri Scroll Three* the figure seated at the bow doesn’t even pretend to be fishing. He is a passenger being transported to the opposite shore with two large ceramic jars (perhaps filled with wine?) in tow, while a standing *gat*-wearing figure (his drinking companion?) paddles the skiff toward the opposite shore (Fig. II-106-2). If there is one pictorial element that alone argues for the *Mōri* scrolls as Korean works, it would be all the white-robed, *gat*-wearing gentlemen who populate these scrolls. Finding a *gat*-wearing boater in an early Ming painting academy painting is highly unlikely.

Finally, we turn our attention to a figural vignette that appears twice in *Mōri Scroll Three*, “figures at leisure under trees.” This subject, like the fishermen theme, originated in China, and was also common in contemporary Chinese paintings. To the left in middle ground of *Scroll Three* three men sit on a rocky promontory under autumnal trees enjoying the sound of the waterfall cascading off the opposite cliff (Fig. II-107). In

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<sup>53</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Eochon mangyeong 漁村晚境; *Jehogunhua sipsu* 題崔護軍畫十首” [Inscribing Ten-panel Landscape set by Choe Gyeong Stanzas for Paintings by Choe Gyeong], *Sagajip* 四佳集, Supplementary vol. 1 (補遺編 卷 1) in *Hanguk misul jaryo jipseong* 韓國美術資料集成 (2). Vol 2 of *Hanguk misul jaryo jipseong* 韓國美術資料集成 [Compilation of Sources on Korean Art], edited by Jin Hongseop (Seoul: Ilji-sa, 1991): 36-7.

early Joseon painting, as in Chinese traditions from which the artists drew, scholars seated on high terraces or cliffs overhung with trees contemplating the open vista was a very popular motif, as is evident from many of the paintings already discussed (Figs. II-108, II-109-1, II-109-2, II-110). This kind of figural vignette also appears as an independent genre in Korean painting as in Chinese painting. Known as “figures in small landscapes” (*sogyeong sansu inmulhwa*, 小景山水人物畫), this secondary genre of Korean landscape art is usually produced on the small format of the album leaf. In mid Joseon times, paintings in the genre of *sogyeong sansu inmulhwa* were sometimes painted on a large scale and mounted as a full-size hanging scroll, as shown in a work attributed to Yi Gyeongyun (李慶胤 1545-1611) entitled *Viewing the Moon* (Fig. II-111) in the collection of Seoul University Museum.

## II. 5. Mōri Scrolls and Aspects of Jehwasi Poetry

As noted in the previous chapter, pictorial elements in the Mōri scrolls and other early Joseon landscapes are documented in *jehwasi* (colophons in poetic form). It will be recalled that the “mountain market” (山市) is the key feature in one of the the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers series. *Jehwasi* poetry refers to two types of “mountain market” depicted in early Joseon paintings the Xiao and Xiang theme. One is seen in the *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* (Fig. II-112) in the Jinju National Museum *Eight Views*: the market is located behind a walled fortress in the valley below

the mountain and shoppers can be seen making their way towards its gate.<sup>54</sup> A second type is depicted in the *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* (Fig. II-113) in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art: the market is located in an opening or gap in the bedrock high up in the mountain and is viewed from bird's-eye perspective (俯瞰). This second type of “mountain market” is the more popular one in early Joseon painting. It appears in the Kyushu National Museum and Yuhyeonjae collection “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” scenes (Figs. II-114 and 115) and in Mōri *Scroll One* (Fig. II-116). A line from a *jehwasi* refers to such images: “after returning from the mountain market in the morning 墟市朝歸後...”<sup>55</sup> This type of high “mountain market” originated in the prototypical Eight Views paintings by Wang Hong in Southern Song times.<sup>56</sup> However, the high “mountain market” in *Scroll One* looks little like Wang Hong's. Rather, the location of the market high up between a gap in the mountain's bedrock, the placement of the shops, and the deportment of the shoppers are remarkably like comparable vignettes depicted in the early Joseon painting sets, suggesting that the Mōri scrolls had a more immediate Korean source.

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<sup>54</sup> This first type of “mountain market” is also depicted in *Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist* from the *Eight Views* set in the collection of the temple Daiganji, Hiroshima.

<sup>55</sup> Sin Gwanhan 申光漢 (1484-1555), “Sansicheongram, Sosang palyoung 山市晴嵐, 瀟湘八詠” [Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist, Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers Poems], *Gijaejip* 企齋集 [Collected Writings of Gijae], supplementary vol. 7, *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 22, 456b. DB of Korean classics.

<sup>56</sup> Murck, “Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers by Wang Hung,” 198, pl.4. Also see Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000).

A “distant temple” identified by a pagoda is found in *Mōri Scroll Two* and *Scroll Three* (Figs. II-117-1 and 117-2), recalling the *jehwasi* lines: “Where is the temple of the white three-storied pagoda?” High multi-storied buildings through distant twin peaks 白塔三層何處寺, 樓臺隱映露雙巖.<sup>57</sup> Partially hidden behind tree-lined rock formations, both temple compounds and multi-storied buildings (樓閣群) look like luxuriously appointed palace complexes, complete with red-painted columns and tiled roofs. In early Joseon *jehwasi*, temples are always described as high “layered buildings”(層層樓). In a *jehwasi* titled *Picture of Old Temple* (古寺圖) Seo Geojeong wrote: “Meandering cliffs with ancient trees, high multi-storied buildings 古木回巖樓閣中”<sup>58</sup> *Jehwasi* also describe these buildings as enveloped in a glow of fog and mist: “Hidden temple in dense fog and glow 寺在烟霞第幾重”<sup>59</sup> Such a fog surrounds the “distant temple” in *Mōri Scroll Two*. Similar depictions of the “distant temple” are readily found in contemporary Eight Views scenes.

The fishing boat theme, although common in Chinese paintings, had special meaning in Korea. Because the Korean peninsula is surrounded on three sides by water

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<sup>57</sup> Seo Geojoeng 徐居正, “‘Yajeomdo’ *Jehwa byeong palcheop* ‘夜店圖’ 題畫屏八疊風” [‘*Night Store*’ from Inscribing a Eight Panels of the Folding Screen], *Sagajip* 四佳集, vol. 28, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, vol.10, 478d.

<sup>58</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Je sinjeon cheomga palcheop byeongpung 題中典籤家藏八疊屏風” [Inscribing the Sin Jeonchem Family Eight-panel Folding Screen], *Sagajip*, vol. 13, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, vol. 10, 407d. The eight titles of the painting are: *Windy Raining* 風雨圖, *Fishing in Winter* 雪釣圖, *Yellow Crane Tower* 黃鶴樓, *Gusu Terrace* 姑蘇臺, *Country Village* 村舍圖, *Old Temple* 古寺圖, *River Village in Evening Glow* 晚照江村圖, *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* 漁村晚景圖.

<sup>59</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “*Jehwa sipsu ui choe yemun sukjeongjak* 題畫十首 為崔藝文淑靜作” [Inscribing Poems on Ten Paintings by Choe Sukjeong], *Sagajip*, vol. 29, *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, in vol.10, 499c.

and blessed with many rivers and streams, boats were a common means of transport and boating a popular leisure activity. *Jehwasi* mention many boats—small boats (*soseon* 小船), skiffs (*sijeong* 小艇), lively little boats (*gyeongdo* 輕舫), and rustic boats (*yaseon* 野船). Seo Geojeong described an empty skiff like the one anchored at the shore in the left foreground of *Mōri Scroll Three* (Fig. II-118): “Lone boat lying on the shore line 獨舟橫浦口”<sup>60</sup> This poetic image evoking reclusion is frequently seen in the early Joseon paintings, including An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey* (Fig. II-119)

Wine drinking went along with recreational boating, and ceramic jars depicted in early Joseon paintings of boat scenes are likely wine jars. Seo Geojeong wrote: “Fisherman rows his boat as he pleases; rowing it with a load of wine as he sings 漁郎隨意飛蘭堯, 拖樓載酒歌鼓舷.”<sup>61</sup> Round jars with flat covers, used to hold liquids like soy sauce and rice wine appear in boating scenes in all three *Mōri* scrolls (Figs. II-120-1, II-120-2, II-120-3). Drinking alcohol fermented in ceramic jars was part of that rustic life-style idealized by Joseon *yangban* (upper class) men, and drinking parties were part of their elite culture.

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<sup>60</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Jehwabyeong palsu 題畫屏八首” [Inscribing Eight Landscape Panels of Folding Screen], *Sagajip* 四佳集, vol.14, *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, vol. 10, 244.

<sup>61</sup> Seo Geojeong 徐居正, “Je ilamdoin sojang sansudo 題一庵道人所藏山水圖” [Inscribing Landscape Paintings in the Collection of Master Ilamdo], *Sagajip*, vol. 31, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, vol. 11, 18c.

## II. 6. Early Joseon Painting Formats

The Mōri Scrolls must have originally been part of a multipanel, folding screen, as suggested in Chapter One.<sup>62</sup> Judging from extant paintings and *jehwasi*, the folding screen (*byeongpung*, 屏風) was the most favored painting format in the early Joseon period.<sup>63</sup> It fit the style of life in Korea, as in Japan, where people sat on mats on the floor, rather than on stools or chairs, and moveable screens served as room dividers, privacy screens, and backdrops for special events. *Jehwasi* record paintings mounted in screens of eight, ten, twelve or more panels. The method of composing such screens in complementary pairs of panels was discussed in Chapter One. It can be seen in the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (Fig. II-23) folding screen at Daiganji and the *Folding Screen of Landscape* (fig. II-121) in the Sacheonja collection, Kyoto, both of which preserve their original Joseon formats.<sup>64</sup> The main reason why most extant early Joseon landscape paintings have one-sided compositions is because they came from such screens composed of complementary pairs. In the early Joseon it was rather uncommon for paintings to be conceived as independent panels, as they were in Ming China where people sat on stools or chairs and paintings were hung on walls. Two of the Mōri scrolls still form a complementary pair, while *Scroll Three* has its lost partner. Originally they

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<sup>62</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, “Joseon jeongI an gyeonpa sansuhwa gudo ui gyeobo 朝鮮前期 安堅派 山水畫 構圖의 系譜,” 409-12.

<sup>63</sup> About Folding screens of the Joseon dynasty, see Yamato Bunkakan, *Richō no byōbu: tokubetsuten* 李朝の屏風 [Folding Screens of Joseon Dynasty: Special Exhibition] (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 1987)

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, 10-3.



would have joined more pairs in a folding screen of eight, ten or twelve panels that was undoubtedly as visually pleasing as the Daiganji and National Museum of Korea screens.

## **Conclusion**

The only certain thing about the Mōri scrolls is their debt to the Li-Guo tradition and, more specifically, to the monumental landscape style of the Northern Song master Guo Xi. After tracing the development of the Li-Guo tradition through the Jin, Yuan and early Ming periods, the Mōri scrolls were found to be closest in style to early Ming works. Then we crossed over to the Korean peninsula, where An Gyeon, the pre-eminent landscape painter in the court of Sejong the Great, was the key figure in the popularization of the Guo Xi tradition in the early Joseon period. The Mōri scrolls were found to have much in common with anonymous and attributed painted works of the so-called An Gyeon School of the early Joseon period, but also a few differences were noticed. They are similar in compositional design, pictorial elements, and iconography, but different in brushwork, pictorial complexity, and treatment of three-dimensional form. The Mōri scrolls were then compared with two early Joseon works of impeccable pedigree, An Gyon's *Dream Journey* (1447) and Yi Jasil's *Thirty-two Manifestations* (1550), and found to share a period and national style. The Mōri scrolls measure up to the *Dream Journey* and the *Thirty-two Manifestations* in their complexity of brushwork and pictorial elements as well as their concern for rendering three-dimensional landscape forms. The Mōri scrolls were further found compatible with many aspects of early Joseon culture, from architecture and clothing, to literature and social customs. Finally, they

were identified as coming from a multipanel folding screen of the type popular in the Joseon Korea.

## Chapter Three

### Mōri Scrolls and a “Lost” Monumental Landscape Tradition

Building on the relationship between An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* of 1447, Yi Jasil’s *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* of 1550, and the three Mōri scrolls (figs. III-1~3) established in the previous chapter, this chapter considers the possibility that they represent a distinctive tradition, one that maintains the three-dimensionality and volumetric form typical of Northern Song landscape painting to a greater extent than do works in the so-called An Gyeon School. I will introduce several more related early Joseon paintings to argue that collectively all of these works represent a distinctive, previously unrecognized Guo Xi monumental landscape lineage that lasted through the seventeenth century in Korea.

#### III. 1. Early Joseon Monumental Landscapes in the Guo Xi Style

The four early Joseon works in the monumental landscape style of Guo Xi introduced below, one in the British Museum and three in collections in Japan, are all anonymous or attributed works that, like the Mōri scrolls, have not received adequate scholarly attention and remain on the margins of East Asian painting history. They are examined here for their affinities to the Mōri scrolls in style and subject matter.

##### III. 1-1. *Mountain Landscape* in the British Museum

*Mountain Landscape* (fig. III-4) formerly in the collection of Stephen Junkunc III, a well-known Chicago collector, came into the collection of the British Museum from a Korean donor, who purchased it at a Christie’s auction. Christie identified this hanging scroll as a

Korean painting and asserted that it must come from the same set as the Mōri scrolls due to the similarity of its pictorial elements.<sup>1</sup>

*Mountain Landscape* does bear a remarkable resemblance to the three Mōri scrolls and must be of similar date and origin. All four scrolls are painted in ink with touches of color on silk panels very close in size: the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* measures 119×55.5 cm and each of the Mōri scrolls is 125.5×56.8 cm. The British *Mountain landscape* could have been trimmed when re-mounted, accounting for the slight difference in height. All are consistent with the average height of early Joseon vertical panels (see Table 2).

Name of Work	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Collection	Figure #
Anonymous. <i>Mōri Scrolls</i>	125.5	56.8	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. III-1~3
Anonymous. <i>Mountain Landscape</i>	119	55.5	The British Museum	Fig. III-4
Anonymous. <i>Landscape</i>	114.8	60.1	Ex- Agata Kunizō Collection	Fig. III-28
Anonymous. <i>Pavilion Landscape</i>	109.6	61.1	Private Collection, Kyoto	Fig. III-36
Anonymous. <i>Landscape</i>	127	65.8	Private Collection, Japan	Fig. III-43
Anonymous. <i>Pavilion Landscape</i>	131.4	70	Private Collection, Japan	Fig. III-44
Attributed to Yi Jing. <i>Landscape</i>	121.7	83.7	Gwangju National Museum, Gwangju	Fig. III-45
Attributed to Yi Jing. <i>Landscape</i>	115	56.3	Gwangju National Museum, Gwangju	Fig. III-46

<sup>1</sup> Christies's New York, ed. *Japanese and Korean Art* (September 2000), 189-91, fig.274. Park Haehoon, "Joseon sidae sosangpalgyeongdo yeongu 朝鮮時代瀟湘八景圖 研究," [Research on Joseon Dynasty Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers], Ph.D thesis (Seoul: Hongik University, 2008); 245-47.

<sup>2</sup> \* indicates that the figure number after asterisk is the one reproduced in Hong Sunpyo, et al., eds. *Joseon Ōchō no kaiga to nihon: Sōtatsu, taiga, jakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi* 朝鮮王朝の絵画と日本: 宗達, 大雅, 若冲も学んだ隣国の美 [Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty and Japan: Art of a Neighboring Kingdom that Inspired Sotatsu, Taiga, and Jakuchu] (Osaka: Yomiuri Shimbun Osaka honcho, 2008).

Attributed to Yi Jing. <i>Scholar Riding a Donkey</i>	117.8	57.2	Gansong Museum of Art, Seoul	Fig. III-47
Anonymous. <i>Mountain Market in Clearing Mist</i>	96	42	Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul	Fig. II-25
Anonymous. <i>Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar</i>	126.4	48.5	Metropolitan Museum of Art	
Anonymous. A set of two <i>Landscapes</i>	89.9	45.4	Metropolitan Museum of Art	Fig. i-6
Attributed to Yang Paengson <i>Landscape</i>	88.2	46.5	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Fig. II-24
Anonymous. <i>Landscape</i>	87	46	Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art	
Anonymous. <i>Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple</i>	80	47.9	Yamato Bunkakan, Nara	
Anonymous. <i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang</i> (each)	91	47.7	National Museum of Korea, Jinju	Fig. II-26
Anonymous. <i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang</i> (each)	98.3	49.9	Daigan-ji, Hiroshima	Fig. II-23
Anonymous (Attributed to An Gyeon) <i>Three Landscapes</i>	90	54.3	The Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo	* fig.6
Attributed to Ma Lin <i>Pair of Landscapes</i>	103.8	49.2	Ryōsoku-in, Kennin-ji, Kyoto	* fig.19
Anonymous. <i>Summer and Winter Landscapes</i> (Seal of Eunjae 隱齋)	129.0	71.5	Kyoto National Museum	* fig.20
Anonymous. <i>Snow Landscape</i>	92.2	51.5	Cleveland Museum of Art	
Anonymous. <i>Gathering of Scholars of the Official Academy</i> ca. 1531	91.5	62.3	National Museum of Korea (Seoul)	
Anonymous. <i>Gathering of Government Officials</i> ca. 1540	86	56.2	Private Collection, Japan	
Anonymous. <i>Gathering of Government-officials from the Ministry of Revenue</i>	121	59	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	
Kim Si (1524-93). <i>Boy Pulling a Donkey</i>	111	46	Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art	

*Mountain Landscape* shares motifs and compositional features with Mōri scrolls *Two* (Fig. III-2) and *Three* (Fig. III-3): several promontories or hillocks topped with pine trees gently jut out in the fore and middle grounds; on a high mountain ridge in the middle ground is a multi-level building complex; and the central mountain soars majestically into the sky in the background. In all three scenes, space is compressed

although each plane is separately distinguished, and, as is typical of vertical landscapes in the monumental style from the early Joseon period, the diagonal, horizontal, and vertical movements coalesce into a harmonious whole.

The British Museum *Mountain Landscape* (fig. III-4) is most closely akin to Mōri *Scroll Three* (Fig. III-3) in its selection and placement of pictorial elements. In both, travelers on a path in the left middle ground are headed toward a prominent multi-level pavilion complex set high in the mountains; pencil-thin waterfalls cascade down the cliff sides beneath the pavilion complex; and down in the valley floor, the waterfalls terminate at the edge of a wide river or lake. The British Museum *Mountain Landscape* also shares some features with Mōri *Scroll Two* (Fig. III-2): compositions diagonally divided in a rough C-shape and hillocks with trees and cottages in the left foreground and middle ground. A dirt path picked out in reserve leads from the left foreground into the mountains, past the waterfalls and up to the luxurious pavilion complex in the left middle ground.

The shapes and contour of the mountain and rock formations in the British Museum painting basically follow Guo Xi's style, but with more distortion and exaggeration as in the Mōri scrolls. This distortion is especially evident in the shape of the pine-topped cliff adjacent to the building complex in the middle ground (Fig. III-5). The cliff looks like a slender encrusted oyster shell. It was formed by repeatedly outlining an oblong or ovoid shape. A similarly distorted rock formation is seen in Mōri *Scroll One* (Fig. III-5). These oyster-shell-like rock formations constitute the cliffs and peaks of the central mountain, forming rhythmic surface patterns that give energy and movement to the landscape. The rocky surfaces of the mountains and cliffs of both the British and Mōri

scrolls are textured by applying short wrinkle-like strokes on their sides and bottoms (Fig. III-6). Landscape mass and three dimensionality are achieved by rendering the mountain as thrusting up and back into space (Fig. III-7).

While many early Joseon landscapes in the An Gyeon style are less complicated than the Mōri scrolls, the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* could be positioned between them in this regard since its pictorial forms are more detailed than the former but not as complex than the latter. This is particularly true in the depiction of trees. Compare the pines growing on the top of the cliff in the left foreground of *Mountain Landscape* (Fig. III-8) with the same passage on the left foreground of *Mōri Scroll One* (Fig. III-9). Middle-size versions of these same pine trees also appear on top of the prominent cliff adjacent to the building complex in the middle ground of both the *Mountain Landscape* and *Mōri Scroll One* and *Scroll Two* (Fig. III-9).<sup>3</sup> Both the painter of the British Museum landscape and the Mōri painter drew the fan-shaped branches of the pines with fine brushstrokes and light ink washes (Fig. III-10). Small pinecones hang from the pine branches of both the *Mountain Landscape* and *Mōri Scroll One* (Fig. III-11). Small trees of various species grow beneath the tall pine trees (Fig. III-12). The roots of most trees are also left exposed in both works (Fig. III-13). Indistinct trees and bushes growing on the ridges of far peaks are rendered in simplified form with boneless ink washes. Some of this distant vegetation appears as dark contours outlining the peaks in both *Mountain Landscape* and *Scroll One* (Fig. III-14).

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<sup>3</sup> The *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson and the Daiganji temple's "Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple" scene from the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* also have the same temple vignette.

Stylistic similarities are also found in the depiction of the architecture in the British and Mōri scrolls. The pavilion complexes in both works are depicted with delicate and refined brush strokes, with the gable wall, window framing, and balustrades painted vermilion (Fig. III-15). Also similar are the ridge tiles (Fig. III-16), framing beneath the gables (Fig. III-17), floor-length curtains (Fig. III-18), heavy black edging of the roofs (Fig. III-19), and rectangular wine-house banners (Fig. III-20). Similar figures are also found, notably *gat*-wearing scholars on horseback accompanied by servants on foot (Figs. III-21, III-22). The figures are small so not carefully delineated; the hand looks like a stump (Fig. III-23). This lack of attention to anatomical detail is characteristic of the general Joseon tendency to be more tolerant of imperfection. Further comparable is the application of color, specifically, the vermilion on the buildings, the red pigment used to accent faces, costume and foliage, and the light blue mineral wash that indicates the hazy color of distant mountains (Figs. III-24, 25, 26). However, the white pigment in the costumes of the figures of the Mōri scrolls (Fig. III-25) is not present in the British Museum painting.

Their many similarities notwithstanding, the British Museum and Mōri scrolls make a different impression on the viewer. After examining these paintings in person, I realized that this is due to differences in the use of brush and ink. The dry, cautious, and restrained brush used in *Mountain Landscape* gives it a gentle and tranquil mood. The brushwork of the Mōri scrolls is wetter, freer, faster, and generally more spontaneous, and together with the dark-light contrasts, it makes a stronger visual impression on the viewer. (Fig. III-27). The brushwork of *Mountain Landscape* is more subordinate to the forms it defines in the Northern Song manner, whereas the bolder brushwork of the Mōri



scrolls is more in keeping with later approaches to brush and ink. The greater objectivity of brushwork in the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* vis-à-vis that of the Mōri scrolls is best seen in the texturing of the surfaces of the mountains and rocks. Texture strokes are kept under control and are not visually prominent in the *Mountain Landscape*. In contrast, texture strokes used in the Mōri scrolls are more visually intrusive (Fig. III-27). This dissimilarity of brushwork supports our view that these paintings come from different sets. Nevertheless, in the end, the differences are outweighed by the similarities that link the British Museum painting and the Mōri scrolls.

### III. 1-2. *Landscape* in Ex-Agata Kunizō Collection

Another early Joseon work stylistically connected to the three Mōri scrolls is *Landscape* (Fig. III-28) by an unknown artist. Its current location is unknown. Formerly it was in the collection of Agata Kunizō (阿形邦三) in Japan. The size of the painting is now 114.8×60.1cm. Judging from the cropping of the mountain peak at the upper right corner of the composition, however, it could once have been about 120cm high, a height in keeping with that of the Mōri and British Museum scrolls. In modern times, this painting has been published twice as an anonymous Chinese work (once as Yuan and once as Northern Song), but it has not been scholarly examined.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ishikawa Jun 石川淳, Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎, and Kohara Hironobu 古原宏伸, eds. *Kō Kōbō, Gei San, Ō Mō, Go Chin* 黄公望, 倪瓚, 王蒙, 吳鎮 [Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan, Wang Meng and Wu Zhen], in vol 3 of *Bunjinga suihen* 文人畫精編 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1979), pl.77 where this painting is attributed to an anonymous Yuan painter. No information on inscriptions, seals, and provenance accompanies the plate. In this book it is listed as *New Year Painting* (歲朝圖) in Yuan dynasty; Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, ed. *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* 中国絵画総合図録 [Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Paintings], vol. 4 of *Nihon hen (2): Ji'in, kojū* 日本篇 (2): 寺院, 個人 [Japanese Collections (II): Temples and Private Collectors]. (Tokyo: Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982). JP-008 (Agata Kunizō Collection, 阿形邦三蔵). In this book, it is dated as Northern Song dynasty. I have not seen this painting in person, but have relied on these reproductions. I talked with Professor Itakura Masaaki of

The connections between the *Agata Landscape* and the Mōri scrolls are so substantial that we also propose a Korean origin for the former. It is another work in the monumental landscape tradition of the right size for a folding screen panel. The mountain view is depicted in exacting detail with pictorial elements set out in four separate grounds—fore, middle, back, and distant. The composition is roughly diagonally bisected, with most of weight on one side in the typical early Joseon manner. The overall composition is closest to that of *Mōri Scroll Three* (Fig. III-3), although reversed. Both compositions are anchored by pine trees on rocky promontories in the foreground, where secluded scholars' retreats are accessible only by a small boat, bridge, or dirt path.

The most prominent characteristic of the *Agata Landscape* is in the method of applying texture strokes, or *junbeop* (Ch. *cunfa*, 峻法) on the mountains and cliffs (Fig. III-29). This texturing method is very similar to that used by the painter of the Mōri scrolls, particularly *Scroll Two* (Fig. III-29). The rock contours are delineated in heavy, black ink, while their mass and volume are conveyed by many short, repeated texture strokes (Fig. III-30). The type of stylized *junbeop* is credited to An Gyeon and exemplified by the *Four Seasons* (Fig. III-31) in the National Museum of Korea. Modern Korean scholars call this stylized *junbeop* strokes “*danseon jeomjun*” (單線點峻, which is literally translated as “texture strokes with short lines and dots”) and their presence in early Joseon landscape painting is fairly common.<sup>5</sup> Not only are the *junbeop* of the

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the Institute for the Advance Studies on Asia at Tokyo University about the current whereabouts of this painting. In this conversation, I proposed that this landscape might be of Korean origin and he agreed.

<sup>5</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, “16 segi An Gyeonpa hoehwa wa danseon jeomjun 16 세기 안견과 회화와 단선점준” [An Gyeon school in the Sixteen century and *Danseon jeomjun* Texture strokes], in *Hanguk hoehwasa yeongu* 한국회화사 연구 [Study of Korean Painting History] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000), 429-49.

mountains in the Agata and the Mōri scrolls alike, but their mountain peaks are also similar in shape and in their oyster-shell-like shapes constructed by repeatedly overlapping oblong outlines that add movement and rhythm to the composition. Some have puzzling lateral spurs that seem to be suspended in mid-air (circled in red on Fig. III-29). The Agata scroll also has the flat mountaintop plateau left in reserve common in early Joseon landscape paintings (Fig. III-32). Usually located up on a high ridge and rimmed with a stand of small trees, it is meant to be read as a rock terrace from which a grand vista of the mountain scenery can be enjoyed (Fig. III-32).

The Agata *Landscape* has the familiar market located high up on the mountain and viewed from a bird's eye perspective (Fig. III-33). It is situated in a wider space than that in Mōri scroll and closer to the base of the mountain, just above a rustic bridge where three travelers are making their way toward the shops. In spite of their tiny size, the emotional connection between the figures in the mountain market is apparent. The shoppers meet and chat with each other with apparent joy and excitement. We also see the "greeting with deep bow," the "working fishermen," and figures wearing gentlemen's robes and brimmed *gat* hats (Fig. III-34).

Building complexes in the Agata scroll are likewise very similar to those of the Mōri scrolls. Located in openings between rocky cliffs at the base of the mountain and on rock terraces or cliffs high up on the mountain, the structures are rimmed with leafy bushes or sheltered beneath tall pines, giving them a sense of snugness and security. They look like real places where people can live in harmony with nature. Note too such architectural details as the natural fieldstone foundations, large door-windows with floor-length curtains, and black-edged roofs (Fig. III-35).

In sum, the unsigned Agata scroll, with a long-standing attribution to a Chinese artist, bears many similarities to the Mōri scrolls and the other early Joseon landscapes in the tradition proposed in this chapter.

### III. 1-3. Kyoto Collection *Landscape with Pavilions*

*Landscape with Pavilions* 樓閣山水圖 (Fig. III-36) in a private Kyoto collection has never been included in a public exhibition to the best of my knowledge.<sup>6</sup> It is attributed to Wang Chong (王寵, 1494-1533) of the Ming dynasty on the basis of a seal as “Seal of Wang Luji” (王履吉印 Wang Lu ji yin) on the painting and an inscription on the painting box inscribed with “Pavilion of the Immortals by Wang Chong” 王寵筆仙人樓閣圖.<sup>7</sup> However, the two seals are thought to be spurious and the painting is inconsistent with the literati style of that artist. Wang Chong’s *Spring Landscape* (Fig. III-37) in Suzhou Museum, Jiangsu shows that he faithfully follows Wu School-style paintings. I have not seen *Landscape with Pavilions* in person because its whereabouts are unknown. It measures 109.7 × 61.1cm. The upper part of the painting has obviously been cropped; originally it must have been a little taller, putting it within average range for panels of

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<sup>6</sup> Kim Jeonggyo 金貞教, “Licho shoki rōkaku sansuizu 李朝初期 樓閣山水圖” [Pavilion Landscape Painting of the Early Joseon Dynasty], *Firokaria* フィロカリア 5 (1987): 150-58. In this volume, it is cited as belonging to a “private collection in Kyoto” without identifying the collector. Its current whereabouts is unknown.

<sup>7</sup> Two seals are located on the upper left side of the painting; the upper one is in intaglio (白文方印) and the lower one in relief (朱文方印). Upper seal is illegible; the lower seal could be read as “王履吉印 Wang Lu ji yin (“seal of Wang Luji”). “Luji 履吉” is Wang Chong’s style name (字). This is considered a spurious later seal (Ibid, 158). Wang was a native of Suzhou, well known not only as a painter but also as a calligrapher. His calligraphy followed the style of Wang Xianzhi (王獻之, 344-86) and Yu Shinan (虞世南, 558-638). Along with Zhu Yunming (祝允明, 1460-1526) and Wen Zhengming, he was one of the “Three Talents of Suzhou 吳中三家.”

early Joseon date. It is done in ink with traces of color, such as the red accents applied to the pavilions and blue washes of the distant mountains (Fig. III-38).

*Landscape with Pavilions* is yet another work in the Northern Song monumental mode with a clearly defined series of receding grounds. The selection and placement of pictorial motifs, such as pavilions, houses, mountain paths, bridges, figures, and distant views find counterparts in the Agata and the Mōri scrolls. However, rather than a mountain market it has a pavilion complex, the figural vignettes are fewer, the scholar's retreat on the left corner is tiled rather than thatched. The similarities between the Agata *Landscape* and the Kyoto *Landscape with Pavilions* are so pronounced as to suggest that one may have been based on the other or both were based on the same template. That templates or model landscapes were used at the time is surmised because of the similarities between certain scenes in different sets of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers.<sup>8</sup>

As we have seen in other early Joseon landscapes, all of the pictorial elements in *Landscape with Pavilions*, from the foreground to the main mountain in the background,

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<sup>8</sup> As Professor Itakura Masaaki pointed out, several types of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers existed during the early Joseon time. Itakura Masaaki 板倉聖哲, “Kangoku ni okeru shōshō hakkeizu no juyō tenkai 韓国における瀟湘八景図の受容展開” [The Acceptance and Development of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Painting Tradition in Korea], *Seikyū gakujutsu ronshū* 青丘学術論集 14 (1991): 25-30. Evidence for the use of templates or models include the “Wild Geese Descending on a Sandbar” and “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” scenes from Eight Views sets in the Yamato Bunkakan (Fig. III-41-1), and the Yuhyeonjae collection (Fig. III-41-2). Although the format and size of the two painting sets differ, the former are hanging scrolls measuring about 65×42cm for each panel while the latter are album leaves measuring 29×30cm for each leaf, the pictorial elements of both painting sets are almost identical. Other early Joseon painting sets that must have been modeled on a master template are the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* in the National Museum of Korea (Jinju) and the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* at Daiganji. This is especially apparent when the “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” (Fig. III-42-1) and the “River and Sky in Evening Snow” (Fig. III-42-2) scenes from the Jinju and the Daiganji *Eight Views* sets are compared.

are organically linked with a zigzag movement like a dragon's back or "dragon vein" coiling up and back into space. Diagonal, vertical, and horizontal alignments of form create balance and rhythmic movement in the overall composition. The mountain and rock forms are rendered, like those in the Mōri scrolls, with repeated outlined in an oblong shape to produce an oyster-shell pattern and with suspended, laterally layered rocks to their sides (Fig. III-39). The ubiquitous tall pine trees grow atop promontories and hillocks and a plateau viewing terrace is picked out in ink reserve and rimmed with vegetation at the summit of a mountain ridge (Fig. III-40). Dispersed here and there are pavilions and building compounds familiar from the Mōri scrolls and other early Joseon landscape paintings.

*Landscape with Pavilions* departs from both the Mōri scrolls and the Agata *Landscape*, however, in brushwork. The brushwork, particularly the *junbeop* used for rendering the mountain and rock forms are angular and sharp (Fig. III-39). The painter of the Mōri scrolls used moist ink; the painter here uses dry ink. Although there is some stylization and schematization of brushwork in the Mōri scrolls, it does not reach the degree found in *Pavilion Landscape*. As a result, the sense of vitality and volume experienced in the Mōri landscapes is absent in *Pavilion Landscape*.

### **III. 1-4. *Landscape* and *Landscape with Pavilions***

Two more anonymous paintings also in private Japanese collections have recently been suggested as early Joseon period works, and are generically known as *Landscape* (Fig.

III-43)<sup>9</sup> and *Landscape with Pavilions* (Fig. III-44).<sup>10</sup> Compositionally they belong to the same monumental landscape lineage as the Mōri scrolls and the other landscape scrolls under discussion in this chapter. Unfortunately, these two landscapes were also unavailable for direct examination. The overall composition of *Landscape* (Fig. III-43) is very similar to that of the Mōri scrolls. The composition *Pavilion Landscape* (Fig. III-44) is somewhat different, but the scroll shares quite a few motifs and pictorial components with the Mōri scrolls. Both paintings have the monumentality and implied vastness of landscape space that is present in *Mōri Scroll One* (Fig. III-1), but their brushwork is more stylized and schematic, particularly in the textures strokes used to render landscape form. I think these two hanging scrolls can be dated later than the Mōri scrolls. Future research is needed on these two landscapes to determine where these two landscapes fall in the monumental Korean landscape lineage represented by the Mōri scrolls.

### III. 2. The Monumental Landscape Style in the Mid Joseon Period

The early Joseon monumental Northern Song landscape tradition exemplified by the Mōri scrolls and the scrolls discussed above continued into the mid Joseon period (ca. 1550-1700) as shown by several conservative works by professional painters in the Dohwaseo bureau of painting. The court painter Yi Jing 李澄, 1581-after 1674), who left many works in the An Gyeon style, some signed and others credibly attributed to his

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<sup>9</sup> Leeum, Samsung Museum, ed. *Hwawon* 화원 [The Court Painters of Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, 2012), 210. Fig.101; Hong Sunpyo, et al., eds. *Chōsen Ōchō no kaiga to nihon: Sōtatsu, Taiga, Jakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi* 朝鮮王朝の絵画と日本: 宗達, 大雅, 若冲も学んだ隣国の美, 228. Fig.17.

<sup>10</sup> Hong Sunpyo, et al., eds. *Chōsen Ōchō no kaiga to nihon: Sōtatsu, Taiga, Jakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi* 朝鮮王朝の絵画と日本: 宗達, 大雅, 若冲も学んだ隣国の美, 228. Fig.19.

hand, can be considered the best practitioner of this venerable landscape tradition at that time.

*Landscape* attributed to Yi Jing (Fig. III-45) in the National Museum of Korea in Gwangju represents the continuation of the early Joseon monumental landscape style into the seventeenth century. It is painted in ink on silk, measures 121.7×83.7cm,<sup>11</sup> and bears an inscription by Gang Guisu (姜龜秀, 1846- after 1876) dated to 1876. According to Gang's inscription, *Landscape* is an "old painting" (古畫) that was produced in China during the Ming or Qing periods. He presented this painting as a gift to Min Taeho (閔台鎬, 1834-84), the governor of Gyeonggido province.<sup>12</sup> Modern scholars have re-attributed the painting to Yi Jing based on style.<sup>13</sup> The fact an erudite Korean scholar like Gang identified *Landscape* as a Chinese work suggests that this type of early Joseon painting was no longer known to the Joseon cultural elite by the nineteenth century. Bearing in mind how many artifacts, cultural assets, paintings, and books were lost during the Japanese Invasions (Imjin waeran, 壬辰倭亂) of 1592-1598, the Manchu invasion (Jeongmyo horan, 丁卯胡亂) of 1627, and the Manchu invasion (Byeongja horan, 丙子胡亂) of 1636, we should not be surprised that this was the case. By Gang's time few traces of early Joseon landscape art remained on the Korean peninsula, thus there was

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<sup>11</sup> Guklip Gwangju bakmulgwan 국립광주박물관, *Joseon sidae sansuhwa* 朝鮮時代山水畫 [Landscape Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty] (Gwangju: Guklip Gwangju bakmulgwan, 2004), 133-36.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 160.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 136.



little or no memory of works of this type in the monumental landscape tradition that dominated Korean painting for many centuries before 1592.

When I viewed this painting in Gwangju, I was struck by how similar it is to the British Museum *Mountain Landscape* (Fig. III-4).<sup>14</sup> The width of the former (83.7cm) is greater than that of the latter (55.5cm), but most of the extra width of the Gwangju *Landscape* is “negative” space on the right side. As mentioned above, templates were apparently in use in the Bureau of Painting by court artists during the early Joseon period. It is likely that the painters of the Gwangju and the British Museum paintings modeled their painting on the same template.

Other monumental landscape paintings attributed to Yi Jing with stylistic connections to the Mōri scrolls are the hanging scroll *Scholar Riding a Donkey*, painted in gold ink on dark silk, in the Kansong Museum of Art (Fig. III-46) and *Landscape* (Fig. III-47) in the National Museum of Korea.

Yi Jing (1581- after 1674), known as [Heoju 虛舟], was the foremost painter during the reign of King Injo (仁祖, r.1623-49) but active at court from an earlier period.<sup>15</sup> According to *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat* (Seungeongwon ilgi, 承政院日記), Yi was ultimately promoted to Sagwa (司果), an office of the sixth rank and the highest level that a court painter could reach in Joseon officialdom. Yi also achieved the

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<sup>14</sup> These two paintings’ stylistic similarities already pointed out by Korean scholar. See Park Haehoon 박해훈, “Joseon sidae Sosangpalgyeongdo yeongu 朝鮮時代瀟湘八景圖研究,” 247

<sup>15</sup> Kim Jihye 김지혜, “Heoju yi jing ui saengae wa sansuhwa yeongu” 虛舟 李澄의 生涯와 山水畫 研究 [A Study of the Life and Landscape Paintings of Yi Jing], *Misulsahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 207 (1995): 5-48; An Hwi-joon, “Joseon junggi hoehwa ui jeyangsang” 朝鮮中期 繪畫의 諸樣相 [Various Aspects of Painting of the Mid Joseon Dynasty], *Musulsahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 213 (1997): 51.

additional office of “Resident Master in the Bureau of Painting” (Dohwaseo gyeosu, 圖畫署教授), and was considered the best landscape painter during the reign of King Injo.<sup>16</sup> The famous literary figure Heo Gyun (許筠, 1569-1618), in his collected works *Seongso bubugo* (惺所覆瓿藁) published around 1613, said this about the painter:

Yi Jing is the son of a concubine and Yi Gyeongyun (李慶胤, 1545-1611). His father and his uncle Yi Yeongyun (李英胤, 1561-1611) were good painters and passed their skill to Yi Jing, who has become a famous painter. Beside landscapes and figure paintings, he is experienced in depicting birds and flowers, bamboos, tresses and insects...after the passing of [Naong 懶翁] Yi Jeong (李楨, 1578-1607), Yi Jing has become the best painter in all of Joseon.<sup>17</sup>

Despite his royal blood, Yi Jing was a low-status court painter and not considered a legitimate descendant of the Yi royal line like his highborn father and uncle who trace their ancestry to Prince Yiseonggun 利城君 (Yi Gwan 李愼, 1489-1552), born to King Seongjong (成宗, r. 1469-95) and a secondary wife titled Sukyong of the Sim family (淑容 沈氏).

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<sup>16</sup> The Sino-Korean text of this entry from the *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat of the Joseon Dynasty* 承政院日記, Injo 仁祖 3<sup>rd</sup> year (1625) September 16 reads: “... 凡有圖畫之事, 生疎拙劣, 不能成形. 若不及今培養, 不過十年, 世無畫工矣. 前司果李澄畫格爲當今第一, 翎毛, 人物, 山水等畫, 皆極精妙. 若差下圖畫署兼教授, 付軍職, 使之常仕本署, 逐日領率生徒, 專掌教誨, 則年少有才之人, 傳習成就, 數年之後, 必多可用之才矣.”

<sup>17</sup> Heo Gyun 許筠, *Seongso bubugo* 惺所覆瓿藁 [Collected Works of Seongso] vol 13 in DB of Korean Classics. <題李澄畫帖後李澄>; “鶴林之庶子, 其父與叔俱解畫, 故澄世其學而遂自名家, 山水士女之外, 凡翎毛竹樹草蟲花卉, 皆得其法, 人以爲難也, 自懶翁沒, 渠卽爲本國第一手...”

Several records from the *Injosillok* 仁祖實錄 [veritable records of King Injo] demonstrate that officials strongly admonished King Injo because he favored painting, which they considered a “useless skill” (*japgi*, 雜技) in the Neo-Confucian ranking of what constitutes productive work. Whenever the officials rebuked his royal highness, Yi Jing’s name was cited as a painter who actively fed the king’s unprofitable habit.<sup>18</sup> As the most prominent court painter and much favored by the king, Yi Jing must have painted in a manner that was in keeping with the taste and painting traditions favored by the Joseon royal family. Paintings attributed to Yi Jing thus reveal the royal taste for landscapes that descend from the monumental landscape idiom of the Mōri scrolls.

## Conclusion

The five paintings introduced in the first section of this chapter, like the Mōri scrolls, have compositions and pictorial elements inspired by the monumental landscape of Guo Xi tradition, although they differ in varying degrees from the master’s hand in their brush and ink techniques. They all lost their original early Joseon identities and survived into modern times either as anonymous works or attributed to Chinese artists. The conservative style they represent was continued by court painters into the mid Joseon period, as can be seen in landscapes connected to the seventeenth century court artist Yi Jing. These works clearly demonstrate that there was a renewed Korean interest in the monumental Northern Song landscape art of Guo Xi in the early Joseon period. I thus

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<sup>18</sup> The officials’ petitions to the throne appear in *Injo sillok* 仁祖實錄 [veritable records of King Injo] vol. 17, 5<sup>th</sup> year (1627). November 23, 1<sup>st</sup> article; *Injo sillok* 仁祖實錄 vol. 37, 16<sup>th</sup> year (1638). December 25, 2<sup>nd</sup> article; *Injo sillok* 仁祖實錄, vol. 46, 23<sup>rd</sup> year (1645). November 22, 2<sup>nd</sup> article; *Injo sillok* 仁祖實錄, vol. 49, 26<sup>th</sup> year (1648). July 22, 4<sup>th</sup> article.

consider them representative of a “lost” early Joseon tradition of monumental landscape painting in the Li-Guo manner distinct from that of the so-called An Gyeon School.

## Chapter Four

### The Professional Identity of the Artist and the Patronage Context of the Mōri

#### Scrolls

In this chapter, I consider the likely professional identity of the painter of the Mōri scrolls and the most likely patronage context for the original set of paintings (or screen) to which they belonged. Specifically, I propose that the artist was a professional painter working in the Bureau of Painting (Dohwaseo, 圖畫署) of the early Joseon court. The Bureau of Painting was in charge of various painting projects under the supervision of the Ministry of Rites, Yejo (禮曹), which was responsible for executing and recording court rituals and ceremonies.<sup>1</sup> I further propose that the Mōri scrolls owe their existence to the cultural environment created by Prince Anpyeong, third son of King Sejong (r.1418-50), who initiated the “Korean Renaissance” that lasted from about 1400 to 1600.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion

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<sup>1</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon 安輝濬, “Joseon wangjo sidae ui hwawon” 朝鮮王朝時代の 畫員 [Court Painters of the Joseon Dynasty], *Hanguk munhwa* 韓國文化 9 (1988): 149-50. When the Bureau of Painting was established at the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty, it was called the Dohwawon (圖畫院). Its name was changed to Dohwaseo (圖畫署) sometime between 1463~69. It is unclear why the name changed, but it is assumed that the main reason was due to a degrading of its official status. Usually, government offices ending in the suffix *won* (院), such as Saongwon (Office of the Royal Kitchens, 司饗院) and Naeuiwon (Office of Astronomy and Meteorology, 內醫院) were of higher rank than those ending with the suffix *seo* (署), such as Sogyekseo (Bureau of National Temples, 昭格署) and Hyeminseo (Bureau of Public Medicine and Welfare 惠民署). Also see Park Eun-soon 박은순, “Hwaon gwa gungjung hoehwa: Joseon chogi gungjung hoehwa ui yangsang gwa gineung” 畫員과 宮庭繪畫: 조선초기 궁중 회화의 양상과 기능 (2) [Dohwaseo and Court Painters: Aspects and Functions of Court Painting of the Early Joseon Period], *Gangjwa misulsa* 講座美術史 26 (2006): 1015-41 and Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, *Hwawon: Joseon hwawon daejeon* 화원: 朝鮮畫員大展 [Court Painters: The Court Painters of Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Soyoung Lee, ed. *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400-1600* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009)

is based on the pivotal role the prince played in disseminating Chinese art and culture in general as well as the Guo Xi tradition of landscape painting in particular.

#### **IV. 1. The Mōri Scrolls and Court Painters in the Bureau of Painting**

Given the lack of documentation on the Mōri scrolls (Figs. IV-1~3), the evidence linking them to the Bureau of Painting is necessarily circumstantial. It includes the similarities noted in Chapter Two between the scrolls and two signed and dated early Joseon paintings, An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* of 1447 and Yi Jasil's *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* of 1550, both produced in the Bureau of Painting.

An Gyeon (act. ca. 1440-70), Choe Gyeong (崔涇, act. 1472), who was mentioned earlier as a landscape painter, An Gwisaeng (安貴生, act. 1472), and Bae Ryeon (裴連, act. 1471) were the most famous court painters working in the Bureau of Painting during the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Names of other talents were apparently recorded in court documents only when they were commissioned to paint royal portraits and Buddhist subjects. The outcome for Korean painting history is that the names of court painters who took part in painting royal portraits or icons for Buddhist worship were recorded in disproportionate numbers compared to their colleagues who painted landscape subjects. In other words, if a master painted a Buddhist subject, his name stood a good chance of

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<sup>3</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, "Joseon wangjo sidae ui hwawon 朝鮮王朝時代の 畫員," 160-65. Unfortunately, none of these court painters' works are extant. The three painters participated in the royal portrait projects of King Sejo (r.1455-68), King Yejong (r.1468-49), Crown Prince Uigyeong or Deokjong (1438-57) whose son became King Seongjong, and Queen Soheon (1395-1446) whose husband was King Sejong. See *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄 [The veritable Records of King Seongjong], vol. 18, 3<sup>rd</sup> year (1472), May 15<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> article.

getting recorded by the Ministry of Rites because the painting involved a ritual event sponsored by the court. But if the same artist painted a secular landscape, his name was less likely to be recorded. A successful candidate for the Bureau of Painting had to be skilled and pass the exam in two out of the four standard genres of painting: bamboo; flowers and grass; landscapes; and figures, birds and animals.<sup>4</sup>

Although Buddhism was officially banned, it continued to be practiced in private by many ordinary people and some Joseon kings, court women, and courtiers. Members of the Bureau of Painting were often recruited to help with the production of Buddhist rituals (佛事) by sponsored courtiers and other royal family members.<sup>5</sup> They made Buddhist paintings, decorated Buddhist temples, and produced illustrations to decorate

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<sup>4</sup> *Gyeonguk daejeon* 經國大典 [National Code] vol. 3: “取才條 ‘畫員 試竹, 山水, 人物, 翎毛, 花草中二才. 竹爲一等, 山水二等, 人物, 翎毛三等, 花草四等...”

<sup>5</sup> The Joseon dynasty was established on the teachings of the ancient Chinese classic *Rites of Zhou* (Ch. Zhouli, Kor. Zhurye, 周禮) and the Neo-Confucian ideas of the Song philosopher Zhu Xi (1130-1200). Buddhism which had been partly responsible for the ills of the previous Goryeo dynasty was officially banned and their temples forced out of the capital to remote mountains. Nevertheless, Buddhism continued to be practiced in private by many ordinary people and some Joseon kings, court women, and courtiers. There was a considerable number of devout Buddhists in the early Joseon court, such as Prince Hyoryeong (孝寧大君, 1396-1486), King Sejo (1417-68), Prince Anpyeong, and Dowager Queen Mungjeong (文定王后, 1502-65) who ruled as regent for her son, King Myeongjong (r.1545-1567). Sejo poured money into temples such as Wongaksa (圓覺寺), Sinreoksa (神勒寺) and Sujongsa (水鐘寺) and published *Episodes from the Life of the Buddha* (Seokbo sangjeol, 釋譜詳節) and *Moon's Reflection on the Buddha's Genealogy* (*Wolin seokbo* 月印釋譜), the first Buddhist texts written in Hangeul or vernacular Korean. He even built a Buddhist shrine within the palace walls. Gwon Yeon-ung 권연웅, “Sejodae ui bulgyo jeongchaeg” 世祖代の 佛教政策 [Buddhist Policy during the Sejo Era], *Jindan hagbo* 震檀學報 75 (1993): 175-218. In 1565, Munjeong commissioned four hundred Buddhist paintings to commemorate the opening of Hoeam temple (檜巖寺) and to pray for the recovery of the crown prince and the birth of another royal heir; Kim Junghee 김정희, “Munjeong wanghu ui jungheung bulsa wa 16segi wangsil balwon bulhwa” 文定王后의 中興佛事와 16세기 王室發願 佛畫 [Queen Mungjeong's Patronage of Buddhist Projects and Buddhist Paintings Commissioned by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Court], *Misulsahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 231 (2001): 5-39.

Buddhist objects like sutras and sutra boxes.<sup>6</sup> The court artists also accepted private commissions from the royal family and high officials to paint Buddhist subjects.<sup>7</sup> Records and extant works document the participation of court painters in producing Buddhist paintings for Buddhist rituals. As shown earlier, some extant Buddhist paintings with landscape provide a context for the Mōri scrolls.

The names of quite a few court painters who participated in painting icons for Buddhist rituals or the restoration of Buddhist temples appear in *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty].<sup>8</sup> Even court painters who had achieved fame for painting landscapes and royal portraits, as did Choe Gyeong (崔涇, act.1472), were recruited to work on temple restoration.<sup>9</sup> Choe's contemporary in the

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<sup>6</sup> Yoo Gyeonghee 유경희, “Wangsil balwon bulhwa wa gungjung hwawon” 王室發願佛畫斗中宮畫院 [A Study on Buddhist Paintings Commissioned by the Royal Family and Court Painters from the Court], *Gangjwa misulsa* 講座美術史 26 (2006): 580-92.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 580.

<sup>8</sup> For example, fifteen artisans including the court painter Yi Wonhae (李源海, dates unknown) were sent to the temple Gaklimsa (覺林寺) in 1417 to redecorate and restore the buildings. Some mineral pigments were also sent for the temple's refurbishment. *Taejo sillok* 太宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Taejo], vol. 33, 17<sup>th</sup> year (1417) April 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> article: “命遣畫員李源海等十五人于覺林寺, 以寺告成也. 且賜諸彩色.”

<sup>9</sup> Yoo Gyeonghee, “Wangsil balwon bulhwa wa gungjung hwawon 王室發願佛畫斗中宮畫院,” 581-82. Choe Gyeong's name is listed in a record about the production of the temple bell. According to this record, the bell was made for Queen Shideok 神德王后 (d.1396), the second consort of Taejo (r. 1392-98). King Seongjong (r.1469-94) also looked favorably on Choe Gyeong and promoted him to Hogun and on one occasion bestowed special gifts on Choe and other court painters; *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol.18, 3<sup>rd</sup> year (1472) May 25, 3<sup>rd</sup> article: “傳旨吏曹, 兵曹, 戶曹曰: ‘昭憲王后, 世祖大王, 睿宗大王, 懿敬王御容奉畫別提 崔涇·安貴生, 畫員裴連·金仲敬·白終隣·李春雨·李孟相·曹文漢, 司勇李引錫, 各涇啓曰. ‘司諫院謂臣爲畫佛人也, 不署田關.’ 加一資; 畫員金直準職...” Apparently Choe was proud of his art and boasted: “... Although I am a painter, I should not be compared to other court painters because I started to paint by the command King Sejong, afterwards I always depicted the portraits of kings, queens, and images of the Buddha...” *Sejo sillok* 世祖實錄 [The veritable records of King Sejo], vol. 30, 9<sup>th</sup> year (1463),



Bureau of Painting, Yi Jangson (Linear 李長孫), another fifteenth-century master, who painted *Cloudy Mountains* (Fig. IV-4) now in the collection of the Yamato Bunkakan in Nara, was also enlisted to participate in various Buddhist events sponsored by the royal family.<sup>10</sup>

Turning to more extant works, Yi Maenggeun (李孟根), who was active in the mid-fifteenth century, painted the *Illustration of Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* (觀經十六觀經變相圖) (Fig. IV-5) in 1465 as a commission for Prince Hyoryeong, in devotion for the soul of King Taejong to gain easy passage into eternity (極樂往生).<sup>11</sup> This painting bears an inscription that ends with the phrase, “Respectfully painted by Sajik Yi Maenggeun”

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March 7, 2<sup>nd</sup> article; “命罷圖畫院提舉崔涇職. ‘...涇啓曰: ‘司諫院謂臣爲畫佛人也, 不署田關.’... 臣曰, ‘予雖業畫, 自世宗命召圖畫以後, 若御容, 佛像及人物耳, 非他畫員之比.’”

<sup>10</sup> In the year 1474, Yi and Baek Jonglin (白終璘, ?-?) depicted *Seven Buddhas of the Past* (過去七佛) and *Maitreya Buddha* (彌勒佛) as illustration for the *Yenyeom mita dojang cambeop* (禮念彌陀道場懺法) as well as *Seven Buddha of the Past* and *Maitreya Buddha* for the *Sanggyojeongbon jabidojang cambeop* (詳校正本慈悲道場懺法). These two printed Buddhist texts were commissioned by Dowager Queen Jeonghui (貞熹王大妃, 1418-83) in 1474 in honor of Queen Gonghye 恭惠王后 (1456-74), the consort of King Seongjong (r.1469-94). Inscribed on the two illustrated prints are the names of the court painters Yi Jangson and Baek Jonglin. Besides this record, Yi Jangson’s name also appears in the 1493 production of the *Lotus Sutra* (妙法蓮華經) and the making of the bronze bell at the temple Naksansa (洛山寺) commissioned in 1469 by King Yejong (r.1468-69) for his father Sejo. According to the record on the making of this bell, Yi worked with the court painter Kim Junggyeong (金仲敬, dates unknown). Yoo Gyeonghee 유경희, “Wangsil balwon bulhwa wa gungjung hwawon 王室發願 佛畫斗 中宮畫院,” 586-87. Yi Jangson, Baek Jonglin and Kim Junggyeong must have been colleagues at the Bureau of Painting during the Seongjong era, as their names appear in the *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 18, 3<sup>rd</sup> year (1472) May 25<sup>th</sup>. 3<sup>rd</sup> article and footnote 22 above. Also see *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 67, 7<sup>th</sup> year (1476) May 27<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> article: “傳于兵曹曰: “世祖御容模畫安貴生, 崔涇, 裴連陞職敘用, 白終璘, 李長孫敘用.”

<sup>11</sup> Kim Junghee 김정희, “1465 nyeon gwangyeong sipyukgyeong byeonsangdo gyeongbyeon gwa Joseonchogi wangsil ui bulhwa” 1465 年 觀經十六景 變相圖經變斗 朝鮮初期王室의 佛畫 [The Illustration of Amitur-dyana-sutra of 1465 and Buddhism of the Royal Family in the Early Joseon Dynasty], *Gangjwa misulsa* 講座美術史 19 (2002): 59-95. Prince Hyoryeong is the second son of the Taejong and brother of Sejong.

(敬畫司直李孟根). “Sajik” (司直) denotes the upper fifth rank (正五品) in the Five Commands (Owi, 吳衛) of the Joseon military system, indicating that he must have been an important court painter by the time he painted *Illustration of Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra*.<sup>12</sup>

The quality of the materials used and the brush skill is representative of the high standards achieved in the “palace Buddhist painting style” (宮中佛畫樣式) by artists in the Bureau of Painting. Stylistically, the overall impression conveyed by the bodhisattva figures is very elegant and feminine. Their faces are somewhat large for the size of their slender bodies, with delicate eyes, mouth, and nose.<sup>13</sup> This courtly style of early Joseon Buddhist painting was influenced by developments in Buddhist art of the early Ming court. In other words, court painters like Yi Maenggeun had the opportunity to study and be up to date on the latest developments in paintings of the early Ming court.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See website link for Dictionary of the History of Official Government in Korea: [http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/pos/posView.aks?posId=POS\\_6JOS\\_3KJ\\_000954&curSetPos=0&curSPos=0&isEQ=true&kristalSearchArea=P](http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/pos/posView.aks?posId=POS_6JOS_3KJ_000954&curSetPos=0&curSPos=0&isEQ=true&kristalSearchArea=P). Yi Maenggeun’s name had appeared in court records a decade earlier, in the year 1455, on the list of meritorious subjects as holding the title of “Sayong” (司勇), denoting the upper ninth rank (正九品) in the Five Commands. *Sejo sillok* 世祖實錄, vol. 2, 1<sup>st</sup> year (1455) December 27, 3<sup>rd</sup> article: “司勇申致復·鄭至周·朴致明·李孟根·李原壤·黃信之...” The assumption is that his name appeared on the list due to his work as a painter of royal portraits. Kim Junghee, “1465 nyeon gwangyeong sibuyugyeong byeonsangdo gyeongbyeon gwa joseonchogi wangsil ui bulhwa 1465 年 觀經十六景 變相圖經變斗 朝鮮初期王室의 佛畫,” 92. Yi Maenggeun’s title as “Sayong” in the Five Commands is the same as that achieved by the court painters An Gyeon and Choe Gyeong. Both An and Choe were eventually awarded the office and title of “Hogun” (護軍), denoting the upper fourth rank of the official (正四品) in the Five Commands. *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄, vol. 119, 30<sup>th</sup> year (1448) March 5, 1<sup>st</sup> article, “...今所製東宮儀仗, 令護軍安堅依法圖寫, 其大小駕儀仗圖,..” and *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 13, 2<sup>nd</sup> year (1471) December 12<sup>th</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> article: “... 護軍崔涇等三人輪對..”

<sup>13</sup> Chung Woo-thak 정우택, “Joseon wangjo sidae jeongi gungjeong hwapung bulhwa ui yeongu” 朝鮮王朝時代 前期 宮中畫風 佛畫의 研究 [Research on Court Style Buddhist Painting during the Early Joseon Dynasty], *Misulsahak* 美術史學 13 (1999): 129-67

<sup>14</sup> Even under the suppression of Buddhism, a courtly style of Buddhist painting continued because skilled court painters not only inherited the high traditions of Goryeo Buddhist art but also adopted new styles of Ming painting during 15<sup>th</sup> century. For this, see Kim Jung-hee 김정희, “Hyonyeong daegun gwa bulgyo

*Worship of the Buddha in the Palace* (Fig. IV-6) in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, has few landscape elements but resembles the Mōri paintings in its rendering of architecture with similar roof lines, wide windows, and fieldstone foundations, in motifs such as round jars and pine trees, and in the application of blue pigment. It is assumed to date in the sixteenth century, during a lull in the persecution of Buddhism by the Neo-Confucian Joseon court.<sup>15</sup> It is in the documentary style of court painting and likely produced by an academician for the Naewondang (內願堂), a Buddhist hall within the royal palace used to pray for the repose of the souls of previous kings.<sup>16</sup> Although the painter is unknown, *Worship of the Buddha in the Palace* shows all the hallmarks of a court production in the high quality of its materials and workmanship.

As we recall its introduction in Chapter Two, *King Sala's Rebirth in Amitābha's Paradise* (Fig. IV-7) in the collection of the Sizan Bunko in Sakawa is the third early Joseon Buddhist scroll that shares similarities in its depiction of pine trees with that in the Mōri scrolls. This work of 1576 was commissioned by King Seonjo (宣祖, r. 1567-1608) and Queen Uiin (懿仁王后, 1555-1600), who were sincere believers and enthusiastic

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misul” 孝寧大君과 佛教美術 [Prince Hyeoryeong and Buddhist Art in the early Joseon Dynasty], *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 25 (2007): 137-39.

<sup>15</sup> Hoam Misulgwan 호암미술관 et al., eds. *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon: widaehan munhwa yusan eul chajaseo* (2) 조선전기국보전; 위대한 문화 유산을 찾아서 [Treasures of the Early Joseon Dynasty: Finding Great Treasures] (Seoul: Hoam misulgwan, 1996), 301. This is now hanging scroll format, which has three panels. It is assumed that the original set was a multi-panel folding screen.

<sup>16</sup> Shin Gwanghee 신광희, “Joseon jeongi Myeongjongdae ui sahoe byeondong gwa bulhwa” 朝鮮 前期明宗代の 社會變動과 佛畫 [Social Changes and Buddhist Paintings in the Early Joseon Reign of King Myeongjong], *Misulshak* 美術史學 23 (2009): 330-31. The Naewondang had been a residence for Buddhist monks in the previous Goryeo Dynasty. *Taejo sillok* 太宗實錄, vol.24, 12<sup>th</sup> year (1412) July 29, 3<sup>rd</sup> article: “彼內願堂, 本前朝惑於浮屠, 邀僧闕內以居之, 仍名曰內願堂.”

patrons of Buddhist temples and worship. Here again, the identity of the painter is unknown, but the quality of the work and the patronage point to a court academician.

As the royal family's demand for the production of Buddhist paintings and illustrated texts increased over the course of the early Joseon period, artists in the Bureau of Painting became more involved in their making. In contrast to Buddhist paintings of the previous Goryeo dynasty, where the primary goal was the depiction of the main Buddha image, Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon period became increasingly devoted to storytelling. The main Buddha image was increasingly shown with in an assembly of bodhisattvas, arhats, and other attendants.<sup>17</sup> Jātaka tales of the former lives of the Buddha and the life story of the historical Buddha Shakyamuni were inserted as illustrations, such as *Episodes from the Life of the Buddha* (Seokbo sangjeol, 釋譜詳節) inspired by the text, *Moon's Reflection on the Buddha's Genealogy* (Wolin seokbo, 月印釋譜) published in 1459.<sup>18</sup>

When more narrative content and small vignettes were added to what in Goryeo times had been paintings [focused on] of large-scale Buddha images for worship, the size of the main image decreased and the amount of secondary imagery and landscape grew. This meant that landscape art became more prominent and important in Buddhist paintings which were patronized by the court during the early Joseon period.<sup>19</sup> A good

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<sup>17</sup> Park Eungyeong 박은경, "Joseon jeongi bulhwa ui seosa jeok pyohyeon, bulgyo seolhwado" 朝鮮前期佛畫의 敘事的 表現, 佛教說話圖 [Illustrative Manifestations of Buddhist Painting during the Early Joseon Dynasty: Illustrated Buddhist Tales], *Joseon Jeongi Bulhwa Yeongu* 朝鮮前期佛畫研究 [A Study of Buddhist Paintings during the Early Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: Sigongart, 2008), 385-414.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 408.

<sup>19</sup> Yu Gyeonghui, "Wangsil barwon bulhwa wa gungjung hwawon 王室發願佛畫와 宮中畫員," 599-600; Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, "Chōsen ōchō futsu bukkyō bijutsuron- dentō no keishō to shin yōshiki

example of this phenomenon is Yi Jasil's *Thirty-two Manifestation* in which a great part of the pictorial space is taken up by landscape elements and narrative details.<sup>20</sup>

Although no records on Yi Jasil exist beyond the inscription on the *Thirty-two Manifestations*, recent scholarship in Korea suggests that he is the same person as Yi Sangjwa (李上佐), who was a famous but mysterious artist to whom not a few early Joseon paintings are attributed.<sup>21</sup> Given the versatility required of court painters, it is not surprising to find that Yi Sangjwa apparently excelled at painting both figures and landscapes. He painted a now lost portrait of King Jungjong (r.1506-44) in 1545 and sketched arhats in an *Album of Buddhist Sketches* (李上佐佛畫墨草帖) now in the

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no sōsei” 朝鮮王朝仏教美術論-傳統の継承と新様式の創成 [Buddhist Painting of the Joseon Dynasty- Succession of the Tradition and Creation of the New Style] in *Chōsen Ōchō* 朝鮮王朝 [Joseon Dynasty]. Vol 11 of *Sekai Bijutsu Daizenshū. Tōyō* 世界美術大全集. 東洋編 第 11 卷 [World Art Series: Asia Section], eds. Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一 et al. (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), 193-94.

<sup>20</sup> Jeong Woo-taek, “Joseon wangjo sidae jeongi gungjeong hwapung bulhwa ui yeongu 朝鮮王朝時代 前期 宮中畫風 佛畫의 研究,” 148-51.

<sup>21</sup> Yi Baeryeon, Yi Heunghyo (李興孝, 1537-93), and Yi Jeong 李楨 (1578–1607) were three generations of the famous Yi family of court artists in the sixteenth century. In *Record of Successful Medical Examination Candidates* (Uigwabangmok, 醫科榜目), there is listed a man named Gyeon Hujeung (堅後曾) who passed the test given by the Board of Medicine (醫科試) in 1604. In this record, the genealogical registry (*jokbo* 族譜) of Gyeon Hujeung wife's family also appears. This gives the name of the father of Gyeon Hujeung's wife as Yi Heunghyo and the name of her grandfather as Yi Jasil – but originally named Baeryeon (陪蓮). In addition, her great-grandfather's name is recorded as Sobul or “Little Buddha” (小佛). Dongju Lee, *The Beauty of Old Korean Paintings: A History and an Appreciation*, (London: Saffron, 2005), 78-82. However, Heo Mok 許穆 (1595-1682) mentioned Yi Jeong as Yi Sangjwa's grandson in his writing *Gieun* 記言 supplementary vol. 9, “李楨山水圖記: ...李楨古時名能畫者李上佐之孫...”; Piecing this data together, Yi Baeryeon is purportedly the identical figure of both Yi Jasil and Yi Sangjwa: Yu Gyeonghui ユ경희, “Wangsil barwon bulhwa wa gungjung hwawon 王室發願佛畫斗宮中畫員,” 592-97. In *Paegwan japggi* (稗官雜記), the collected writings of the early sixteenth century scholar-official Yeo Sukguan (魚叔權), it is reported that Yi Sangjwa was originally a private slave, but he showed genius at painting and was promoted to court painter by the command of King Jungjong.

collection of the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art.<sup>22</sup> A pair of paintings, *Visiting a Friend under the Moon* (月下訪友圖) (Fig. IV-8) and *Fishing on a Boat in Autumn* (秋舸釣魚圖) are [also] attributed to Yi Sangjwa, if correct, give credence to the idea that he was as known as Yi Jasil.<sup>23</sup>

The unsigned painting *Five Hundred Arhats* (五百羅漢圖) (Fig. IV-9) in the collection of the Chion'in Temple, Kyoto, is another early Joseon Buddhist painting with an abundance of landscape and narrative content. Here the central Buddhist assembly is relatively small and engulfed by a landscape of mountains, valleys, rivers and trees populated by a host of arhats. Another unsigned painting, *Biography of Sakyamuni Buddha* (佛傳圖) (Fig. IV-10) in the Osaka Prefectural Museum of Art, also contains a considerable amount of landscape. Like Yi Jasil's *Thirty-two Manifestations*, the landscape elements in these Buddhist paintings are as well articulated and as skillfully executed as those found in pure landscape paintings of the time, such as the Mōri scrolls.

When skilled landscapists from the Bureau of Painting, such as Choe Gyeong, Yi Jangson, and Yi Sangjwa [Jasil] produced Buddhist paintings for the royal family, they left traces of their landscape art in them. Conversely, when the versatile painters of the Bureau of Painting did pure landscapes, they showed their skill and experience in

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<sup>22</sup> *Injong sillok* 仁宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Injong], vol. 1, first year (1545) January 18<sup>th</sup>; *Album of Buddhist Sketches*, see Hoam misulgwan et al., *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon: widaehan munhwa usan eul chajaseo* (2) 조선전기 국보전: 위대한 문화유산을 찾아서, 199-200. Fig. 199. According to the inscription (跋文) by [Misu] Heo Mok (眉叟 許穆, 1595-1682) to this album, this work originally had twelve pieces of Buddhist painting. Now only ten pieces survive.

<sup>23</sup> See Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Richō kaiga: Rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: Tokubetsuten* 李朝 絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界: 特別展 [Painting of the Yi Dynasty] (Nara: Yamato bunkakan, 1996), 42-3. Fig.16. Overall style of the paintings is somehow different from the *Thirty-two Manifestation*, though there are some similarities in their expression of the trees.

painting the human figure in vignettes like those found in the Mōri panels. This is the milieu in which the painter of the Mōri scrolls most likely worked. His brush skill bespeaks the hand of a highly skilled professional painter. In artistic range he could easily have been comparable to such known court artists as Choe Gyeong, Ji Jangson, and Yi Sanghwa (Jasil), who were accomplished in both landscape and figural art. The early Joseon ideal of the versatile academician able to move from figural to landscape art with complete ease found ultimate fulfillment in the career of the court painter Kim Hongdo (1745-1806), whose oeuvre contains masterworks of pure landscape, portraits, and Buddhist and Daoist images. The early Joseon ideal of the versatile academician able to move from figural to landscape art with complete ease found ultimate fulfillment in the career of the court painter Kim Hongdo (1745-1806), whose oeuvre contains masterworks of pure landscape, portraits, and Buddhist and Daoist images.

#### **IV. 2. The Mōri Scrolls and the Use of Color in the Bureau of Painting**

Another reason for placing the Mōri scrolls in a court milieu of the early Joseon is the use of mineral pigments in some of the colors applied. In reproduction or even at a glance in person, the Mōri scrolls appear to be ink paintings. However, a close examination reveals that the painter applied mineral pigments, red (likely from cinnabar), blue (likely from azurite) and lead white—selectively to accent forms and articulate narrative content. Although these accent colors have largely faded or fallen off, telling traces remain. In *Scroll One* (Fig. IV-1), there are touches of various shades of red in the buildings of the mountain market, on the gables of the houses in the valley below the market, on the faces of the figures in the small boat, on the thatched roof of the riverside pavilion and a blue

color wash applied to the peaks of the distant mountains. White pigment is applied to the clothing of vendors and shoppers at the mountain market, and on the banner of the wine shop. In *Scroll Two* (Fig. IV-2), various shades of red are applied to the face and hands of the travelers descending the mountain, to the robe of the mounted scholar ascending the mountain, to the multi-level pavilion complex on the high ridge in the middle ground, and to the leafy trees growing out of the foreground hillocks. Blue appears in the distant mountains, on the tiled roof of one of the buildings of the scholar's retreat to the right foreground and on the roof of one of the pavilions in the middle distance. Of the three scrolls, *Scroll Three* (Fig. IV-11) is the one that has retained most of its original colors, particularly red. Red is applied to the roofs and gates of the temple and palace complexes in the middle and far distances, to the many leafy trees in full fall foliage, to the faces of many of the figures, to the garden stool inside the thatched pavilion opposite the lower waterfall, to the upper garment of the servant carrying a *qin* in the yard of the house in the left foreground, and to the bundle slung across the back of the servant following his mater in the lower left and even to the pointy peaks in the far distance. Blue washes are applied in several places: in the distant mountains, on the roofs, gables, and pillars of the buildings and houses, and on the curtains of the scholar's retreat in the lower left foreground. White pigment is applied to the robe of the scholar standing in the front yard of that scholar's retreat. This same white is also applied to the ridge of the roofs of that scholar's retreat. While certainly not as colorful as a Buddhist painting like Yi Jasil's *Thirty-two Manifestations*, the Mōri scrolls are colorful enough to point to a patron connected to the Joseon court.



Despite the small amount of color pigment remaining on the three Mōri scrolls, Japanese scholars recognize the importance of classifying them as being in the “blue-and-green landscape” tradition.<sup>24</sup> However, in fact, the terms “blue-and-green” (*cheongrok* 靑綠) and “gold-and-blue-green” (*geumbyeok* 金碧) used to describe colored landscapes in Chinese sources rarely appear in Korean historical records, and when they do appear, their meaning differs somewhat from modern usage. The term “*geumbyeok*” was generally used to describe splendid and colorful structures like Buddhist temples.<sup>25</sup> Generally, the term “*cheongrok*” referred to textiles decorating palanquins or robes of blue-and-green color.<sup>26</sup> It is rare to find the term “blue-and-green landscape,” *cheongrok sansu*” (靑綠山水) in historical records. Only Kim Jeonghui (金正喜, 1786-1865), the

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<sup>24</sup> See Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, *Richō kaiga: Rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: Tokubetsuten* 李朝 絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界: 特別展, 82. Also see Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一 et al., eds. *Chōsen Ōchō* 朝鮮王朝, 300; Yamato Bunkakan, *Sūkō naru sansui: Chūgoku chōsen rikakukei sansuiga no keifu tokubetsuten* 崇高なる山水: 中国・朝鮮, 李郭系山水画の系譜特別展 [Sublime Vision: Li-Guo School Painting from China and Korea] (Nara: Yamato bunkakan, 2008), 150. For the blue-and-green tradition in Korean painting, see Moon Dongsu 문동수, “Hanguk chengrok sansuhwa ui jeongchak 韓國靑綠山水畫의 定着” [Establishment of Blue-and-Green Landscape Painting in Korea] in *Cheongrok sansu nakwon eul geurida* 청록산수 낙원을 그리다 [Blue -and -green paintings: Dreaming of Paradise], ed. National Museum of Korea (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2006), 9.

<sup>25</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 218, 19<sup>th</sup> year (1488) July 17, 3<sup>rd</sup> article: “...且先王創寺於園陵之傍, 名以奉先, 飾以金碧, 蓋以靑瓦, 以爲萬世不朽之計.”

<sup>26</sup> Lee Sumi 이수미, “Joseonsidae cheongrok sansuhwa ui gaenyeom gwa yuhyeong 朝鮮時代靑綠山水畫의 개념과 유형,” [Conceptions and Types of Blue-and-Green Landscapes of the Joseon Dynasty] in *Cheongrok sansuhwa: yukilcheop 17-18 segi cheongrok sansu* 靑綠山水畫: 六一帖 17-18 世紀靑綠山水 [Blue-and -Green Landscape Painting: Yukil Album and 17<sup>th</sup>-early 18<sup>th</sup> Century Blue-and-Green Landscape Paintings]. Vol. 14 of *Guklip jungang bakmulgwan hanguk seohwa yumul dorok* 國立中央博物館韓國書畫遺物圖錄 [Korean Paintings and Calligraphy of the National Museum of Korea], ed. National Museum of Korea (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2006), 182-3.

famous antiquarian of things Chinese and literati painter of the late Joseon period, used “*cheongrok*” to described colored landscape.”<sup>27</sup>

The term most frequently used in old Korean records to refer to works painted with mineral pigments is *jeosaekdo* (著色圖), or “pictures with applied colors.” More often than not, the terms “*jeosaek*” (著色), “*chaksaek*” (着色), or “*seolsaek*” (設色), meaning “applying colors” or “wearing (exhibiting) colors” were used to designate paintings with color pigments in the tradition descended from the courtly “blue-and-green” landscape tradition of the Chinese Tang dynasty. The terms “*jinchae*” (眞彩) and “*chaesaek*” (彩色) were also used in old Joseon records instead of “*cheongrok*” to designate “blue-and-green landscapes.”<sup>28</sup>

A well-known Chinese source speaks of Goryeo landscapes painted in color. *Tuhua jianwenzhi* (Experiences in Painting, 圖畫見聞誌) published in 1075 by Guo Ruoxu (郭若虛, ca.1020-ca.90), a painter and theorist of Northern Song China, states:

The Realm of Korea: the greatness of its Imperial dynasty has attracted to its court [representatives from] the farthest wilds and from every sort of foreign nation, [Of all] who have followed this road, [however], it is only the realm of Korea in which a respect culture in taught and which has gradually become tinged with Chinese manners. In refinement of artistic skill, other lands have seldom [produced anything] comparable to its marvels of painting. Qian Zhongyi owned a colored landscape in four scrolls [by a Korean]; ...<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 184.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 185-87.

<sup>29</sup> Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌 [Experiencing in Painting], vol. 6 reads: “高麗國：皇朝之盛，遐荒九譯來庭者，相屬於路，惟高麗國敦尚文雅，漸染華風。至於技巧之精，他國罕比，固有丹青之妙。錢忠懿家有著色山水四卷...” English translation from *Expreinces in Panting (Tuhua jianwen zhi): An eleventh century history of Chinese painting, together with the Chinese text in facsimile*, translated

This is a very rare record of colored landscape painting in the Goryeo dynasty.

Landscapes in color dating to Goryeo times are very rare among existing paintings and we can gain some sense of their appearance from several surviving works attributed to the period, such as *Playing Go* (圍碁圖) attributed to King Gongmin (恭愍王, r.1351-74).<sup>30</sup> The main mountain is painted in ink and with short texture strokes, then colored with a deep green mineral pigment, most likely malachite. High quality colored landscape is also found in Goryeo Buddhist art. For instance, a bit of azurite (石青) and gold leaf (金泥) are applied to the cliff on which Avalokiteśvara sits in the *Water Moon Avalokiteśvara* by Seo Gubang (徐九方) of the early fourteenth century. This work shows the old blue-and-green technique of rendering landscape rocks by first drawing a strong outline in ink and then applying the mineral colors.<sup>31</sup> Among the landscape paintings, it is notable that some colors have been applied to *Crossing the River on Horseback* (Fig. IV-12) by Yi Jehyeon (李齊賢, 1287-1367), in the National Museum of Korea. At first glance, it looks like an ink painting, but upon closer inspection, we see that Yi Jehyeon has applied blue and/or red pigment on a section of the saddle of the horse and on the clothing of one of the mounted figures.

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and annotated by Alexander Coburn Soper (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), 102-3.

<sup>30</sup> Yamato Bunkakan, *Richō kaiga: rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: tokubetsuten* 李朝絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界, fig.15, 84.

<sup>31</sup> Moon Dongsu, “Hanguk chengrok sansuhwa ui jeongchak 韓國青綠山水畫의 定着,” 9.

During the early Joseon dynasty, demand for basic mineral ores to make blue, green, red, amber, and white pigments sharply increased because the newly established dynasty suddenly had many projects like palaces and government buildings that needed exterior and interior decorating. The pigments were also used in many other projects undertaken by the Bureau of Painting, such as the painted decoration of palace interiors and furnishings, religious paintings and icons, documentary painting of court rituals and ceremonies, royal portraiture, bird-and-flower paintings, and landscapes.

While the demand for mineral colors was great, the supply was limited. Pigments had to be imported from China, some of which in turn had to be obtained from Central Asia, India, and the Near East. A record from *Joseon wangjo sillok* documents the complete depletion of the government's supply of green pigment (*hayekrok*, 荷葉綠, lotus-leaf green) by the production of Buddhist paintings and the decorating of buildings for Jingwan monastery (津寬寺). The petitioning official respectfully sought advice from the throne as to how to deal with the shortage of a pigment not indigenous to the Korean peninsula.<sup>32</sup> The court made every effort to find on the peninsula a native source for *hayekrok* blue.<sup>33</sup> In spite of these efforts to find and formulate mineral pigments on the

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<sup>32</sup> *Munjong sillok* 文宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Munjong], vol. 6, 1<sup>st</sup> year (1451) February 16, 4<sup>th</sup> article: “左副承旨李崇之啓: “黃金, 荷葉綠, 盡費於畫佛及津寬寺丹牘, 所餘無幾. 此等物, 非本國所產, 倘有所用處, 則將如之何?”

<sup>33</sup> For example, during the reign of Taejong (r.1400-18), Choe Yingye (崔仁桂, dates unknown) formulated domestic *hayekrok* blue for the first time and presented it to the court. Choe's blue was recorded as similar to the blue imported from China. *Taejong sillok* 太宗實錄, vol. 6, 3<sup>rd</sup> year (1403) October 26, 2<sup>nd</sup> article: “崔仁桂進荷葉綠, 與中國所產無異, 仁桂始造也.” In addition, an official of Gyeongsang-do province collected ores that also produced native blue pigments variously known as *simjungcheong* (深重青), *tocheng* (土青), and *samcheng* (三青) in the Ulsan district and offered them to the court during the Sejong era. *Sejosillok* 世祖實錄, vol. 34, 10<sup>th</sup> year (1464) September 13, 3<sup>rd</sup> article: “慶尚道觀察使採進蔚山郡所產深重青, 土青, 三青.” It is also recorded that court artists of the Bureau of Painting tried working with

peninsula, the native products proved to be inferior, so most color pigments still had to be imported. Thus, Joseon Korea had to depend largely on Ming China for the costly imports of mineral pigments.<sup>34</sup> Members of the Bureau of Painting were ones most likely to have been assigned the task of securing these pigments for the Joseon court. *Joseon wangjo sillok* documents the sending of court painters on several embassies to China to buy color pigments (彩色貿易畫員), particularly in the reign during Gwanghae-gun (光海君, r.1608-23).<sup>35</sup> It is also found that Japanese envoys assisted in this effort by offering as tribute, quality green (*rokcheong*, 綠青), purple (*gamcheong*, 紺青), and copper (*jeokdong*, 赤銅) mineral pigments.<sup>36</sup>

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blue pigments known by the names *simjungcheong* (深重青) and *hayekrok* (荷葉綠) made from native ores collected from the Suan and Haeju areas. *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄, vol. 51, 13<sup>th</sup> year (1431) March 6, 6<sup>th</sup> article: “司正崔義, 採取遂安所產深中青, 海州所產荷葉綠以進, 命圖畫院試之, 惟荷葉綠可用.”

<sup>34</sup> Moon Dongsu, “Hanguk chengrok sansuhwa ui jeongchak 韓國青綠山水畫의 定着,” 35-6.

<sup>35</sup> During Gwanghae-gun’s era, a huge demand for color pigments surfaced because the ruler rebuild many palace buildings that had completely burned to the ground during the Japanese invasions of 1592 to 1598. *Gwanghaegun ilgi* 光海君日記 [The veritable records of Prince Gwanghae], vol. 147, 11<sup>th</sup> year (1619) December 16, 4<sup>th</sup> article: “傳曰: “今此陳奏使之行, 營建都監彩色貿易畫員, 仍爲定送貿來事, 令該曹察爲.”; *Gwanghaegun ilgi* 光海君日記, vol. 103, 8<sup>th</sup> year (1616) May 4, 3<sup>rd</sup> article: “繕修都監啓曰: “昌慶宮營建時, 所用唐彩色貿來事, 去四月初一日, 別定畫員, 齎持價銀, 送于義州, 而今見義州府尹所報以爲: ‘鎮江等處, 絕無彩色有處, 不得已當貿於遼東, 而無越江諭書, 不得擅送貿來,’ 云. 明政, 文政兩殿丹青, 今方始役, 彩色不足, 日望義州貿來之期, 而義州所報如此. 彩色未得趁貿, 則勢將停役, 極爲悶慮. 以此意下諭義州府尹, 急送都監畫員于遼東, 使之趁時貿來何如?” 答曰: “允.” and *Gwanghaegun ilgi* 光海君日記, vol. 126, 10<sup>th</sup> year (1618) April 4, 5<sup>th</sup> article “戊午四月初五日傳曰: “仁慶宮弘政殿、光政殿, 將以青瓦蓋之, 依勤政殿例以眞彩, 另加詳察以啓. 且外方上送銀子, 今此赴京三行, 均一分給, 畫員彩色, 着令擇貿以來事, 言于都監.”

<sup>36</sup> *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄, vol. 127, 32<sup>nd</sup> year (1450) February 16, 1<sup>st</sup> article: “日本國源義成拜覆朝鮮國王殿下. 別幅: 鎧一領, 黑漆鞘柄, 大刀一十柄, 練緯絹一十段, 塗金屏風一雙, 銅鈔并提子各十一筒, 紺青一筋, 綠青一筋, 赤銅三百筋.”; *Munjong sillok* 文宗實錄, vol. 1, 1<sup>st</sup> year (1450) March 15, 3<sup>rd</sup> article: “日本國源義成, 拜覆朝鮮國王殿下, .. 不腆土宜, 具如別幅, 采納爲幸. 禮物, 鎧一領, 黑漆鞘柄, 大刀一十柄, 練緯絹一十段, 塗金屏風一雙, 銅鈔并提子各一十筒, 甘青一筋, 綠青二筋, 赤銅三百筋.”

During the early Joseon dynasty, it is assumed that the court painters used dense color pigments to depict genres such as documentary paintings of court rituals, portraits of kings and queens, and paintings for Buddhist worship. However, court painters rarely used a full and heavy “blue-and-green” palette on the early Joseon landscapes. Only a few extant landscapes are painted with a limited palette. The painter of the three Mōri scrolls also sparingly applied colors with a limited palette of mineral colors as they are all accented.

It is assumed that this kind of use of colors in landscape was influenced by the use of colors by the Yuan-dynasty masters Gao Kegong (高克恭, 1248-1310) (Fig. IV-13) and Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322).<sup>37</sup> We might also add the landscape art of Mi Youren (Fig. IV-14) and Wang Meng to this group of potential sources.

Among the existing early Joseon paintings, *Cloudy Mountain* 雲山圖 (Fig. IV-4) by the court painter Yi Jangson (李長孫) is also show this kind of use of colors. Overall, Yi follows the Yuan master Gao Kegong’s interpretation of the Northern Song Mi family tradition and applies malachite green (*seokrok*, 石綠) to texture his mountain ridges and light blue to color his distant mountains (The painter of the Mōri scrolls also denotes the haze rising from the distant mountains in the same manner). The *Cloudy Mountains* is one of six stylistically similar landscapes in the collection of the Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Nara. The other two leaves included are attributed to Choe Sukchang (崔叔昌) (fig. IV-15) and Seo Munbo (徐文寶) (fig. IV-16), court painters also believed

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<sup>37</sup> Moon Dongsu, “Hanguk cheongrok sansuhwa ui jeongchak 韓國青綠山水畫의 定着,” 11

to have been working in the Bureau of Painting during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

*Searching for Plum Blossoms* (Fig. IV-17) attributed to Sin Jam (申潛, 1491-1554) in the collection of the National Museum of Korea, Seoul, is also sparingly applied some colors.<sup>39</sup> Light green color is applied to the mountains and the rock formations and moss (苔點) are textured with dark ink dots. The budding blossoms of the plum that heralds the spring season in the dead of winter with snow everywhere are painted in lead white pigment. The court painter Yi Jeonggeun (李正根, 1531-?), who held the official position of “Sagwa”(司果), used some color pigments in *Snowy Landscape* (Fig. IV-18) in the National Museum of Korea.<sup>40</sup> Although the color has peeled off, traces of blue pigment can be discerned in the looming mountain in the background and rocks in the foreground. Blue is applied to the raincoat of the leading figure in the foreground and a reddish hue is applied to the bundle slung across his servant’s shoulder. Like the artist of the Mōri scrolls, the painter used only a few pigments sparingly as color accents.

Like other early Joseon painters as I showed before, the painter of the Mōri scrolls sparingly employed blue, red and white. Specifically, the blue pigment to convey the

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<sup>38</sup> Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館. *Richō kaiga: Rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: Tokubetsuten* 李朝絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界: 特別展, 37-9. A court painter Choe Sukchang’s name is recorded in the *Joseon wangjo sillok: Sengjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 205, 18th year (1487). July 4th, 1st article; A court painter Seo Munbo is recorded in the *Joseon wangjo sillok: Seongjong sillok*, vol 150. 14th year (1483). January 21, 4<sup>th</sup> article.

<sup>39</sup> Sin Jam is a famous literati painter and grandson of Sin Sukju. See, National Museum of Korea, ed. *Chengrok sansuhwa: yukilcheop* 青綠山水畫: 六一帖, 218-19.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 218, fig.1. This painting is listed in the album *Hwawon Byeoljip* 畫苑別集, which consists of 80 works including 74 paintings. Many paintings were produced during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

haze of distant mountains, the shade of red used on figures, and the white pigment used to color plum blossom buds, and outlines of the ridges of tiled-roof buildings can be found in scrolls by or attributed to court painters discussed above.

As promised, the evidence presented above supports the identification of the creator of the Mōri scrolls as a member of the Bureau of Painting. They draw on the Guo Xi landscape style, the most favored Chinese painting style during the early Joseon period. They can be linked to the landscapes in Buddhist paintings which were patronized by the royal family members. And finally, the application of the mineral colors also signifies a higher possibility that the painter of the Mōri scrolls is a court painter.

#### **IV. 3. Prince Anpyeong and the Guo Xi Tradition in Early Joseon Painting**

Now we turn to the question of the identity of the patron or patrons responsible for the painting set or screen to which the three Mōri scrolls once belonged. The answer presented here hinges on the demonstrated relationship of the scrolls to the monumental landscape idiom of the Northern Song master Guo Xi popularized in early Joseon Korea. Together with An Gyeon's *Dream Journey* of 1447, I argue, the three scrolls are rare works that provide invaluable information on the Korean transformation of the Guo Xi style in the fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries. Among the many landscape traditions transmitted to the Korean peninsula from the Song, Jin, Yuan and early Ming courts of China,<sup>41</sup> it was the Guo style that caught the fancy of the early Joseon court. The man

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<sup>41</sup> Itakura Masaaki 板倉聖哲, "Kangoku ni okeru shōshō hakkeizu no juyō tenkai" 韓国における 瀟湘八景圖の 受容展開 [The Acceptance and Development of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Tradition in Korea], *Seikyū gakujutsu ronshū* 青丘学術論集 14 (1991): 7-47.



most responsible for this development was Prince Anpyeong. His prestige as the leading collector of Chinese paintings and calligraphies and his antiquarian interests influenced the taste for the landscape art of Guo Xi in the court circles of his time<sup>42</sup> and were thus responsible for the creation of the Mōri scrolls.

Anpyeong's influence prevailed over diverse areas of early Joseon culture. He supported a range of prestigious initiatives in such fields as poetry, calligraphy and painting, as well as in Buddhism, during the reigns of Sejong and Munjong (r.1450-52). His cultural influence might be compared to that of Emperor Xuanzong (r.1425-35) of the early Ming dynasty. Both men led times of artistic and cultural renaissance.<sup>43</sup> More germane to our discussion is that just as Emperor Xuanzong's taste and preferences in pictorial art lead to the revival of Song landscape styles and the establishment of a court painting academy in early Ming China, Prince Anpyeong's tastes and preferences in pictorial art also had a decisive effect on painting subjects and styles in early Joseon Korea. It was Anpyeong's passion for collecting old Chinese paintings and calligraphies, particularly the works of Guo Xi that ignited the early Joseon enthusiasm for that Northern Song master.

#### **IV. 3-1. The Cultural Activities of Prince Anpyeong**

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<sup>42</sup> Burglind Jungmann, "Sin Sukchu's Records on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism," *Archives of Asian Art* 61 (2011): 107-126; Burglind Jungmann 부르클린트 음만, "Collection and Writing about Literati Painting during the Early Joseon Period" [朝鮮初期 文人畫의 收集과 著述 Joseon chogi muninhwa ui sujip hwa jeosul], *Dongyang misulsahak 東洋美術史學* 1 (2012): 194-95.

<sup>43</sup> Richard M. Barnhart, "Emperor Xuanzong and the Painting Masters," in *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, Richard M. Barnhart, ed. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 53-87.

In literature, Anpyeong was deeply involved with national projects that were related to the revival of classicism after the cultural disruption of the period of Mongol domination.

<sup>44</sup> The prince was often in charge of publishing, editing and annotating Chinese classics in cooperation with the young scholars of the Hall of Worthies (Jiphyeonjeon, 集賢殿).<sup>45</sup>

Analysis of Anpyeong's compilation, annotation, and publication of poetry reveals an emphasis on the work of Tang and Song dynasty poets. This was not only the prince's personal taste, but also was shared by the wider cultural elite who were the consumers of his books.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Lee Wan-woo 이완우, "Anpyeong daegun yi yong ui munhak hwaldong gwa seoye" 安平大君 李溶의 文學活動과 書藝 [The Literati and Artistic Activities of Prince Anpyeong (Yi Yong) and His Calligraphy], *Misulshak yeongu* 美術史學研究 246·247 (2005): 73-115; Lee Jong-muk 이종목, "Anpyeong daegun ui munhak hwaldong yeongu" 安平大君의 文學活動 研究 [Research on the Literati Activities of Prince Anpyeong], *Jindan hakbo* 震檀學報 93 (2002): 257-75.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 259-68.

<sup>46</sup> For example, he annotated poems by Du Fu (杜甫, 712-70) and published *Annotated Poems of Du Fu* (Dubo siju, 杜甫詩註) On the order of his father, King Sejong in 1443. He also compiled *Hyangsan samchebeop* (香山三體法), a selection of 185 poems by the Tang poet Bai Juyi (白居易, 772-846) in 1445. He also selected poems from an anthology of the Northern Song poet Mei Yaochen (梅堯臣, 1002-60), made annotations on them and published *Selected Poems of Master Mei Yaochen* (Wanreungmae seonsaeng siseon, 宛陵賣先生詩選) in 1446. The next year (1447) Anpyeong also chose 668 poems and compiled the ten-volume *Selection of Poems by Eight Great Poets of the Tang and Song Dynasties* (Dangsong palga siseon, 唐宋八家詩選). For this compilation of Chinese poetry, he wrote a preface and requested eminent scholars of the time to add colophons to the work. Scholars like Choe Hang (崔沆, 1409-74), Bak Paengnyeon (朴彭年, 1417-56), Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417-75), Yi Seonro (李善老, ?-1453), Yi Gae (李塏, 1417-56), and Seong Sammun (成三問, 1418-56) took part in writing inscriptions for the project. Among the 668 Chinese poems, those by the Northern Song poet Wang Anshi (王安石, 1012-86) were the most numerous, followed by poems by Li Bai (李白, 702-62) and Du Fu of the Tang, and Su Shi (蘇軾, 1037-1101) of the Northern Song. In 1448, Anpyeong returned to the study of Wang Anshi and published a compilation of Wang's poems entitled *Selected Essential poems of Wang Anshi Compiled by Bihaedang* (Bihaedangseon bansanjeonghwa, 非懈堂選半山精華).

Anpyeong hosted many elegant gatherings sponsored by his illustrious father Sejong and other members of the royal family. He often requested the participating scholars to write poetry or prose to memorialize the event and commanded court painters to produce pictures to compliment the writings. Promising young scholars in the Hall of Worthies who recently passed the highest-level state examination (Gwageo, 科擧) were the most active participants in the prince's literary gatherings. *Album of Poems for the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* (Bihaedang Sosangpalgyeong sicheop, 非懈堂瀟湘八景詩帖) of 1442 and *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (Mongyudowondo gwon, 夢遊桃源圖卷) of 1447 were produced as a result of such cultural activities sponsored by Sejong's court and hosted by Anpyeong.<sup>47</sup> The prince also commissioned the court's favorite painter, An Gyeon, to depict *Landscape of Yi Sama* (Isama sansudo 李司馬山水圖) and *Enjoying Moon on the River* (Iimgang wanwoldo, 臨江翫月圖). Both projects had Sejong's blessing and involved many enthusiastic scholars of that

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<sup>47</sup> Eighteen scholars wrote a poem each in various poetic forms for the album *Bihaedang Sosang palgyeong sicheop* in 1442: Ha Yeon (河演, 1376-1453), Kim Jongseo (金宗瑞, 1390-1453), Jeong Inji (鄭麟趾, 1396-1478), Jo Seogang (趙瑞康, d. 1444), Kang Seokdeok (姜碩德, 1395-1459), An Ji (安止, 1367-1464), An Sungseon (安崇善, 1392-1452), Yi Boheum (李甫欽, d. 1457), Nam Sumun (南秀文, 1408-43), Sin Seokjo (辛碩祖, 1407-59), Yu Uison (柳義孫, 1398-1450), Choe Hang (崔恒, 1409-74), Bak Peangnyeon (朴彭年, 1417-56), Seong Sammun (成三問, 1418-56), Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417-75), Yun Gyedong (尹季童, d.1453), Kim Meang (金孟, dates unknown) and Buddhist monk Manu (釋卍雨, b. 1357). On the other hand, twenty-one scholars wrote poems in praise (贊詩) of Prince Anpyeong's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* poetry-painting project. These scholars include: Sin Sukju, Gang Seokdeok, Kim Jongseo, Choe Hang, Bak Paengnyeon, Seong Sammun, Yi Gae (李塏, 1417-56), Ha Yeon (河演, 1376-1456), Song Cheoguan (宋處寬, 1410-77), Kim Dam (金淡, 1416-64), Go Deukjong (高得宗, 1388-1452), Jeong Inji (鄭麟趾, 1396-1478), Yi Jeok (李迹, before 1401-after 1550), Yun Jaun (尹子雲, 1416-78), Yi Ye (李芮, 1419-80), Yi Hyeonro (李賢老, d.1453), Seo Geojeong (徐居正, 1420-77), Kim Suon (金守溫, 1409-81), Choe Su (崔脩, dates unknown) and the Buddhist monk Manu.

time.<sup>48</sup> Anpyeong was also the foremost calligrapher of his time, distinguishing himself in *Songseolche* (C. Songxue ti, 松雪體), the calligraphic style of the Yuan master Zhao Mengfu, pseudonym Songxue (松雪). The prince's fame as a calligrapher was so high that it reached China's cultural elite and Ming envoys lined up to acquire his works.<sup>49</sup> In keeping with his activities as the quintessential "Renaissance man" (in the mode of his father Sejong), Anpyeong was also an accomplished musician.

#### IV. 3-2. Prince Anpyeong's Painting Collection

According to the itemization of Prince Anpyeong's collection in Sin Sukju's *Commentaries on Painting* (*Hwagi*, 畫記) written in 1445, the prince had amassed no fewer than 222 pieces of painting and calligraphy (Table 3).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Bak Paengnyeong, "三絶詩序: 匪懈堂命畫師安堅. 畫李司馬山水圖. 手書其詩於左方," *Bakseonsaeng yugo* [Posthumous Writings of Mister Bak], mun (文) in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 9, 464c. King Sejong had commissioned the annotation of poems by the Tang poet Du Fu (杜甫, 712-70). The *Landscape of Yi Sama* was produced when Prince Anpyeong was in charge of annotating the poems by the command of Sejong. Sin Sukju, "成修撰 三問 臨江翫月圖詩序," in *Bohanjaejip* 保閑齋集 [Collected Writings of Bohanjae] vol.15, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 10, 117d. When Sejong visited the Huiujeong pavilion 喜雨亭 at Yanghwado 양화도, he enjoyed wine and viewed the moon with his son Anpyeong, Seong Sammun, and other scholars. On that occasion, Anpyeong's brother, the Crown Prince (who became King Munjong), ordered a plate of tangerines 洞庭橘 to be sent to the moon-viewing party. Inscribed on the plate was a poem. So the scholars at the gathering created poems to rhyme with the poem. Prince Anpyeong wrote the story of the royal literary gathering and An Gyeon depicted it in his *Imgang wanwoldo*. The content of this moon-viewing landscape painting is the same as that described by Seo Geojeong in the *jehwasi* poem entitled "*Huiujeong yayeondo* 喜雨亭夜宴圖," that appears in his collected writings, *Sagajip* [Collected Writings of Saga], vol.2 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 10, 246d.

<sup>49</sup> Bak Paengnyeong 朴彭年, "題倪內翰司馬右史兩天使贈匪懈堂詩帖," in *Bakseonsaeng yugo* 朴先生遺稿, si (詩) in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, vol. 9, 455b. In DB of Korean Classics; Yi Wan-woo, "Anpyeong daegun Yi Yong ui munhak hwaldong gwa seoye 安平大君 李溶의 文學活動과 書藝," 73-5.

<sup>50</sup> On Prince Anpyeong's collection, see Kim Hongnam, "An Gyeon and the Eight Views Tradition: An Assessment of Two Landscapes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Arts of Korea*, eds. Chong Yang-

<b>Table 3</b> <b>Paintings and Calligraphies in Prince Anpyeong's Collection (<i>Hwagi</i>, 1445) <sup>51</sup></b>		
Dynasty (Number of Artists)	Name	Title (Number of works)
Eastern Jin (1)	Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之, 346-407)	Print of <i>Water and Rocks</i> (1) 刻本水石圖一
Tang (2)	Wu Daozi (吳道子 act. ca. 710-760)	Pair of <i>Buddha Images</i> (2) 畫佛二 *with eulogy by Su Dongpo (蘇東坡手題贊)
	Wang Wei (王維, 701-61)	Pair of <i>Monk Portraits</i> (2) 畫僧二 <i>Landscape</i> (1) 山水圖一
Song (6)	Guo Zhongshu (郭忠恕, ca. 910-77)	<i>Travelling on the River in Clearing Snow</i> (1) 雪霽江行 圖一 *with inscription by Song Huizong 宋徽宗御筆
		<i>High Pavilion Overlooking the River</i> (1) 高閣臨江圖一
	Li Gonglin (李公麟, ca. 1041-1106)	<i>High Chant of Ning Qi</i> (1) 甯戚長歌圖一 *with inscription by Song Huizong 宋徽宗御筆題
	蘇東坡(Su Dongpo, 1036-1101)	<i>Chaozhou Edition of [Su's] Standard Calligraphy</i> (1) 真書潮州印本一
		<i>Bamboo in the Wind</i> (1) 風竹圖一
		<i>Bamboo in Snow</i> (1) 雪竹圖一
		<i>Spring Bamboo</i> (1) 春竹圖一
	Wen Yuke (文與可, 1018-79) *Wen Tong	<i>Bamboo in the Wind</i> (1) 風竹圖一
		<i>Bamboo Shoots</i> (4) 筍竹圖四
	Guo Xi (郭熙, ca. 1001- ca.1090)	Pair of <i>Landscapes</i> 山水圖二 (2): “Spring Scene” 一春 景 and “Autumn Scene” 一秋景
<i>Snow Flurries in a Cold Wind</i> (1) 朔風飄雪圖一		
<i>Summer Landscape in Blue Mist</i> (1) 夏景青嵐圖一		

mo and Judith G Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 392-96; Burglind Jungmann, “Sin Sukchu’s Records on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism,” *Archives of Asian Art* 61 (2011): 107-126; Burglind Jungmann 부르클린트 응만, “Collection and Writing about Literati Painting during the Early Joseon Period” [朝鮮初期 文人畫의 收集과 著述 Joseon chogi muninhwa ui sujip hwa jeosul], *Dongyang misulshak* 東洋美術史學 1 (2012): 181-220. On the calligraphy in his collection, see Kim Hongnam 김홍남, “Anpyeong daegun sojang jungguk seoye: song hwijong, sosik, jomaengbu, seonuchu” 安平大君 所藏 中國 書藝: 宋 徽宗, 蘇軾, 趙孟頫, 鮮于樞 [Chinese Calligraphies in the Prince Anpyeong Collection: Song Huizong, Su Shi, Zhao Mengful and Xianyu Shu], *Misulsa nondan* 미술사 논단 8 (1999): 74-102.

<sup>51</sup> English translation of *Hwagi* painting titles generally follows those published by Professor Burglind Jungmann, see her “Sin Sukju’s Records on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism,” 118-21.

		<i>Rocks by the Water</i> (1) 水石圖一
		<i>Wind and Rain</i> (1) 風雨圖一
		<i>Snowy River</i> (1) 江雪圖一
		<i>Travelling with a Crane</i> (1) 載鶴圖一
		<i>Old Trees in the Level Distance</i> (2) 古木平遠圖二
		<i>River Landscape</i> (1) 一水圖一
		<i>Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar</i> (1) 平沙落雁圖一
		<i>River and Sky in Evening Snow</i> (1) 江天暮雪圖一
		<i>Pavilion in a Grove</i> (1) [round fan] 林亭圖一 [扇團]
		<i>Landscape in Sudden Rain</i> (1) [round fan] 急雨圖一 [扇團]
		<i>Pair of Fi Bulls</i> (2) 鬪牛圖二
	崔懿 (Cui Que, ca. 11 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Wild Ducks among Autumn Lotus</i> (1) 秋荷野鴨圖一
Yuan (21)	Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322)	<i>Calligraphy in Semi-cursive Script</i> (26) 行書 二十六
		<i>Pair of Ink Bamboo</i> (2) 墨竹二
	Xianyu Shu (鮮于樞, 1256-1301)	<i>Calligraphy in Cursive Script</i> (6) 草書六
	Wang Gongyuan (王公儼)	<i>Trees and Flowers</i> (10) 木花圖十
		<i>Grasses and Flowers</i> (4) 草花圖四
		<i>Fruit Trees</i> (4) 果木圖四
		<i>Egrets among Withered Lotus</i> (1) 敗荷鷺鷥圖一
		<i>Sea Eagles</i> (3) 海青圖三
		<i>Sparrow Hawks among Peach Blossoms</i> (1) 桃花鷓鴣圖一
		<i>Wild Geese and Falcons</i> (1) 鴉鵲圖一
	Xie Yuan (謝元, act. 13 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Broken Cherry-apple Blossom Branch</i> (1) 海棠折枝圖一
	Chen Yifu (陳義甫)	<i>Plum Blossoms</i> (1) 梅花圖
		<i>Apricot Blossoms</i> (1) 杏花圖
	Liu Boxi (劉伯熙)	<i>River Pavilion in Clearing Snow</i> (1) 江亭雪霽圖
		<i>Forest in Deep Snow</i> (1) 長林雪滿圖
		<i>Spring Dawn on Misty Mountain</i> (1) 春曉烟嵐圖
		<i>Changjiang [Yangzi] River</i> (1) 長江圖
	Li Bi (李弼)	<i>Pavilion of Prince Teng</i> (1) 滕王閣圖
		<i>Huaqing Palace</i> (1) 華清宮圖
		<i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang</i> (1) 瀟湘八景
		<i>Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety</i> (12) 二十四孝圖
<i>Old Trees</i> (1) 古木圖		
	<i>Lofty Pavilion on a Steep Cliff</i> (1) 懸崖峻閣圖	
Ma Yuan (馬遠)	<i>Thatched Hut under Tall Pines</i> (1) 長松茅舍圖一	
	<i>River Dwelling with Potted Water Plants</i> (1) 溪居灌盆圖一	

	Qiao Zhongyi (喬仲義)	<i>Landscapes in Applied Colors</i> (8) 染彩山水八
	Liu Daoquan (劉道權, act. mid-14 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Ink Landscape</i> (1) 墨山水一
	Yuan Hui (顏輝, act. 1297-1308)	<i>Reading in the Mountains</i> (1) 山中看書圖一
		<i>Gathering Herbs in Deep Forest</i> (1) 幽林採藥圖一
		<i>Three Buddha Images</i> (3) 畫佛三
	Zhang Yanfu (張彥甫, act. 14 <sup>th</sup> century)	<i>Rain over Streams and Mountains</i> (1) 溪山雨過圖一
		<i>Deep Shores</i> (1) 絕岸圖一
		<i>Deep Forest, Rolling Clouds</i> (1) 長林倦雲圖一
		<i>Ink landscape of Cloudy Mountains</i> (1) 水墨雲山圖一
		<i>Pine Tree and Rock</i> (1) 松石圖一
	Gu Yingqing (顧迎卿)	<i>Blue Mountains, White Clouds</i> (1) 青山白雲圖一
	Zhang Zihua (張子華) *Tang Di (?)	<i>Sparse Forest, Desolate and Scattered</i> (1) 疎林蕭散圖一
		<i>Landscape</i> (1) 山水圖
	Luo Zhichuan (羅稚川)	<i>Snowy Mountain</i> (1) 雪山圖一
	Zhou Lang (周朗)	<i>Frolicking Horse</i> (1) 戲馬圖一
		<i>Pasturing Horse</i> (1) 牧馬圖一
	Ren Xianneng (任賢能)	<i>Groom Leading a Horse</i> (1) 牽馬圖一
	Xuechang 雪窻 (Puming, d. 1349)	<i>Pair of Orchids in Fierce Storm</i> (2) 狂風轉蕙圖二
		<i>Steep Cliff, Pure Clarity</i> (1) 懸崖雙清圖一
	Tekkan 鐵關 *Buddhist monk 倭僧	<i>Pair of Landscapes</i> (2) 山水圖二
		<i>Pair of Old Trees</i> (2) 古木圖二
	Xizhai (息齋) *unrecorded name	<i>Pair of Bamboo with Applied Colors</i> (2) 彩竹二
		<i>Golden Sound</i> (1) 金聲圖一
	Zhenzhai (震齋) *unrecorded name	<i>Dragon Amidst Clouds</i> (1) 雲龍圖
Uncertain dynastic period (4)	Song Ming (宋敏)	<i>Ink Bamboo</i> (1) 墨竹圖一
	Wang Mian (王冕, 1287-1359)	<i>Ink Plums</i> (5) 墨梅圖五
	Ye Heng (葉衡)	<i>Slender Bamboo</i> (1) 脩竹圖一
	Zhihuan (知幻)	<i>Pair of Ink Bamboo</i> (2) 墨竹圖二
Joseon (1)	An Gyeon (安堅 act. ca. 1440-70)	<i>Set of Eight Scenes</i> (8 panels total) 八景圖各一:
		“Evening Colors over River and Sky” 江天晚色圖一
		“Steep Riverbank, Pure Clarity” 絕岸雙清圖一
		“Torrent Rushing into the Sea” 奔流宗海圖一
		“Merging Colors of River and Sky” 江天一色圖一
		“Winter Sky Clearing after Snow” 雪霽天寒圖一
	“Yellow Crane Tower” 黃鶴樓一	

		“Pavilion of Prince Teng” 滕王閣圖一
		“Clearing after Rain” 雨後新晴圖一
		“Cold Chill after Snowfall” 雪霽餘寒圖一
		“Light Mist over a Waterfall” 輕嵐匹練圖一
		“Casting a Fishing Net in Clearing Snow” 霽雪鋪漁圖一
		<i>Water Country in Light Mist</i> (1) 水國輕嵐圖一
		<i>River Village, Distant Verdure</i> (1) 江鄉遠翠圖一
		<i>Sprouting Chestnut, Blossoming Flowers</i> (1) 起栗生花圖一
		<i>Spring Clouds Emerging from the Valley</i> (1) 春雲出谷圖一
		<i>Valley of Hidden Clouds</i> (1) 幽雲滿壑圖一
		<i>Fierce Wind in Sudden Rain</i> (1) 狂風急雨圖一
		<i>Coiling Dragons</i> (1) 虬龍反走圖一
		<i>Narrow Road in Deep Forest</i> (1) 長林細路圖一
		<i>Milky Way Galaxy</i> (1) 銀河倒掛圖一
		<i>Landscape with Steep Cliffs</i> (1) 絕壁圖一
		<i>Ink Bamboo and Plum</i> (1) 墨梅竹一
		<i>Ink Landscape of Clouds</i> (1) 水墨白雲圖一
		<i>Pair of Landscapes</i> (2) 山水圖二
		<i>Wild Geese among Reeds</i> (1) 蘆雁圖一
		<i>Pair of Blossoming Trees</i> (2) 花木圖二
		<i>Tall Pines</i> (1) 長松圖一
	Anonymous (11)	<i>Tortoise</i> (1) 龜一
		<i>Pear Blossoms</i> (1) 梨花一
		<i>Apricot Blossoms</i> (1) 杏花一
		<i>Cranes under Pines</i> (1) 松鶴一
		<i>Geese among Flowers</i> (1) 花鵝一
		<i>Four Oxen</i> (1) 四牛一
		Printed Edition of Stories by Wang Bo, 658-76 (1) 王勃事實印本
		<i>Crows and Falcon</i> (1) 雅鶻一
		<i>Rear Garden View</i> (1) 後園山水一
		<i>Storied Pavilion</i> (1) 樓閣一
		<i>Landscape with Old Trees</i> (1) 古木山水一
Total number of dynasties=5	Total number of artists=35	Total number of scrolls =222 (Landscapes=84, Birds, animals, plants and trees=76, architecture and figures=29; calligraphies= 33)



At the beginning of *Hwagi*, Sin Sukju describes Prince Anpyeong's zeal for collecting and informs that the prince had amassed his collection for ten years, reads:

Bihaedang loved calligraphy and painting. [Whenever] he heard, that someone owned a fragment [of calligraphy or painting] on paper or silk he definitely purchased it, paying generously. Selecting the good pieces, he had them mounted and preserved them in his collection. Then, the prince is cited saying "I am fond of this (collecting) by nature; it is also an obsession After exploring exhaustively and searching widely for more than ten years, I finally gained [all] this..."<sup>52</sup>

His collection is all Chinese works except for thirty paintings by a single Korean painter, An Gyeon. Among the thirty-four Chinese painters and calligraphers represented in the collection, twenty-one were masters of the Yuan dynasty.<sup>53</sup> Thus, Yuan paintings and calligraphy dominated the collection, with many famous names of earlier periods were represented as well.<sup>54</sup> The absence of early Ming painters' names indicates that the prince was an antiquarian rather than a collector of contemporary Chinese art.

Most of the Chinese works in the prince's collection probably entered the peninsula during the Goryeo dynasty, when the Goryeo and Yuan courts were closely linked politically, culturally, and by marriage. Korean kings and princes of the blood, like

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<sup>52</sup> Sin Sukju 申叔舟: "畫記: 匪懈堂, 愛書畫, 聞人有尺牋片素, 必厚購之. 擇其善者, 裝緘而藏之. 一日, 悉出而示叔舟曰. 余性好是. 是亦病也, 窮探廣搜十餘年而後..." see "Sin Sukchu's Records on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism," 118. A full English translation of Sin's *Hwagi* appears in the same article on pages 118-121.

<sup>53</sup> According to Sin's *Hwagi*, Prince Anpyeong obtained twenty one masters' works from the Yuan dynasty (See Table 3)

<sup>54</sup> There is a mistake in this record. Ma Yuan's name appears under the Yuan painting section, but he is actually a Southern Song painter.

King Chungseon (忠宣王, r. 1298 and 1308-13), were held as political “hostages” in the Yuan capital of Dadu (present-day Beijing), and women of the Mongol ruling family married into the ruling family of Goryeo. Some the paintings and calligraphies in Anpyeong’s collection probably came from the hoard brought back by King Chungseon when he returned to Korea to reclaim his throne.<sup>55</sup> The son of King Chungryeol (忠烈王, r. 1274-98 and 1299-1308) and the Mongolian Grand Princess of Qi (Qiguo Dazhang Gongzhu, K. Jeguk daejang gongju, 齊國大長公主, 1259-97),<sup>56</sup> Chungseon spent a great deal of his life in the Mongol capital Dadu. His private library Hall of Ten Thousand Scrolls (Mangwondang, 萬卷堂) in Dadu became a meeting place for visiting Goryeo Confucian scholars like Yi Jehyeon (李齊賢, 1287-1365), Bak Chungjwa (朴忠佐, 1287-1349) and Gwon Hangong (權漢功, ?-1349) and such prominent Chinese literati as Zhao Mengfu, Yan Fu (閻復, 1236-1312), Yu Ji (虞集, 1272-1348), Yao Sui (姚燧, 1238-1322), Yuan Mingshen (元明善, 1269-1322) and Zhu Derun (朱德潤, 1294-1365).<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> According to Seo Geojeong (徐居正, 1420-88), when King Chungseon returned to Goryeo from Yuan China, he brought with him ten thousands volumes of Chinese books, paintings and calligraphies: “王之東還. 文籍書畫. 馱載萬籤. 趙之手跡滿於東方. 蓋由是也,” in *Pilwon jappi* 筆苑雜記. Vol.1 of *Gukyeok Geunyeok seohwajng* 國譯 槿域書畫徵 [Literary Evidence for Korean Calligraphy and Painting], ed. Oh Sechang 吳世昌, trans. Hong Chanyu 洪讚裕 (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999), 131.

<sup>56</sup> On the marriage alliances between the Mongol and Goryeo courts, see George Qingzhi Zhao, “One-way Marriage: Royal Marriage between the Mongol Yuan and Goryeo,” *Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan dynasty*, (New York: Peter Land Publishing, 2008), 197-206. Chungseon was the first Goryeo king whose mother and wife were of Mongolian royal descent. He was born to the Mongol princess Khudulu Khaimish, daughter of Khublai Khan, the founder of the Yuan Dynasty. As a grandson of the Khublai Khan, he had power in the Yuan court.

<sup>57</sup> Kim Jongseo (金宗瑞, 1390-1453), ed. “忠宣留元, 構萬卷堂, 姚燧閻復, 元明善, 趙孟頫等諸學士, 咸遊王門...” in *Goryeosa jeolyo* 高麗史節要 [Concise History of Goryeo], vol. 28. Jang Dongik 장동익, “Yi Jehyeon, Gwon Hangong geurigo Zhu Derun” 李齊賢, 權漢功 그리고 朱德潤 [Yi Jehyeon, Kwon

Several members of this circle were well-known painters in the Li-Guo landscape tradition, notably Zhao Mengfu and Zhu Derun.<sup>58</sup> Zhu Derun's works are not listed in the

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Han-gong and Zhu Derun], *Toegyehak gwa yugyomunhwa* 退溪學斗 儒教文化 49 (2011): 16-25; Chen Minghua 陳明華, "Cong wanjuantang kan liyuan huatan jiaoliu" 從萬卷堂看麗元畫壇交流 [On the Interaction of Korean and Yuan Artists through Mangwondang], *Jungguk munhakbo* 中國文學報 (1988): 251-65. When not discoursing on Chinese classics and Neo-Confucianism at Mangwondang, Goryeo and Yuan scholar-officials enjoyed looking at paintings and exchanging poems (*jehwasi*) in appreciation of the paintings viewed. Yi Jaehyeon, tomb epitaph: 李齊賢, "墓誌銘: 雞林府院君諡文忠李公墓誌銘: ...忠宣王佐仁宗 定內難, 迎立武宗, 故於兩朝, 寵遇無對, 遂請傳國于忠肅, 以太尉留京師邸, 構萬卷堂, 考究以自娛, 因曰, 京師文學之士, 皆天下之選, 吾府中未有其人, 是吾羞也, 召至都, 實延祐甲寅正月也. 姚牧菴, 閻子靜, 元復初, 趙子昂咸游王門, 公周旋其間, 學益進, 諸公稱歎不置...", in *Ikjaenango* 益齋亂稿 [Poetry Anthology of Ikjae] in *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, vol. 2, 612a. Yi Jehyeon enjoyed a close relationship with the Yuan scholar Zhu Derun and when they studied a painting together, they often left *jehwasi* colophons in praise of it. Yi also mentions Zhu's skilled at painting.. "和鄭愚谷題張彥甫雲山圖: 昔與姑蘇朱德潤, 每觀屏障燕市東, 鐵關山水有僧氣, 公儼草花無士風...", in *Ikjenango* 益齋亂稿, vol. 4. Some of these Chinese-Korean exchanges of paintings as well as comments about paintings are recorded in *jehwasi* colophons by Goryeo scholar-officials who accompanied their royal lords into exile. For example, in Yi Jehyeon's poem "Response to Jeong Ugok's (鄭愚谷) poem in praise of Zhang Yanfu (張彥甫)'s *Cloudy Landscape* (雲山圖)," Yi mentions a painting screen (屏障) that he enjoyed in the company of Zhu Derun at a residence west of the Yuan capital. The Korean connoisseur also offers his evaluation of Yuan painters and their works, including Zhao Mengfu, Luo Zhichuan (羅稚川, dates unknown), Li Kan (李衍, ca.1245-1320; recorded as Xi Zai 息齋), Gonggeom (公儼, dates unknown), Cheolguan (鐵關, dates unknown) and Zhang Yanfu (張彥甫, ca. 1285-ca. 1345): Yi Jehyeon 李齊賢, "和鄭愚谷題張彥甫雲山圖: 昔與姑蘇朱德潤, 每觀屏障燕市東, 鐵關山水有僧氣. 公儼草花無士風, 月山畫馬不畫骨, 喜作霧鬣黃金腫, 獨愛息齋與松雪, 丹青習俗一洗空, 白雲青山張道士, 晚出便欲誇精工, 萬壑千峯在咫尺, 難將眼力于細窮, 忽驚森羅移我側, 安得變化游其中, 濯足清溪弄明月, 振衣絕頂凌蒼穹." in *Ikjenango* 益齋亂稿, vol. 4 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, vol.2, 539a. In addition, Yi Jehyeon and another Goryeo scholar, Yi Saek (李穡, 1328-96) also wrote *jehwasi* colophons for the works of the Chinese painter, Liu Daoquan (劉道權, dates unknown). Yi Jehyeon 李齊賢, "劉道權 山水: 瑜珥瑤環玉雪兒, 寄懷霞月亦云奇, 蓬壺骨相青雲器, 閱得人多子自知," in *Ikjenango* 益齋亂稿, vol. 4 and Yi Saek 李穡, "謝禹四宰送水墨山水八疊屏風: 張彥輔劉道權, 至正以來名最傳, 兩家妙處得天趣, 筆力所到氣勢全..." *Mokeunsijip* 牧隱詩藁, vol.10 in *Hanguk munjip chonggan*, vol. 4, 93c. A painting by Liu Daoquan titled as *Ink Landscape* 水墨山水 was in Anpyeong's collection. (see, Table 3)

<sup>58</sup> Zhao also enjoyed a close friendship with Chungseon, and Zhu met the Goryeo ruler through Zhao at the age of twenty-five in 1319. Subsequently, Chungseon and the young Zhu formed an intimate friendship that resulted in the Chinese painter enjoying royal Goryeo patronage. Through the recommendation of Chungseon, Zhu was awarded an office in the Eastern Expedition Field Headquarters (Jeongdong haengseong, 征東行省) by the Yuan court and became acquainted with many Koreans. Nishigami Minoru 西上実, "Zhu Derun to Chin'ō" 朱德潤と潘王 [Zhu Derun and Shen Wang], *Bijutsushi* 美術史 104, no. 2 (1978): 127-45.

record of Anpyeong's collection, but landscapes in the Li-Guo tradition must have been known to painters of the Goryeo court and thus continued to influence the landscape art of the early Joseon Bureau of Painting. Another who contributed to the transmission of Chinese paintings to Korea in the Goryeo period was the Mongolian queen of King Gongmin (恭愍王 r. 1351-74), the Yuan Grand Princess of Lu (Luguo dazhang gongzhu, K. Noguk daejang gongju, 魯國大長公主, d.1365), Mongolian name Borjigin Budashiri (孛兒只斤 寶塔實里), who brought numerous books, paintings, and calligraphies when she came to Goryeo. This was noted by Joseon scholar Kim Anro (金安老, 1485-1537) who also observed that "many of the precious paintings of our time [Joseon], are among those that came in that time [Goryeo]."<sup>59</sup>

It is postulated that most of the Yuan paintings and calligraphies in Anpyeong's collection are genuine works transmitted from Yuan China to Goryeo Korea through the channels described above. There is less certainty about the authenticity of earlier paintings owned by the Prince.<sup>60</sup> There is a record of Guo Xi paintings transmitted to

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<sup>59</sup> Kim Anro 金安老, "高麗忠宣王在燕邸, 構萬卷堂, 召李齊賢置府中, 與元學士姚遂閣復元明善趙孟頫遊, 圖籍之傳, 多所闡秘, 其後魯國大長公主之來, 凡什物器用簡冊書畫等物, 舡載浮海, 今時所傳妙繪寶軸, 多其時出來云." in *Yongcheon damsukgi* 龍泉談寂記 [Record of Talks in Solitude by Yongcheon] in DB of Korean classics. King Gongmin married Princess Noguk in 1349 when he was in residence in Yuan China. The royal couple returned to Goryeo in 1351 and Gongmin ascended the throne in the same year. *Goryeosa* 高麗史 [History of the Goryeo Dynasty], vol. 38, *sega* (世家), Gongmin-wang (恭愍王 叢書): "恭愍仁文義武勇智明烈敬孝大王, ...忠定元年, 澤與李承老, 獻書中書省, 請立王, 是歲, 王尚魯國公主. 三年十月, 元封爲國王, 遣完者不花, 收國璽, 忠定遜于江華, 德興君塔思帖木兒奔于元."

<sup>60</sup> Works by such great early masters as Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之, ca. 344-406) of the East Jin, Wu Daozi (吳道子, 680-760?) and Wang Wei (王維, 699-759) of the Tang, and Guo Zhongshu (郭忠恕, d.977), Li Gonglin (李公麟, ca. 1049-1106), Su Dongpo [Shi] (蘇東坡, 1037-1101), Wen Tong (文同, 1019-79), and Cui Que (崔慤, dates unknown), as well as Guo Xi, of the Song dynasty. See Table 3.

Korea in earlier times as well. In the year 1072, coincidentally the year Guo Xi painted his masterpiece *Early Spring*, the political relationship between the Song and Goryeo courts had resumed.<sup>61</sup> At that time Guo Xi was active in the painting academy of the Song court, and two of his works, *Autumn Landscape* (秋山圖) and *Misty Landscape* (烟嵐圖), were sent to the Goryeo court as diplomatic gifts by the Emperor Shenzong (r. 1067-85).<sup>62</sup> These paintings may have been handed down to the Joseon court. However, by the early sixteenth century, cautionary words about the authenticity of Guo Xi paintings in Korea were already in the air. Kim Anro wrote:

A majority of old paintings treasured by lovers of art in our day are Yuan paintings. Many genuine paintings by Guo Xi, Li Boshi [Li Gonglin] and Su Zizhan [Su Shi], have been transmitted. Among these paintings, genuine, fake and copied works are mixed together, and cannot be distinguished. It requires judgment by someone with a connoisseur's eye.<sup>63</sup>

Therefore, it is also likely that some of the works credited to Guo Xi and other old paintings in Anpyeong's collection have some possibility that they were later copies.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Hong Sunpyo 홍선표, "Goryeo sidae ilban hoehwa ui baljeon 고려시대 일반 회화의 발전 [The Development of the Secular Painting during the Goryeo Dynasty]," in *Joseon sidae hoehwa saron* 朝鮮時代繪畫史論 [History of Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty] (Seoul: Munye chulpansa, 1999), 127-44.

<sup>62</sup> Guo Xi 郭熙: "畫記: 有皆作秋雨冬雪二圖賜岐王.....又作秋景烟嵐二賜高麗....." in Guo Shi 郭思, comp., *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致 [The Lofty Message of Forest and Streams].

<sup>63</sup> Kim Anro 金安老, "...今之好事者所貯, 率多元人之蹟, 如郭熙李伯時蘇子瞻, 眞筆亦多傳焉. 其間眞贗模本混雜, 莫辨者衆矣. 當與具眼者道." in *Yongchendamjeokgi* 龍泉談寂記.

<sup>64</sup> This assumption is supported by some scholars. Han Junghee argued the titles of some of the Guo Xi works in the collection could not have been subject titles in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Han Junghee 한정희, "Joseon wangjo jeonbangi ui daejung hoehwa gyoseop 조선왕조 전반기의 대중 회화 교섭 [Cross Cultural Relationships between the Early Joseon Court and China]," in *Joseon wangjo Jeonbangi misul ui daeogyoseop* 조선왕조 전반기 미술의 대외 교섭 [Foreign Relationships in Art during the Early Joseon

#### IV. 3-3. Antiquarianism of Prince Anpyeong

That Anpyeong possessed such an extensive collection of old masterpieces is truly remarkable, and his antiquarianism did not go unnoticed by his associates and fellow connoisseurs.<sup>65</sup> Kim Anro had this to say about the prince's taste for the past:

Bihaedang [Anpyeong] loves old paintings and is well versed in calligraphy. If he heard that someone had old paintings, he sought to obtain them despite being charged double the going price. He diligently added to his collection for several years. His collection now consists of several hundred scrolls. In case of 'old objects from the Tang and Song dynasties', he acquired and enjoyed such works, regardless of their worn out or fragmentary condition.<sup>66</sup>

Prince Anpyeong was aware of the antiquarianism among members of the Ming imperial family and seems to have emulated their activities in his father Sejong's court. He owned, for example, the model book *Ancient Calligraphic Models Collected in the Eastern Library* (Dongshutang jigū fatie, 東書堂集古法帖) published in 1416 by the Ming prince Zhu Youdun (朱有敦, 1379-1439).<sup>67</sup> Poems by Song emperor Ningzong on

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dynasty], ed. Hanguk misul sahakhoe (Seoul: Yegyong, 2006), 47-8); Burglind Jungmann mentioned that the tile of Fighting Bulls (2) 鬪牛圖二 among Guo Xi's paintings comes as a surprise (See Burglind Jungmann's "Sin Sukju's Records on the Painting Collection of Prince Anpyeong and Early Joseon Antiquarianism," 109).

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 113-16.

<sup>66</sup> Kim Anro 金安老, "...匪懈堂雅愛古畫. 且通其法. 聞人有藏. 兼價取之. 窮搜積歲. 多至數百軸. 唐宋古物. 雖敗絹殘牋. 靡不收玩. 李寧近世人. 若果爲世所珍賞. 何不見取於匪懈堂畫記中耶. 人亡未久. 泯沒無傳. 此可疑也. ...," in *Yongchendamjeokgi* 龍泉談寂記.

<sup>67</sup> Craig Clunas, "Antiquarian Politics and the Politics of Antiquarianism in Ming Regional Courts," in *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: University of Chicago Art Media Resources, 2010), 231-33.

the Eight Views theme reproduced in this collection inspired Anpyeong's album *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers Poems of Bihae Hall* (匪懈堂瀟湘八景詩帖) of 1442. One year later, in 1443, Prince Anpyeong commissioned the publication of *Ancient Calligraphic Models Collected in the Bihae Hall* (Bihaedang jipgocheop, 匪懈堂集古帖), a title directly references to the *Ancient Calligraphic Models Collected in the Eastern Library* (Dongshutang jigufatie, 東書堂集古法帖) of 1416 by the royal Ming descendant, Zhu Youdun.<sup>68</sup> It is telling that Prince Anpyeong would obtain and make his own version of a book compiled by Zhu Youdun, who was enfeoffed to the kingdom of Zhou as King Xian (周憲王). Perhaps Prince Anpyeong felt a special bond with Zhu Youdun, a secondary prince of the blood who would ascend no higher than provincial ruler or *fanwang* (藩王).<sup>69</sup>

Like *Ancient Calligraphic Models Collected in the Eastern Library*, many other Ming works were transmitted to Korea without much time gap by envoys exchanged by the Ming and Joseon courts.<sup>70</sup> Many of the scholars who participated in Anpyeong's

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 232-33. Another publication of the early Ming court, *Antique Model Calligraphy Assembled in the Hall for Treasuring Worthies* (Baioxiantna ji gu fatie, 寶賢堂集古法帖) in 1489 was compiled by another early Ming royal, Zhu Quyuan (周奇源, d. 1501), the crown prince of Jin (晉). This Chinese text underwent a similar recompilation and retitling process in the early Joseon court as did Zhu Youdun's *Ancient Calligraphic Models*.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 229-30. More research on the cross-cultural relationships between Joseon court and Ming regional courts will be expected in the future.

<sup>70</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon, "Goryeo mit Joseon wangjo jeongieu daejung huihwa gyoseop" 고려 및 조선왕조 전기의 대중 회화교섭 [Exchange of the Paintings between China and the Goryeo and Early Joseon Dynasties], *Asea hakbo* 아세아학보 13 (1979): 165-68. Reprinted in *Hanguk Hoehwasa Yeongu* 한국회화사 연구 [History of Korean Painting] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1999), 303-306. Also see; Han Jung-hee, "Joseon wangjo jeonbangi ui daejung huihwa gyoseop 조선왕조 전반기의 대중 회화 교섭," 52-60.

poetry and painting projects were Joseon government officials who had visited China as envoys at least once.<sup>71</sup> Although the record is spotty, these scholars returned from Beijing loaded with books, paintings, calligraphies and other things Chinese to keep or to present as gifts to others as mementos from their foreign travel. Although it is not recorded in *Joseon wangjo sillok*, it is almost certain that Anpyeong himself visited Yanjing, because there is a record of an inscription by him written on a folding screen in the guest house of a high Chinese official.<sup>72</sup>

## Conclusion

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<sup>71</sup> For example, Prince Suyang (首陽大君), who later became King Sejo (世祖, r.1455-68), visited Yanjing as an envoy and obtained a book of calligraphy models (法帖) to present to his brother Anpyeong as a gift in 1453, making the latter extremely happy. I examined the records on scholars who visited China and subsequently wrote poems for *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* in 1447 and *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* in 1443 as well as scholars who went to China and subsequently wrote poetic *jehwasi* colophons for the paintings. They include: Yi Jeok who went to Yanjing 燕京 and Nanjing 南京 as Vice Envoy of Reciprocity (Saeun busa, 謝恩副使) in 1418 and returned to Korea in 1419; An Ji who visited as Chief Envoy (Jeongjosa, 正朝使) in 1446; Park Huan who visited in 1445; Go Deakjong who went in 1438 and 1441; An Sungeon who went in 1429 and 1444; Yi Boheum who visited in 1443; Jeong Inji who visited in 1440; Sin Seokjo who visited in 1456; Choe Hang who went in 1450; Kim Suon who went in 1458; Sin Sukju who went to China with Prince Suyang in 1452 and without the prince in 1455; Yi Ye who visited in 1461; Gang Huian who visited in 1462; Seo Geojeong who went in 1451 and 1460; Seong Im who visited in 1461 and 1472; Han Chi'in who visited in 1472 and 1474; Yi Seongso who went in 1459 and 1480; Gang Huimaeng who went in 1463; Seong Hyeon who visited in 1468, 1475 and 1488; and Seong Sammun who went to China but the year is not recorded. These 15<sup>th</sup> century scholar- envoys all had China experience and many brought their knowledge back to the early Joseon court as close associates of Prince Anpyeong. See Hanguk jeongshinmunhwa yeonguwon 韓國精神文化研究院, eds. *Hanguk inmul daesajeon* 韓國人物大辭典 [Dictionary of Eminent Koreans] (Seoul: Junagang ilbosa, 1989) and DB of eminent figures in Korean history (한국역대인물 종합정보시스템): <http://people.aks.ac.kr/index.aks>

<sup>72</sup> “嘗越燕，燕有一閣老，開八幅屏風，所畫者，青山也，茅屋也，竹林烏鵲也，柴門晚景，犬伏歸人也，公以醉點筆，默點數處，閣老大驚。” in Oh Sechang, ed. *Gukyeok Geunyeok seohwajing* 國譯 槿域書畫徵, 206.



By examining both existing paintings by the courts and the records of painters working in the Bureau of Painting during the early Joseon period, I argued that the painter of the Mōri scrolls was most likely a member of the Bureau skilled in both figure and landscape paintings. In addition, the stylistic commonalities I have mentioned between the Mōri scrolls and the An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* and Yi Jasil's *Thirty Two Manifestations of Avalokiteśvara* also support this idea, because An Gyeon and Yi Jasil are court painters.

The key to patronage context of the scrolls, I argue, is their debt to the Northern Song tradition of Guo Xi. This was the most popular landscape style of the early Joseon period and enjoyed royal patronage. Works by Guo Xi and in his style were handed down to the early Joseon from the Goryeo period, and the style was also revived at the contemporary Ming court. By the time Sin Sukju recorded his collection, Prince Anpyeong owned seventeen scrolls by the Northern Song master, as well as thirty scrolls by An Gyeon, who painted the incomparable *Dream Journey* of 1447 in the style of Guo Xi. The patron of the three Mōri scrolls must have shared the prince's taste for the art of Guo Xi, and could even have been Anpyeong himself.

## Chapter Five

### Provenance of the Mōri Scrolls

In the previous chapters I used the style, subject matter, and materials of the Mōri *Scrolls* to attribute them to an unknown court painter working in the bureau or academy of painting (Dohwaseo, 圖畫署) in the Joseon capital. In this final chapter I approach the question of their origin from a different angle, that of provenance, and propose scenarios for how they came to be in the collection of the Mōri Museum of Art in Hōfu city, Yamaguchi prefecture. Finally, taking this provenance into account, I suggest how the paintings came to be attributed to the Chinese Song-dynasty master Mi Youren and became a set of three hanging scrolls (三幅對).

There is no record of the scrolls acquisition by the Mōri museum, but according to the Museum's curator, they have been passed down through the family during the Edo period at the latest. Quite a few objects in the old Mōri collection were historically known as *karamono* (唐物), literally “Tang [Chinese] objects,” a designation that referred to all items from the continent, Korean as well as Chinese. Many of these objects were acquired during the time of Mōri Motonari (毛利元就, 1497-1571). In a 1997 exhibition focused on this man and his treasures, the Mōri scrolls were identified as *karamono* from Korea.<sup>1</sup> To add further credence to this relatively recent assignment of the Mōri *Scrolls* to Korea, I will begin with a brief history of the family, the museum, and the museum's Korean holdings. Then, I will turn to the question of how and when Korean *karamono*

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<sup>1</sup> Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai 毛利元就展企画委員会; Nihon hōsō kyōkai 日本放送協会; and Tokyo-to bijutsukan 東京都美術館, eds. *Motonari ten: Sono jidai to shihō* 毛利元就展: その時代と至宝 [Exhibition of Mōri Motonari: His Period and Treasures] (Tokyo: NHK Puromōshon, 1997), 173-83.

first entered the treasuries of the Mōri clan— possibly with the Mōri scrolls among them. I will connect some of the objects in the collection with the war booty from the Hideyoshi invasions of Joseon Korea in the last decade of the sixteenth century, but I will emphasize an earlier route from the Joseon court to Japan through the Ōuchi clan of the Chūgoku area in western Japan. Given the commercial and material culture exchanges between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi clan from the fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, It is likely that the Joseon court bestowed the painting set on the Ōuchi family, and it was subsequently part of the transfer of a collection of Korean objects from the Ōuchi to the Mōri family in pre-Edo times.

## **V. 1. Mōri Family and Korean Objects in the Mōri Museum of Art**

### **V. 1-1. History of the Mōri Family and their Rise to Prominence**

The Mōri clan was a family of warriors that became the territorial lords, or *daimyō*, of southwestern Honshū sometime in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) and flourished as an unbroken as a lineage until the start of the Meiji period in 1868.<sup>2</sup> The clan rose to some prominence by the 1470s and greatly expanded its domain in 1540, when Mōri Motonari vanquished the Amako clan (Amagoshi, 尼子氏) and took over its lands.

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<sup>2</sup> The progenitor of the Mōri clan was a direct descendent of Ōeno Hiromoto (大江広元, 1148-1225), who helped establish the structure of the Kamakura government. His fourth son, Suemitsu (季光, 1202-47), adopted the surname “Mōri” (毛利) as the clan name. In 1336, the family's power base shifted to Aki Province (now part of Hiroshima Prefecture) when Mōri Tokichika (毛利時親?-?) was appointed estate steward (*jitō*) there. Fujiki Hisashi 藤木久志, *Mōrishi no kenkyū* 毛利氏の研究 [Research on the Mōri Clan] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan press, 1984); Akiyama Nobutaka 秋山伸隆, *Sengoku daimyō mōri-shi no kenkyū* 戦国大名毛利氏の研究 [Research on Territorial Lords of the Mōri Family in the Warring States Period] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan press, 1998).

Motonari subsequently seized control of almost all of southwestern Honshū.<sup>3</sup> His successor and grandson, Mōri Terumoto (毛利輝元, 1553-1625), supported Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉, 1536-98), providing many troops to the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592-97. Terumoto was then defeated by Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康, 1453-1616) at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. After this defeat and the establishment of the Edo period (1600-1868), the Mōri land holdings were reduced to the two provinces of Suō and Nagato, present-day Yamaguchi prefecture. In 1863 the family was granted a “dukedom” to rule over Chōshū. Mōri Yoshichika (毛利慶親, 1819-1871), Chōshū’s last daimyō, played a central role in the Meiji Restoration of 1868, after which the daimyō system was abolished. In pre-modern times, the head of the Mōri family was allowed to retain the title of duke, the highest rank besides emperor in the Meiji Period (1868-1912).<sup>4</sup>

## **V. 1-2. The Mōri Museum of Art: Treasures from the House of Mōri**

Hōfu city, home of the Mōri Museum of Art, was served as headquarters for the Mōri clan from the sixteenth century until the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Historically the Mōri collection was a repository of cultural artifacts and objects collected by generations of Mōri clansmen. Thus, the Museum is not only a collection of art objects: it also preserves the memorabilia of the Mōri family and its members. Most of the objects in the

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<sup>3</sup> John Whitney Hall, *Japan before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth 1500-1650*. (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1981), 95-6.

<sup>4</sup> Official website of the Mōri Museum of Art: [http://www.c-able.ne.jp/~mouri-m/ha\\_gaiyou/index.html](http://www.c-able.ne.jp/~mouri-m/ha_gaiyou/index.html); Usuki Hanaomi 白杵華臣, *Mōri hakubutsukan: sono rekishi to denrai no bunkazai* 毛利博物館: その歴史と伝来の文化財 [Mōri Museum of Art: History and Transformation of Japan] (Hōfu, Yamaguchi: Hōfu mōri hōkōkai press, 1988): 2-3.

Museum's collection have been handed down from generation to generation as family heirlooms and illuminate the history of the clan and the achievements of its clansmen.<sup>5</sup> This Museum is also called “Treasure trove of the Mōri family materials” (毛利家資料の宝庫) as the historical archives of the clan are also housed here; in Japan, it is also well known as the “Museum of Daimyō Implements” (大名道具收藏館).<sup>6</sup>

The bulk of the Museum's collection is made up of over 10,000 documents and books, spanning the Heian (794-1185) to the Meiji periods. They provide not only a history of the Mōri family, but also offer insights into the culture and politics of Japan's samurai age.<sup>7</sup> The collection also has a variety of documents on the “tally trade” system (K. *gamha muyeok*, C. *kanhe maoyi* 勘合貿易) conducted by the Ōuchi family with China and Korea as well as remarkable historical records on the Meiji Restoration of 1868. This textual treasure trove, which recorded the privileged status enjoyed by the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 133-4.

<sup>6</sup> Shibahara Naoki 柴原直樹, “Mōri-ke gara denrai no bunkazai de mita mōri motonari-zō – mōri motonari no senzo sūhai to ryōgoku shihai” 毛利家から伝来の文化財で見た毛利元就像 – 毛利元就の先祖崇拜と領国支配 [The Image of Mōri Moronari viewed from the Cultural Household Properties of the Mōri Clan – Ancestral Worship and Control of Territory by Mōri Motonari] in *Mōri motonari to chiiki shakai* 毛利元就と地域社会 [Mōri and Motonari and His Societal Era], ed. Hiroshi Kishida 岸田裕之 (Hiroshima: Chūgoku shinbunsha press, 2007), 119-38.

<sup>7</sup> As exemplary collections, the museum has a variety of documents containing information on the foreign trade of the Ōuchi family, as well as remarkable historical records about the Meiji Restoration. Many of the documentary records were entrusted to the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives (*Yamaguchiken Bunshokan* 山口縣文書館) and now are open to the public. Already published documents include: *Mōri-ke monjo* 毛利家文書 [Archives from the Mōri family], four volumes, in Shiryō hansen gakari, *Dai nihon komonjo*. *Iewake* 大日本古文書. 家わけ [Old archives in Japan: from the Family] (Tokyo: Tokyo teikoku daigaku press, 1904-2004); Yamaguchi kenmonjokan, ed. *Mōri-ke bunko mokuroku 2* 毛利家文庫目録 [List of Archives from the Mōri Family], five volumes. (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchiken monjokan press, 1963-1978).

Mōri family down through the ages, has been entrusted to the Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives 山口県文書館 (est. 1959), and is now open to the public.

The many personal objects and implements in the museum collection, such as armor, swords, weapons, horse harnesses, clothing, furniture, and tea ceremony utensils, were used by successive Mōri lords and their families in their daily life; now these relics show us how they lived. At the heart of the collection, however, are some three thousand works of art, including paintings, lacquerware, ceramics, and metalwork. The paintings include the celebrated *Long Scroll of Landscapes* by the famous monk ink-master Sesshū Tōyō (雪舟等楊, 1420-1506) and works by masters of the Kano (狩野派) and Unkoku (雲谷派) schools of painting, which were used to furnish the palatial interiors of Mōri residences, particularly Hagi Castle (萩城), now a ruin in Shizuki in northern Yamaguchi. The collection also has paintings and calligraphies executed by several feudal lords. Of most importance for this discussion of the provenance of the Mōri scrolls, however, is the substantial collection of *karamono* (唐物) or *hakurai-hin* (舶来品)—imported goods.

As previously mentioned, *Kara* means Tang [China], so originally *karamono* meant “goods from China” but included goods from Korea. Eventually, *karamono* came to mean all imported items, not only from China and Korea, but from South Asia as well.<sup>8</sup> During the Muromachi period (1333-1568), a great deal of *karamono* flowed into

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<sup>8</sup> For more details about *karamono* in the Medieval period of Japan, see: Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, “Ōuchishi no karamono shiyo to kenminsen” 大内氏の唐物賜与と遣明船 [Ōuchi clan, Gifts of *karamono* and Sending trade ships to Ming], *Chūka gensō: karamono to gaikō no muromachi jidaishi* 中華幻想: 唐物と外交の室町時代史 [Chinese Fantasy: Chinese Goods and Diplomacy during the Muromachi Period] (Tokyo: Bunsei Suppan Press, 2011); Seki Shūichi 関周一, “Tōbutsu no ryūtsū to shōhi” 唐物の流通と消

Japan as a result of trade with China, Korea, and the Ryūkyū Islands (present-day Okinawa). Typical imports of *karamono* included lacquerware (漆器), ceramics, gold and wood objects (金工品), painting and calligraphy (書畫), books, Buddhist scriptures (經典), as well as spices and textiles.<sup>9</sup> The well-known *Kundaikan sō chōki* (君台觀左右帳記), edited by Noami (能阿弥 1397-1471) and Sōami (相阿弥, died 1525), catalogs the *karamono* collected by the ruling Ashikaga shoguns of the Muromachi period.<sup>10</sup> Sengoku daimyōs and local lords of the Chūgoku region (western Honshū), in particular those of the Ōuchi domain, also had access to such foreign luxury items by virtue of their frequent trade with China and Korea during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

*Karamono* from China, Korea and the Ryūkyū Islands in the collection of the Mōri Museum are representative of the *karamono* imported by local daimyō. Korean

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費 [Distribution and Consumption of *Karamono*], *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japan History* 92 (2002): 87-111; Yonezawa Yoshiho 米沢嘉圃 and Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎, ed. *Shōrai bijutsu: kaiga, sho* 請来美術: 絵画, 書 [Imported Arts: Paintings and Calligraphies]. Vol 29 of *Genshoku nihon no bijutsu* 原色日本の美術 [Arts of Japan in Color Plates]. Tokyo: Shōgakkan Press, 1971; Hasebe Gakuji 長谷部楽爾, ed. *Shōrai bijutsu: tōgei* 請来美術: 陶芸 [Imported Arts: Crafts]. Vol 30 of *Genshoku nihon no bijutsu* 原色日本の美術 [Arts of Japan in Color]. Tokyo: Shōgakkan press, 1972.

<sup>9</sup> Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, “Ōuchi shi karamono kizō kenminsen 大内氏唐物贈写遣明船,” 127; Tokugawa bijutsukan, *Karamono shikki: chūooku, chōsen, ryūkyū* 唐物漆器: 中国・朝鮮・琉球 [*Karamono* Lacquerware: China, Korea and Ryūkyūs]. Vol 2 of *Tokugawa bijutsukan meihinshū* 徳川美術館名品集 (Nagoya: Tokugawa bijutsukan press, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> For more details, see Matsushima Shūe 松島宗衛, *Kundaikan sō chōki kenkyū: higashiyama yoshimasa jutsu, sōami hitsuroku* 君台觀左右帳記研究: 東山 義政述, 相阿彌筆錄 [*Research on Kundaikan sō chōki: Higashiyama Yoshimasa related, Soami recorded*] (Tokyo: Chūō bijutsusha press, 1931)

examples are lacquerware, ceramics, metalwork, tea bowls, and paintings, including the three landscape panels that comprise the focus of this dissertation—the Mōri scrolls.<sup>11</sup>

### V. 1-3. Korean Objects in the Mōri Museum of Art Collection

<b>Table 4 Objects and Records from Korea in or from the Mōri Collection</b>				
NAME		DYNASTY (DATE)	CURRENT COLLECTION	FIG #
<i>Sutra Box with Chrysanthemum Design in Mother-of-Pearl Inlay</i> 菊花文 螺鈿經箱	Lacquer Ware	Goryeo	Tokyo National Museum *	Fig. V-1
<i>Lacquered Case with Peony Scrolls Design in Mother-of-Pearl Inlay</i> 牡丹唐草 螺鈿箱	Lacquer Ware	Joseon	Tokyo National Museum*	Fig. V-2
<i>Buncheon Dish</i> inscription of “Yebin 礼賓”	Creamic Ware	Joseon	Mōri Museum Of Art	Fig. V-3
<i>Buncheon Dish</i>	Ceramic	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-4
<i>Tea Bowl in Ido style</i> named “Tokiwa 常磐”	Ceramic	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-5
<i>Goryeo Tea Bowl</i>	Ceramic	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-6
<i>Totoya Tea Bowl</i>	Ceramic	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	
<i>Seal for Korean Trade</i>	Metal work	Joseon (1453)	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-7
Seal <i>Dazai daini</i> “大宰大貳”	Metal work	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-9
Seal <i>Tatara Ason</i> “多々郎朝臣”	Metal work	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-10
<i>Seal Box with Floral Design</i> 黃銅六花文印箱	Metal Work	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-7
<i>Message from the King of Joseon Dynasty</i>	Docu ment	Joseon (1541)	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-11
Old attribution to Mi Youren, Set of Three <i>Landscapes</i>	Painting	Now attributed to Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. IV-1~3
Anonymous, <i>Birds and Flower Painting</i>	Painting	Joseon	Mōri Museum of Art	Fig. V-12

<sup>11</sup> Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai 毛利元就展企画委員会 et al., *Mōri motonari ten* 毛利元就展: 173-88. Figs. 234~261. See note 9 and 12.



Anonymous, <i>Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers</i> . Poems by Kim Hyeonseong	Painting	Joseon (before 1594)	Kyūshū National Museum *	Fig. V-26
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\*Previous Mōri family collection

Table 4 lists Korean objects handed down in the Mōri collection.<sup>12</sup> Two of these objects are inlaid lacquerware.<sup>13</sup> The *Sutra Box with Chrysanthemum Design in Mother-of-Pearl Inlay* (Fig. V-1) displays a style of decoration inlaid with mother-of-pearl typical of lacquerware of the Goryeo dynasty (932-1392).<sup>14</sup> The *Lacquered Case with Peony Scrolls Design in Mother-of-Pearl Inlay* (Fig. V-2), now registered as an Imported

<sup>12</sup> Reference books on Korean objects in the Mōri Museum of Art include: Yamaguchi-ken kyōiku iinkai bunkaka bunkazai hogo gakari hen 山口県教育委員会文化課文化財保護係編, ed. *Mōrike lekisi shiryō meroku – bijutsu-kōgeihin hen* 毛利家歴史資料目録-美術・工芸品編 [Catalogue of the Historical Materials from the Mōri Family: Arts and Crafts]. Vol 2 of *Rekishī shiryō chōsa hōkoku-sho* 山口県歴史資料調査報告書 (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi-ken kyōiku iinkai press, 1983); Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展 [Treasures from the Ōuchi Culture within the Muromachi Culture] (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan press, 1989); Mōri hakubutskan, *Mōrike denrai no shōraiin: Min-shin-rishi chōsen-tō no bijutsu* 毛利家傳來の将来品: 明・清・李氏朝鮮等の美術 [Imported Objects from the Mōri Clan: Arts from the Ming, Qing and Joseon Dynasties] (Hōfu: Mōri hakubutskan press, 1990); Mōri motonari ten kikaku iinkai 毛利元就展企画委員会 et al., *Mōri motonari ten: sono jidai to shihō* 毛利元就展: その時代と至宝 [Mōri Motonari: His Period and his Treasures] (Tokyo: NHK Puromōshon, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> Fig. V-1 and Fig. V-2 were first housed in the Mōri family, then reverted to the National Treasury after World War II. See, Mōri motonari ten kikaku iinkai et al., *Mōri motonari ten* 毛利元就展, 218.

<sup>14</sup> Inlaid in mother-of-pearl on the obverse of the lid are the words “Flower Adornment Sutra” (*Buddhavatamsaka-mahavaipulya Sutra*, 大方廣佛華嚴經), indicating that a copy of that sutra was originally stored in the box. Presumably this is one of the cases that housed the eighty-volume set of the Flower Garland Sutra (Sansk. *Avatamsaka*, Kor. *Hwaomgyeong*, 華嚴經 八十卷) that had been printed from woodblocks made in Goryeo times. Use of relatively thick slices of nacre and the unique chrysanthemum pattern are typical characteristics of Goryeo inlaid lacquer. The quality of the mother-of-pearl used and the workmanship of the inlays are outstanding. Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai et al., *Mōri motonari ten* 毛利元就展, 218.

Cultural Property of Japan (日本重要文化財), is an exemplary mother-of-pearl inlay work of early Joseon date.<sup>15</sup>

Two of the five ceramic pieces are Buncheong ware, a type stoneware popular in the early Joseon period. The bottom of the interior of the *Buncheong dish* (Fig. V-3) is inscribed with two characters reading “Yebin” (禮賓), referring to the Yebin(si), a government bureau in charge of preparing banquets for foreign envoys and honored guests. Most Buncheong ware incised with the “Yebin” mark date from late-fifteenth to early-sixteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup> The *Yebin* mark on this Buncheong dish indicates that it would have been produced and supplied to the office of the Yebinsi for use in functions hosted by the Joseon court.<sup>17</sup> Another *Buncheong dish* (fig.V-4) is decorated with a band of stamped chrysanthemum florets in white slip in the interior rim (口緣部). Below that is an incised design of radiating lines, also in white slip. Compared to Buncheong dishes of the best quality, the stamped design here is more loosely executed. Where stamped decoration might have filled out the entire interior in the best quality pieces, the less laborious technique of radiating incised lines has also been employed here. The other three ceramic pieces are tea bowls. *Tea Bowl in Ido style* named ‘*Tokiwa*’ (大井戸茶碗

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<sup>15</sup> The magnificent peony-arabesque pattern (牡丹唐草紋) of the inlay work in this piece shows the unique decoration and high technical standards achieved by early Joseon lacquer craftsme. Hoam misulgwan 호암미술관, *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon: widaehan munhwa yusan eul chajaseo* (2) 朝鮮前期國寶展; 위대한 문화 유산을 찾아서 (2) [Treasures of the Early Joseon Dyansty: Finding Great Treasures] (Seoul: Hoam misulgwan press, 1996), 325.

<sup>16</sup> Gang Gyeongsuok 강경숙, *Hangul dojasa* 韓國陶瓷史 [The History of Korean Porcelain] (Seoul: Iljisa press, 1989), 290.

<sup>17</sup> Guklip jungang bakmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, *Kyeryongsan buncheongsagi* 계룡산 분청사기 [Buncheong Ware from Mt. Gyeryong Kilns] (Seoul: Yeolin bakmulgwan, 2007), 55-6.

銘常磐) (fig.V-5) is an early Joseon work. Ido style tea bowls were originally produced in local kilns in the southern coastal areas of Korea. They have a coarse and plain surface, reflecting a simple rustic taste. This kind of local product was not considered quality Buncheong, and was not treasured by Koreans of the time. However, such rustic wares were treasured by the Japanese as being the best quality money could buy.<sup>18</sup> The *Tea Bowl* (Fig. V-6), with its orange-brownish color and deep bowl resting on a low foot, was also cherished by Japanese connoisseurs of the time.<sup>19</sup>

Of special relevance to the history of trade between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi daimyō are three seals. One is a bronze half seal, or tally, presented to the Ōuchi by the Joseon government in 1453 to formalize legal trade between them (Fig. V-7).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> O-ido style tea bowls were originally produced in local kilns in the southern coastal areas of Korea. They have a coarse and plain surface, reflecting a simple rustic taste. This kind of local product was not considered quality Buncheong, and not treasured by Koreans of the time. Kim Jaeyeol 김재열, *Baekja, Buncheongsagi 백자분청사기* [White Porcelain, Buncheong wares] (Seoul: Yegyeong press, 2000), 54-5. However, Japanese connoisseurs treasured such rustic wares. The ware's simplicity and imperfections were highly prized by practitioners of *wabi* tea in Japan. The Sengoku bushō (戦国武将) or samurai of Japan's Sengoku *jidai* (Warring States period, 1467-1568) went out of their way to acquire this type of bowl, because of its rugged characteristics. It is said that a single Ido style bowl could be exchanged for 10,000 (一萬石) to 50,000 bags of rice (五萬石) during the Tenshō era (天正年間, 1573-1592). Certainly, the high price of the bowl shows the popularity of this provincial Joseon ware. Oda Eiichi 小田榮一, *Karamono chawan to Kōrai chawan 唐物茶碗と高麗茶碗* [Chinese Tea Bowl and Korean Tea Bowl] (Kyōto: Kawahara shoten press, 1993), 100.

<sup>19</sup> Similar example of the tea bowl is common in Japan. For example, Akanuma Taka 赤沼多佳, *Kōrai chawan 高麗茶碗* [Korean Tea bowl]. *Nihon no bijutsu 日本美術*, no. 425 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2001), 72-4, fig.75. Tea bowl (high 7.7 cm and diameter 12.7cm). This tea bowl is called *Gobon* tea bowl 御本茶碗. *Gobon tea bowl* was made at Busan in Korea by ordering in Japan 注文茶碗. When the Japanese ordered tea bowls, they gave drawing samples of the designs they wanted to Japanese potters; however, these tea bowls were made by Korean potters, using local soils in Busan Area. This kiln was in use from 1639 to 1718. Usually Joseon envoys brought it to Japan.

<sup>20</sup> The half seal (K. Joseonguk sa daenaeyeon tongshiubu 朝鮮國賜大内殿通信右符) reads “The Joseon kingdom gives to the Ōuchi clan the right side of the tally for trade.” Engraved on the upper right of the half seal is “Made on a day in the seventh month of the fourth year of the Jingtai period” (K. Gyeongtae sanyeon chilwoliljo, 景泰四年七月日造). This half seal is the only existing one from the tally trade

When Japanese trade ships arrived at one of the three designated city ports on the southeastern coast of Joseon, court officials matched the right and left sides of the seal impressions to ensure that the goods being unloaded from the Japanese ships belonged to the Ōuchi family. The other two seals are made of lead; one reads “Dazai Daini” (大宰大貳) (Fig. V-9) and the other “Courtier Tataru” (多々良朝臣) (Fig. V-10). The Dazai Daini, or Vice Minister (Jikan, 次官) of the Dazaifu (大宰府), the governmental headquarters of Kyūshū province, was the official responsible for hosting foreign embassies from China and Korea. “Tataru” (多々良) is an alternate family name for the Ōuchi clan and it appears more frequently than “Ōuchi” in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* (朝鮮王朝實錄, Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty).<sup>21</sup> Yamagata Junan (山県周南, 1687-1752), an Edo Confucian scholar and teacher of Mōri Yoshimoto (毛利吉元, 1677-1731), ascertained that the two seals were cast on the Korean peninsula and belonged to Ōuchi Norihiro (大内教弘, 1420-65).<sup>22</sup>

The message from Joseon King Jungjong (中宗, r.1506-44) to Ōuchi Yoshitaka (Fig. V-11) was written in 1541. According to the letter, Ōuchi Yoshitaka sent a monk to the Joseon court in 1540, requesting a copy of the Song dynasty Confucian text, *Five*

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between Korea and Japan from that time. The *Seal Box with Floral Design* (fig.V-8) is a fine metalwork container of the early Joseon that was used for storing the *Seal for Korean Trade* (fig.V-7).

<sup>21</sup> It is likely that the two were produced in the same foundry, because the iron content and the casting technique (鐵造技法) of both seals are the same. Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai et al., *Mōri motonari ten* 毛利元就展, 217.

<sup>22</sup> Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展, 162: Yamagata Junan (1687-1752) was born in Hōfu, Yamaguchi and became a teacher to Mōri Yoshimoto who was the daimyō of the Hagi area from 1707-31.

*Classics Annotated by Master Zhu* (朱子新註五經) a well as a rain gauge (刻漏製度量器).<sup>23</sup> This letter was King Jungjong’s response to Yoshitaka’s request. It praised the Ōuchi clan’s enthusiasm for studying Neo-Confucianism and encouraged them to keep it up with the gift of two of the five requested Chinese classical texts, the *Book of Odes* (詩經) and the *Book of History* (書經). The Ōuchi also received a set of rain gauges, along with bolts of ordinary white hemp, fine white hemp, and black hemp.

In the category of painting, the Mōri collection has a two-panel set of *Bird and Flower Paintings* (Fig. V-12) by an unknown Korean painter. It is an accomplished, if stylized, painting in the bird-and-flower manner of the early Ming “Zhe School.” The folding screen, *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (fig. V-26), now in the collection of the Kyūshū National Museum, can be traced back to the Mōri family.<sup>24</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three, this eight-panel screen, painted by an anonymous Korean artist, was mounted together with poems by Kim Hyeonseong (金玄成, 1542-1621). In all, we have three sets of paintings tied with varying degrees of certainty to Korea—the Kyūshū *Eight Views*, the *Bird and Flower* panels, and the three landscape scrolls under discussion—linked to the Mōri family.

Unlike most art museums, the objects in the Mōri collection were not obtained through purchase, but inherited as part of the cultural legacy of the Mōri clan, which

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<sup>23</sup> Same event is also recorded in *Joseon wangjo sillok: Jungjong sillok* 中宗實錄 [veritable records of King Jungjong], vol. 94, 35<sup>th</sup> year (1540). December 18, 2<sup>nd</sup> article, “上御勤政殿, 接見大内殿使送上官僧正倪首座等...”

<sup>24</sup> Toda Teisuke 戸田禎佑, “Shōshō hakkeizu byōbueochō” 瀟湘八景図押繪帖屏風 [Folding Screens of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers], *Kokka* 国華 1204 (1996): 22-3. More information on this painting, see page. 210.

survived into the pre-modern era. Thus, the provenance of the Museum's objects, particularly in the Korean section, is fairly certain, based more on circumstantial evidence from history than on documentation from ownership and connoisseurship records. I will explore some of these historical circumstances in the rest of this chapter.

#### **V. 1-4. Histories for Korean Objects in the Mōri Museum**

How did the Mōri Museum obtain the Korean objects that they passed down through the generations? How are the objects related to the long history of the Mōri daimyō since pre-Edo times? Who were the Mōri clansmen most responsible for acquiring the objects and by what means did they do this? To answer some of these questions, I looked at both Japanese and Korean source materials. The objects and archives in the Korean section of the Mōri collection were the main source for primary materials on the Japanese side. For the Korean side, I used the Korean court *Joseon wangjo sillok* as a primary source of information about the many political, commercial and cultural exchanges between the Joseon court and Japan during the early Joseon dynasty. Many of the entries in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* show frequent trade and cultural interactions with various daimyōs in western Japan. However, the first entry on the Mōri family does not appear in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* until 1592. As mentioned earlier, the Mōri clan was not a strong clan in the Chūgoku region of Japan until the time of Mōri Motonari (1497-1571), who became its head in 1511 and greatly expanded the family's domain through conquest.<sup>25</sup> In other

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<sup>25</sup> Omegasha オメガ社, *Chūgokuken: Tottoriken·Shimaneken·Okayamaken·Hiroshimaken·Yamaguchiken*. 中国編:鳥取県・島根県・岡山県・広島県・山口県 [Chūgoku area: Tottori Prefecture· Shimane Prefecture· Okayama Prefecture· Hiroshima Prefecture· Yamaguchi Prefecture]. Vol 9 of *Chihō betsu Nihon no meizoku* 地方別 日本の名族 [Famous Clans in Japan by Province] (Tokyo: Shin jinbutsu oraisha press, 1989), 162-64.

words, the Mōri clan was not influential in Japan before the sixteenth century. The Mōri also had no direct relations with other countries, including Joseon Korea, before this time. Otherwise their name would appear in the *Joseon wangjo sillok*, as the Joseon were meticulous in their recording of official court activities, particularly in the area of foreign affairs.

As recorded in the *Joseon Wangjo Sillok*, the Mōri name came to the Joseon court's attention a number of times between 1592 to 1604 in connection with the invasion of Korea (*Imjin waran*, 壬辰倭亂), which was ordered by the warlord and nominal ruler of Japan at the time, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉, 1537-98). The earliest *Joseon wangjo sillok* entry on “Mōri 毛利” appears in 1592, the first year of the invasion. As loyal retainers of Hideyoshi, the Mōri family enjoyed a close relationship with him and four Mōri warriors participated in his war on the Korean peninsula. Three of them were Supreme Commanders (Sōshireikan, 總司令官), who helped lead the seven-division-strong Japanese army into battle.<sup>26</sup> Mōri Yoshimasa (毛利吉成, d.1611) arrived with 2,000 troops and led the Fourth Division. Kobayakawa [aka Mōri] Takakage (小早川隆景, 1533-97), the third son of Motonari, came with 10,000 troops and led the Sixth Division. His younger brother Mōri [Kobayakawa] Hidekane (毛利(小早川)秀包, 1566-1601), the ninth son of Motonari, assisted him. Mōri Terumoto (毛利輝元, 1555-1625) arrived with 30,000 men and led the Seventh Division.

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<sup>26</sup> Sir George Bailey Sansom, *History of Japan*. vol.2 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961), 353.

Close analytical reading of of the earliest *Joseon wangjo sillok* record on the Mōri clan suggests that the Joseon court was aware of this powerful military clan prior to the invasions.<sup>27</sup> Another record mentions Mōri Terumoto by name and hints that the court had earlier been curious about him and had sent out agents to gather intelligence on him. An official of the Border Defense Command (Bibyeonsa, 備邊司) secured this intelligence from Japanese prisoners of war (其愁戒) who had surrendered to the Joseon. In this *Joseon wangjo sillok* entry of 1594, the scribe wrote:

Mōri Youmoto (毛利耀元) [sic] is about thirty-eight to thirty-nine years of age. He controls eleven provinces—Izumo 出雲, Iwaogu 巖具, Nagato 長門, Bingo 備後, Bichū 備中, Sanmi 參糜, Chikuzen 筑前, Suō 周防, Aki 安藝, Sinami 嗜波, and Biba 尾波. His family is very prosperous and his army is very strong. His power is strong enough to compete with the Kampaku (關白, chief advisor to the emperor).<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄 [veritable records of King Seonjo], vol. 32, 25<sup>th</sup> year (1592). November 11, 6<sup>th</sup> article.

<sup>28</sup> *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol.57, 27<sup>th</sup> year (1594) November 11, 5<sup>th</sup> article. In the *Joseon wangjo sillok* entries of 1592 and 1594, Mōri Terumoto's name (毛利輝元) is recorded as Mōri Youmoto (毛利耀元); the character *you* (耀) was mistakenly used instead of *teru* 輝. *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol. 32, 25<sup>th</sup> year (1592). November 11, 6<sup>th</sup> article; *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol. 57, 27<sup>th</sup> year (1594) November 11, 5<sup>th</sup> article. In later entries of the *Joseon wangjo sillok* from 1595 his name appears correctly as “Terumoto 輝元.” *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol. 64, 28<sup>th</sup> year (1595). June 8<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> article; *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄 vol.126 卷, 33<sup>th</sup> year (1600). June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> article; *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol. 34 (1601). April 25<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> article; *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol.136, 34<sup>th</sup> year (1601). April 26<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> article; *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol.140, 34<sup>th</sup> year (1601), August 17<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> article; *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol. 163, 36<sup>th</sup> year (1603), June 9<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> article; *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol. 171, 37<sup>th</sup> year (1604), February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> article.



It is well known that many Korean relics, such as bronze bells (梵鐘), pottery, books, and implements for printing, were taken to Japan after the invasions.<sup>29</sup> If any member of the Mōri family carried back Korean objects as war booty, it would have been Terumoto. A much later (1868) record that accompanies the two panels of *Bird and Flower Painting* (Fig. V-12) in the Mōri Museum notes that Terumoto brought this pair of paintings back to Japan on his withdrawal from Korea.<sup>30</sup> He was a close ally of Hideyoshi and led what was by far the largest invasion force to Korea among all the Mōri brothers. His power was such that he was mentioned several times by name in the *Joseon wangjo sillok*. When he was defeated by Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, the Mōri domain was reduced to the two provinces of Suō and Nagato (present-day Yamaguchi prefecture), but the family retained enough residual wealth to maintain their ancestral collections of art and other cultural artifacts.

The warrior-monk Ankokuji Ekei (安國寺 惠瓊, 1539?-1600), who prior to the invasion served the Mōri clan as a diplomat, was actively engaged in acquisition activities during the invasion.<sup>31</sup> It is said that the monk arrived on the Korean peninsula to fight alongside Mōri troops and returned home laden with Korean art objects. His patron,

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<sup>29</sup> Jo Junghwa 조중화, *Dasi sseuneun imjin waeransa* 다시쓰는 임진왜란사 [Rewriting the History of the Japanese Invasion] (Seoul: Hangminsa press, 1996), 340-54.

<sup>30</sup> A record of early October in the year 1868 that accompanies the panels. The Kanbun (Sino-Japanese) text reads: “此幅者輝元公朝鮮國ヨリ御歸朝ノ節, 御取歸ノ奇品, 明治四壬申歲十月撰.” Recite from *Mōri ke lekisi shiryō meroku – Bijutsu-kōgeihin hen* 毛利家歴史資料目録-美術・工藝品編,”18.

<sup>31</sup> Watanabe Daimon 渡邊大門, *Sengoku no kōshōnin: gaikōsō, ankokuji ekei no shirarezaru shōgai* 戦國の交渉人: 外交僧・安國寺惠瓊の知られざる生涯 [A Person of Cultural Exchange in the Senkoku Period: Unknown life of Monk-Envoy Ekei of Ankoku Temple] (Tokyo: Yōsensha, 2011), 210-11; Kawai Masaharu 河合正治, *Ankokuji ekei* 安國寺惠瓊 [Monk Ekei of Ankoku-ji temple] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan press, 1959), 152-53.

Mōri Terumoto, most likely facilitated the monk's search for Korean cultural relics.<sup>32</sup> Ekei brought home a Goryeo bronze bell (Fig. V-13) and a Joseon-period painting of the *Bodhisattva Cheonjang* (天藏菩薩圖) (Fig. V-14) for his namesake temple, the Ankokuji (安國寺), located in Aki, Kōchi Prefecture.<sup>33</sup> The inscription below the *Bodhisattva Cheonjang* painting reads: “Dedicated in the fifth month of the year 1583 to the Banyak-am [hermitage] on Mount Yonggwi, Damyang-fu [prefecture], Jeolla-do [province]” (一五八三年 五月全羅道 潭陽府 龍龜山 般若庵).<sup>34</sup> As mentioned earlier, the “*Ido*” style *Tea Bowl* (大井戸茶碗) (Fig. V-5) in the Mōri collection is a type of ware produced in local kilns throughout southeastern Korea. Since Ekei was with Mōri Terumoto's troops when they landed on Korea's shores on the southeast, this tea bowl likely came into the hands of the Mōri family the same way the *Bodhisattva Cheonjang* painting came into those of Ekei. It was acquired while Ekei was with Terumoto's troops as they killed and pillaged their way up (or retreated down) through that region of Korea. The

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<sup>32</sup> *Seongjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, vol. 126, 33<sup>rd</sup> year (1600), June 9, 2<sup>nd</sup> article reads, “輝元之謀主僧安國寺者...”.

<sup>33</sup> Jo Junghwa 조중화, *Dasi sseuneun imjin waeransa* 다시쓰는 임진왜란사, 225 and 345. Subsequently, the bell (Fig. V-13) was moved into the Hudo-in hall (不動院) in Hiroshima Prefecture. This bell is now identified as a Goryeo bell (高麗鐘) and designated a National Treasure of Japan. *Bodhisattva Cheonjang* (Fig. V-14) is now in the Suōkokufun-ji temple, Hōfu.

<sup>34</sup> Park Eungyeong 박은경, “Ilbon sojae joseon bulhwa yurye: Ankokuji jang cheonjangbosaldo” 日本所載朝鮮佛畫流例: 安國寺藏天藏菩薩圖 [Origin of a Joseon Buddhist Painting in a Japanese Collection: *Bodhisattva Cheonjang* in the Ankokuji Collection], *Dongadae bakmulguan gogohaksahakji* 東亞大博物館考古學史學志 16 (2000.3): 577-93; Park Eungyeong 박은경 and Jeong Eunwoo 정은우, *Seo iibon jiyek hangukeui bulsang gwa bulhwa* 西日本地域韓國의佛像과佛畫 [Korean Buddhist Sculptures and Paintings in Western Japan] (Busan: Minjok munhwa press, 2008), 256-59, pl.102.

chances are good that more items in the Korean section of the Mōri Museum entered the Mōri household in the same fashion—as plunder from the Hideyoshi invasions.

Another scenario for how the Mōri family acquisition of Korean objects involves the Ōuchi family's engagement in trade with Korea. As noted above, some of the Korean objects in the Mōri collection once belonged to the Ōuchi, a powerful daimyō family who controlled the western part of Chūgoku (present-day Yamaguchi) from the fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. The *Lacquered Case with Peony Scrolls Design in Mother-of-Pearl Inlay* (Fig. V-2), which is stylistically datable to the early Joseon period, was originally owned by the Ōuchi family. A hand-written note attached to the outer lacquer box of the lacquer case states that the Ōuchi family commissioned a craftsman in Joseon to make it along with a lacquer stand and a lacquer ink-stone container.<sup>35</sup> The elaborate decoration and high quality of this lacquer case point to production by a court artisan. From the same record, we learn that the case passed from the Ōuchi clan into the possession of Sue Harukata (陶晴賢 1521-55) before coming to the Mōri family where it remained. Harukata was originally a vassal of Ōuchi Yoshitaka (1507-51), but rebelled and caused his master to commit suicide in 1551.<sup>36</sup> In 1555, Harukata was defeated by Yoshitaka's ally, Mōri Motonari, in the Battle of Itsukushimna, and in turn forced to commit suicide as well.

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<sup>35</sup> Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai et al., *Mōri motonari ten* 毛利元就展, 218.

<sup>36</sup> Matsuoka Hisato 松岡久人, "Ōuchi shi 氏," as recorded in "Chūgokuhen: tottoriken·Shimaneken·Okayamaken·Hiroshimaken 中国編: 鳥取県・島根県・岡山県・広島県・山口県," in *Chihōbetsu nihon no meizoku* 地方別日本の名族, 216-18; Yamamoto Kazushige 山本一成, *Ōuchi bunka: Rekishi zuisō* 大内文化: 歴史随想 [Ōuchi Culture: History Essay] (Yamaguchi: Ōuchi bunka kenkyūkai press, 1996), 159-66.

The *Document from Yoshimi Masayori* (吉見正頼覚書) dated to the year 1557 (Fig. V-15) in the Mōri archives sheds light on how the Mōri acquired *karamono* that the Ōuchi had accumulated through their tally trade with China and Japan. Written for Masayori's master Mōri Motonari, this document provides vivid details of what happened after the death of Ōuchi Yoshitaka's successor, Yoshinaka (大内義長, 1532?-57), the last daimyō of the Ōuchi clan, when Ōuchi territories in Yamaguchi were taken over by the Mōri vassal Yoshimi Masayori (1513-88). Masayori also confiscated the Ōuchi clan's treasures. His document mentions "two seals," that are assumed to be among those listed in Table 4.<sup>37</sup>

As to the origins of other former Ōuchi treasures acquired by the Mōri clan, the rare *Seal for Korean Trade* (Fig. V-7) was granted by Joseon King Danjong (端宗, r.1452-55) to Ōuchi Norihiro (大内教弘, 1420-65) and testified to the Joseon court's granting the Ōuchi the privilege of being allowed to participate in the tally trade.<sup>38</sup> The

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<sup>37</sup> Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai et al., *Mōri Motonari ten* 毛利元就展, 217, fig.58. In the document, there is a record "niban ni 印判 二," which means "two seals."

<sup>38</sup> As to why a half-seal was needed and given to the Ōuchi for the conduct of trade, at that time, the Joseon court was besieged by many Japanese eager for trade and the acquisition of higher culture from the continent. Not only the Ashikaga shoguns, but also the heads of various territorial lords (daimyo) of the Muromachi period (1338-1573) came to the early Joseon court seeking trade: Ha Ubong 河宇鳳, "Joseon jeongi ui daeil gwangye" 朝鮮前期의 對日關係 [Relations between Korea and Japan during the Early Joseon dynasty] in *Gangjoa hanilguangyesa* 講座韓日關係史 [Relations between Korea and Japan], eds. Jo Hangrae, Ha Ubong and Son Seongtaek (Seoul: Hyeonamsa Press, 1994), 274-78. There were even "fake envoys" (僞使), impostures who arrived in the Joseon court pretending to be legitimate ambassadors of the Japanese emperor seeking trade with Korea: Hashimoto Yū, 橋本雄, *Chūsei nihon no kokusai kankei: Higashi ajia tsūkōken to gishi mondai* 中世日本の国際關係: 東アジア通交圏と僞使問題 [International Relationship of Japan in the Medieval period: East Asia Relationship and Fake Envoy Problem] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan press, 2005), 10-2. For the Joseon court, when Japanese embassies or trade delegations came to visit, it was a great burden, as the host country was obliged to assume all the travel and living expenses, as well as provide lavish parting gifts to its guests. At a practical level, the Joseon court could not deny their guests' official requests for trade. If the Joseon court did not submit to

*Message from the King of Joseon* (Fig. V-11) was the royal response to Ōuchi Yoshitaka's request for a copy of the *Five Classics* (五經) annotated by the Song Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi; by the time it was written in 1541, trade between the Joseon and the Ōuchi family was firmly established. The provenance of the *Sutra Box with Chrysanthemum Design in Mother-of-Pearl Inlay* (Fig. V-1) can be traced to the temple Taineiji, located in Nagato-no-kuni (長門国) in northern Yamaguchi Prefecture, which was founded in 1410 by an Ōuchi clan member.<sup>39</sup> Buddhist sutras from the Goryeo *Tripitaka* were the items most frequently requested of the Joseon court by Japanese daimyōs and shoguns of the time,<sup>40</sup> and the *Joseon wangjo sillok* contain many entries of requests for Buddhist sutras from Japanese envoys. Among the Japanese seeking to acquire Buddhist texts, the Ōuchi were the most successful in getting their requests granted by the Joseon court.<sup>41</sup> Therefore it is likely that this early Joseon *Sutra Box* came

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official trade, Japanese pirates (海賊) would move in to meet the demand for *karamono* objects, household goods, and staples unofficially, causing havoc and plunder along Korea's coastal communities. The Joseon court chose tally trade as a compromise, in order to avoid the harmful effects of Japanese pirates and fake envoys: Tanaka Takeo 田中健夫, *Wakō to kangō bōeki 倭寇と勘合貿易* [Japanese Pirates and the Tally Trade] (Tokyo: Shibundo, 1996), 67-88; Itō Kōji 伊藤辛司, "Ōuchishi kuni sai tenkai: 14 seiki han~16 seiki zenhan no yamaguchi chiiki to azuma ashia sekai" 大内氏国際展開: 14世紀半~16世紀前半の山口地域と東アジア世界 [Ōuchi clan's International Development: Yamaguchi Province and East Asia from the early 14<sup>th</sup> to mid-16<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Yamaguchi kenlip daigaku kokusai bunka gakubu kiyō* 山口県立大学国際文化学部紀要 11. (2005), 71-3; Jurgis Elisona, "Trade and Piracy," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol.4: *Early Modern Japan*, John Whitney Hall, Marius B. Jansen, Madoka Kanai, and Denis Twitchett eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 235-55.

<sup>39</sup> The temple was founded by Washizu Hirotsuda (驚頭弘忠, d.1448), and it was here that Ōuchi Yoshitaka committed suicide after his betrayal by Sue Harukata. <http://www.taineiji.jp/summary/founder.htm>

<sup>40</sup> Kenneth R. Robinson, "Treated as Treasures: the circulation of sutras in maritime northeast Asia from 1388 to the mid-sixteenth century." *East Asian History* 21 (2000): 35-40.

<sup>41</sup> Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, *Dongasia sokui jungse hanguk gwa ilbon* 동아시아 속의 중세 한국과 일본 [Korea and Japan in East Asia during the Medieval Period]. Vol 6 of *Gyeongin hanil guangye yeongu chongseo* 경인 한일 관계 연구 총서 [Research Series on Relations between Korea and Japan] (Seoul:

to Japan with a Buddhist sutra in fifteenth century when one of the Ōuchi's fifteen requests for sutras from the Korean court was granted. The *Buncheong ware* dish incised with the "Yebin" mark (Fig. V-3) was also likely an Ōuchi clan acquisition from early Joseon times. Such dishes were made for the Yebin(si), the government office in charge of entertaining Japanese envoys of the time, and apparently, some of them took dishes back to Japan as keepsakes. Perhaps one of the frequent Ōuchi embassys to the Joseon court acquired the Mōri dish this way.<sup>42</sup>

While the first mention of the Mōri in the *Seonjo sillok* dates to 1592, *Mōri Takamoto's Autograph Letter* (毛利隆元自筆覚書) (Fig. V-16) of 1562 shows that the Mōri had attempted to contact the Joseon court some three decades earlier, almost immediately after they took ownership of the Ōuchi domain and treasures. In an effort to enter profitable tally trade with Joseon, Mōri Takamoto (1523-63) authenticated his letter with a seal formerly belonging to Ōuchi Yoshitaka, who had committed suicide after

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Gyeongin munhwasa press, 2008), 160-61. After 1461, the Ōuchi family obtained Goryeo Buddhist sutras from the Joseon court in August 1473, April 1479, August 1485, June 1487, and September 1490. See Murai Shōsuke, *Dongasia sokui jungse hanguk gwa ilbon*, 315. They also obtained Chinese versions of Buddhist sutras through the Joseon court in 1407 and 1432. As documented in the *Joseon wangjo sillok*, the Ōuchi family members requested Buddhist sutras nine times in the reign of Taejong (r.1400-18), six times in the reign of Sejong (r.1418-1450), one time in the reign of Sejo (r.1455-1568), and fifteen times in the reign of Seongjong (r.1469-94). In most cases, the Ōuchi were successful in obtaining the requested sutras.

<sup>42</sup> Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, Ebine Toshihirō 海老根聡郎, and Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志, eds. *Chōsen ōchō* 朝鮮王朝 [Joseon Dynasty] in *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū. tōyō* 世界美術大全集. 東洋編 第11卷 [World Art Series: Asia Section, vol. 11] (Tokyo: Shōgakukan press, 1999): 247-48.

being betrayed by his vassal.<sup>43</sup> This ploy to take over the Ōuchi trading rights failed, probably because the Joseon court already knew about the Yoshitaka's death.

In sum, the Korean objects in the collection of the Mōri Museum were obtained by the Mōri family in two ways: as the “spoils of unification wars” when they inherited the Ōuchi estate in 1555, and as plunder from the Hideyoshi invasion of Korea in 1592-97. Although both scenarios are valid, the evidence for the former is much stronger.

In the following sections, I will explore in greater detail the history of the Ōuchi clan and the special relationship that it enjoyed with the early Joseon court. I will end with the possibility that the Mōri scrolls entered Japan from Korea as a result of that special relationship.

## **V. 2. Relationship between the Ōuchi Clan and the Joseon Court**

### **V. 2-1. The Ōuchi Clan's Rise to Power**

According to the Ōuchi family tree, Ōuchi Tatarashi fuchō (大内多々良氏譜牒), the progenitor of the clan was a Prince Imseong (Jap. Linsei, 琳聖太子? - ?), third son of King Seongmyeong (聖明王, r. 523-54) of the Baekje dynasty (百濟, 18 BCE-660 CE) during the Three Kingdoms period of Korea. The Korean prince landed on the shores of Japan in 611 CE.<sup>44</sup> It was said that Prince Shōtoku Taishi (聖德太子, 574-622), regent

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<sup>43</sup> The Kanbun or Sino-Japanese text reads: “二此内第四之印割符, 義隆在判形之, 象牙, 右爲高麗江之儀, 正壽院坊主に 渡候也 永祿午年七月廿七日 花押(毛利隆元) 於石州都賀陣所二.” See “Mōri motonari ten kikaku inkai et al., in *Mōri motonari ten* 毛利元就展, 219.

<sup>44</sup> Matsuoka Hisato 松岡久人, “Ōuchi shi 氏,” in *Chūgokuhen: tottoriken-shimaneken-okayamaken-hiroshimaken* 中国編: 鳥取県・島根県・岡山県・広島県・山口県, 191-92.

for Empress Suiko, gave Imseong the name Tatara (多々良) and designated him ruler of Ōuchi Agata (大内縣) in the fiefdom of Suokuni (周防国).<sup>45</sup> During the Heian (794-1185) and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods, the Ōuchi family gained power as a warrior clan and grew in influence until their decline in 1555 during the Muromachi period. Their ascent started with Ōuchi Hiroyo (大内弘世, 1325-80), who entered the service of the ruling Ashikaga family and built his base (本處) in Yamaguchi in imitation of Kyoto, residence of the Ashikaga shogun. For a time, the Yamaguchi area was known as Sei no Kyō (西の京): “Kyōto in the West.” The Ōuchi gained great wealth through trade with Ming China, Joseon Korea, and the Ryūkyū Islands, as well as with Western countries at trading ports in Japan. Scholars identify “Yamaguchi” as the place called “Amanguco” on the European *Map of Tartaria* (タルタリア図) (Fig. V-17) published around 1570 and preserved in the Nagoya Prefectural Museum of Art.<sup>46</sup>

As the clan prospered, it amassed a stunning collection of old and contemporary objects from abroad, which in turn inspired artists and craftsmen in their own domain. Members of the Ōuchi clan also strongly supported the arts and literature.<sup>47</sup> The epithet

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<sup>45</sup> Suda Makiko 須田牧子, “Ōuchishi no taichō kankei no tenkai to linsei taishi densetsu” 大内氏の対朝関係の展開と琳聖太子伝説 [Development of the Ōuchi clan’s Relationship with the Joseon Dynasty and the Legend of Prince Linsei] in *Chūsei no taigai kōryū: ba, hito, gijutsu* 中世の対外交流: 場・ひと・技術 [Foreign Exchange in the Medieval Period: Place, Person and Technique], eds. Ono Masatoshi Ono 小野正敏, Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, and Hagihara Mitsuo 萩原三雄 (Tokyo: Koshi shoin press, 2006), 163-64.

<sup>46</sup> Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展, 146.

<sup>47</sup> Yonehara Masayoshi 米原正義, “Ōuchi Bunka 大内文化” [Ōuchi Culture], in *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展, 114-17.



“Ōuchi culture” (*Ōuchi bunka*, 大内文化) has been used to describe their high standards and taste.<sup>48</sup> The great Muromachi ink master Sesshū Tōyō relocated from Kyoto to Yamaguchi and stayed as a sort of “painter-in-residence” at the temple Unkoku (雲谷庵) by invitation of Ōuchi Masahiro (大内政弘, 1446-95). In 1468, with Masahiros support, Sesshū joined the Ōuchi family’s trading trip to China, where he met the Chinese painting master Li Zai and became familiar with Ming painting styles of the time.<sup>49</sup> It is assumed that Sesshū’s famous *Four Seasons* in the Mōri Museum was painted while he was under the patronage of the Ōuchi family.

The period of Ōuchi Yoshitaka (1507-51) was the clan’s heyday. Yoshitaka expanded and defended the clan’s domain and built Yamaguchi into a commercial and cultural center. However, as mentioned above, the Ōuchi clan suddenly and tragically collapsed at the height of its prosperity in 1551 when Yoshitaka was forced to commit suicide by his own vassal, Sue Harukata. Harukata then installed his master’s son, Ōuchi

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<sup>48</sup> For more on “Ōuchi culture 大内文化,” see Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan 山口県立美術館, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展 [Treasures from the Ōuchi within Muromachi Culture] (Yamaguchi city: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, 1989); Yamamoto Kazushige 山本一成, *Me de miru Ōuchi bunka* 目で見る大内文化 [Seeing Ōuchi Culture] (Yamaguchi: Ōuchi bunka kenkyūkai press, 1995); Yamamoto Kazushige 山本一成, *Ōuchi bunka: rekishi zuisō* 大内文化: 歴史随想 [Ōuchi Culture: History Essay] (Yamaguchi: Ōuchi bunka kenkyūkai press, 1996).

<sup>49</sup> Shimaō Arata 島尾新, “Sesshū to Yamaguchi” 雪舟と山口 [Sesshū and Yamaguchi]. Vol. 5 of *Tenkaitoga* 天開圖畫 (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan 山口県立美術館, 2004), 25; Kanazawa Hiroshi 金澤弘, “Hōfu to Sesshū” 周防と雪舟 [Hōfu city and Sesshū], in *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展, 118-20; Miyajima Shin’ichi 宮島新一, “Sesshū no fukken” 雪舟の復権 [Rehabilitation of Sesshu], in *Sesshū: botsugo 500-nen tokubetsuten* 雪舟: 没後 500 年特別展 [Sesshu, Master of Ink and Brush: 500th Anniversary Exhibition], eds. Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan and Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun Press, 2002), 9-10.

Yoshinaga (大内義長, 1532?-57) as a figure head while he retained control over the Ōuchi domain. In 1555, Harukata, died at the hands of the avenging Mōri Motonari.<sup>50</sup> When Yoshinaga died in 1557, the Ōuchi line was permanently extinguished and their lands and assets were absorbed by the Mōri.

## V. 2-2. The Ōuchi Clan's Special Relationship with the Joseon Court

The Ōuchi family enjoyed a close relationship with the Joseon court from the fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. More than 250 entries in The *Joseon wangjo sillok* concern Ōuchi commercial interests and cultural exchanges with the Korean court. All of these records date from 1392 to 1553, except one record in 1603.<sup>51</sup> The *Joseon wangjo sillok* entries suggest that the early Joseon court favored the Ōuchi over other clans, and the Ōuchi repaid this benevolence by conducting business and serving the early Joseon court with generosity and humility.<sup>52</sup> The Ōuchi family, for instance, actively helped protect Korea from Japanese pirates and faithfully served the Joseon court.

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<sup>50</sup> Omega sha, *Chūgokuken: Tottoriken-Shimaneken-Okayamaken-Hiroshimaken-Yamaguchiken*. 中国編: 鳥取県・島根県・岡山県・広島県・山口県, 164-70.

<sup>51</sup> In the *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>), the Ōuchi family is referred to by name as “Deanaessi 大内氏,” “Daenaajeon 大内殿,” and ‘Dadayang 多多良.’ For a recent text about the relationship between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi family, see: Suda Makiko 須田牧子, *Chūsei nitchō kankei to ōuchi shi* 中世日朝關係と大内氏 [Japan-Joseon Relations in the Medieval Period and the Ōuchi Clan ] (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai press, 2011)

<sup>52</sup> For instance, the Joseon scholar-official Yi Ye 李藝 (1371-1445) sent a report to the court explaining how an Ōuchi clansman (likely Ōuchi Norihiro) came to his group when they fell victim to Japanese pirates (Kor.wagu, Jap.wakō, 倭寇) in the year 1439. At that time, Yi was an envoy to Japan as an official of the Central Council (Cheomji Jungchuwon-sa, 僉知中樞院事) and was on his way back to Joseon from Japan. *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄 [Veritable Records of King Sejong], vol 84, 21<sup>st</sup> year (1439). March 23. 2<sup>nd</sup> article reads: “僉知中樞院事李藝啓: “臣於癸丑年奉使日本, 及其還也遇海賊, 進上方物書契以至軍人衣服, 皆被掠奪, 艱苦到大内殿, 大内殿給酒食, 又推索所奪之物以給, 自其祖父一心効誠, 請遣使通信.” Yi further elaborated that “the Ōuchi clan had faithfully served the Joseon court from his grandfather’s time,

The major reason that the Ōuchi clan enjoyed Joseon favor was its descent from a Korean progenitor. Shin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417-75)'s *Chronicle of the Countries of East Asia* (*Haedong jegukgi*, 海東諸國記) reports:

... the Japanese say that it has been almost 800 years since a descendent of the Baekje Kingdom [of Korea] arrived at 'Tatara' in Japan and adopted it as a clan name. Because the Tatara [Ōuchi] family came from the kingdom of Baekje, it is the friendliest of all [Japanese] clans to us...<sup>53</sup>

In other words, the Joseon and the Ōuchi clan had bonds of kinship based on blood. The official Yi Seongso (李承召, 1422-84) submitted the following entry the *Joseon wangjo sillok*: "It has been written that the genealogy (世系) of the Ōuchi family originates in our country; that is why the Ōuchi clansmen serve our court more sincerely than other envoys (*geochusa*, 巨酋使) sent by the territorial lords of western Japan."<sup>54</sup> Yi Seongso also noted that "the ancestor of the Ōuchi clan was a royal relative (公族) of the Baekje Kingdom. The Baekje prince's ship countered with a violent storm, so it anchored at the

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there should be no doubt about the clan's loyalty to the Joseon." This evaluation of the Ōuchi by Yi Ye is credible because he travelled to Japan more than forty times, as an envoy in charge of foreign relations between the two countries: *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄 vol.48, 12<sup>th</sup> year (1430), May 19. 3<sup>rd</sup> article "然大內殿自其祖考, 待我國至誠, 固無所疑..."

<sup>53</sup> Sin Sukju 申叔舟, *Haedong Jegukki* 海東諸國記 [Chronicle of the Countries of the East Asia], translated by Sin Yongho 신용호 (Gyeonggido: Beomusa, 2004), 101-02: "Jubangju Daenaejeon 周防州大內殿: 日本人稱, 百濟溫祚之後人日本, 初泊周防州之多多良浦... 以係出百濟最親我國..." *Hedong jegukgi* is a history book which has information about Japan and the Ryūkyūs. It was published at the request of King Seongjong 成宗 (r.1457-94) in 1471. Sin Sukju had visited Japan as a Document Officer (Seojanggwan, 書狀官) for the embassy of 1443.

<sup>54</sup> *Seongjong illos* 成宗實錄 [veritable records of King Seongjong], vol. 103, 10<sup>th</sup> year (1479). April 17, 2<sup>nd</sup> article "... 況大內, 本以系出我國, 凡所以事我國, 視諸酋尤厚..."

port of Tataru [in Japan]. The prince then settled down and lived there. Because the prince arrived at the port of Tataru, he was addressed as “Master Tararu” (多多良公). For this reason, the Ōuchi has shown more respect towards the Joseon court than other clans.”<sup>55</sup> The same story about the Korean origins of the Ōuchi appears also in Japanese sources.<sup>56</sup> For example, in 1551 it was written in *Records on Ōuchi Yoshitaka* (Ōuchi Yoshitakaki, 大内義隆記) that: “Prince Imseong (Imseong Taeja 琳聖太子, 577-657) of Baekje came to Japan and established himself at Tataru (多々良浜) in the Suōkuni kingdom (周防国).”<sup>57</sup> Prince Imseong was the third son of the King Wideok (威徳, r. 554-598), who sent books, scholars, Buddhist monks, carpenters, and monk-painters to Japan in order to establish Buddhist temples there.

In the *Joseon wangjo sillok*, the story of the Ōuchi clan’s legendary Baekje ancestry starts off rather vaguely, but over the course of the Joseon dynasty gained traction and acceptance as reality.<sup>58</sup> This process was helped along by successive lords of

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<sup>55</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 58, 6<sup>th</sup> year (1475). August 14, 3<sup>rd</sup> article “... 承召啓曰: “大内殿之先, 本百濟公族也. 有一王子乘船被風, 泊多多良浦, 遂居焉. 因地爲氏, 稱多多良公, 以此大内待我國尤敬...”

<sup>56</sup> Suda Makiko 須田牧子, “Ōuchishi no taichō kankei no tenkai to linsei taishi densetsu 大内氏の対朝関係の展開と琳聖太子伝説,” 164-66; Mori Shigeaki 森茂暁, “Hōfu ōuchishi no torai densho ni tsuite” 周防大内氏の渡来伝承について [Regarding the Legendary Arrival of the Ōuchi in Hōfu], *Seiji keizai shigaku* 政治経済史学 363 (1996): 27-38.

<sup>57</sup> Suda Makiko 須田牧子, “Ōuchishi no taichō kankei no tenkai to linsei taishi densetsu 大内氏の対朝関係の展開と琳聖太子伝説,” 164.

<sup>58</sup> Suda Makiko 須田牧子, “Muromachichi inokeru ōuchishi no taichō kankei to senzokan no keisei” 實町期における大内氏の対朝関係と先祖観の形成 [Ōuchi Clan’s Relations with the Joseon Dynasty and Formation of Views on Ancestry during the Muromachi Period], *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 歴史学研究 761 (2002.4): 1-18.

the Ōuchi clan who sent envoys to the Joseon court to inquire about their family tree, request their ancestral records, and ask for ancestral lands on the Korean peninsula. These requests started at the beginning of the Joseon dynasty, when despite the absence of records to prove Ōuchi claims, the second king, Jeongjong (定宗, r.1398-1400) granted Ōuchi Yoshihiro (大内義弘, 1356-1400) permission to claim descent from King Onjo (溫祚, r.18 BCE-28 CE), the progenitor of the Go family (高氏) and the founder of the Baekje, and awarded the Ōuchi land in Wansan (完山) that was once part of Baekje territory.<sup>59</sup> In 1453, Ōuchi Masahiro (大内政弘 1446-95) sent an envoy to inquire about records about the Baekje Prince Imseong's entry into Japan, and records of a descendent of King Onjo sailing to and settling in Japan were found.<sup>60</sup> In 1485, Masahiro again sent a

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<sup>59</sup> In 1399, Ōuchi Yoshihiro (大内義弘, 1356-1400) sent an envoy to the second Joseon king, Jeongjong (定宗, r.1398-1400), saying that although the Ōuchi originally descended from the Baekje of Korea; they did not know their Korean family tree (世系) and surname (姓氏). They hope that the Joseon court would bestow both items on them as well as the field lands (土田) they had owned in ancient Baekje times. Jeongjong ordered the Privy Council (Dopyeonguisasa, 都評議使司) to locate the Ōuchi clan's family records in Korea, but this proved impossible as too many generations had passed: *Jeongjong sillok* 定宗實錄 [veritable records of King Jeongjong], vol. 2, 1<sup>st</sup> year (1399). July 10<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> article reads: "... 義弘請云: "我是百濟之後也. 日本國人不知吾之世系與吾姓氏, 請具書賜之. 又請百濟土田. 下都評議使司考其家世, 世遠無徵. 假以百濟始祖溫祚高氏之後, 議給土田三百結." However, some officials opposed Jeongjong's decision to grant the lands, so no fields in Wansan were awarded to the Ōuchi clan.

<sup>60</sup> This request was sent to the Compilation Office (Chunchugwan, 春秋館) and the Hall of Worthies (Jiphyeinjeon, 集賢殿) and scholars in these office searched old books and found these records. *Danjong sillok* 端宗實錄 [veritable records of King Jeongjong], vol.6, 1<sup>st</sup> year (1453) June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> article reads: "... 日本國大内殿使者有榮呈書于禮曹曰: "多多良氏入日本國, 其故則日本曾大連等起兵, 欲滅佛法, 我國王子聖德太子崇敬佛法, 故交戰. 此時百濟國王勅太子琳聖討大連等, 琳聖則大内公也. 以故聖德太子賞其功而賜州郡, 爾來稱都居之地, 號大内公朝鮮. 今有大内裔種否定, 有耆老博洽君子, 詳其譜系也. 大連等起兵時, 日本國鏡當四年也, 當隋開皇元年也. 自鏡當四年至景泰四年, 凡八百七十三年, 貴國必有琳聖太子入日本之記也. 大内公食邑之地, 世因兵火而失本記矣. 今所記, 則我邦之遺老口述相傳而已." 即命春秋館, 集賢殿, 考古籍, 書與之. 其書曰: 古書有云: "日本六州牧左京大夫, 百濟溫祚王高氏之後. 其先避亂, 仕於日本, 世世相承, 至于六州牧, 尤為貴顯." 比年以來, 對馬等三島嘯聚兇徒,

letter to the Joseon court respectfully requesting a copy of all of the names and pen names of the Baekje royal family members from Korea's National History (國史), and was rewarded by King Seongjong with a brief history listing the kings in the royal Baekje lineage.<sup>61</sup>

These perpetual genealogical overtures proved fruitful for the Ōuchi. In 1453, about one month after Ōuchi Norihiro requested for a written account of Prince Imseong's entry to Japan, the Joseon court issued a "seal for trade" to the Ōuchi granting them permission to conduct official trade with Korea. This seal was totally different in appearance from seals issued to other Japanese trading clans, indicating that the Ōuchi family enjoyed a privileged position in the Joseon court.<sup>62</sup> At this time, the Ōuchi were in

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侵擾我疆,虜掠人民,以阻隣好.頃者,大相國以義發兵,六州牧身自督戰,殄殲其衆.由是邊境寧靖,生民安業,而兩國修好.”

<sup>61</sup> Masahiro further elaborated that although their ancestor came from Korea to Japan and their lineage is more than 900 years old; they had little information about this ancestor. As a Baekje descendant who now lived in Japan, he wished to obtain a list of the royal lineage (契繼圖) of the Baekje kingdom. The *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 184, 16<sup>th</sup> year (1485) October, 7, 4<sup>th</sup> article reads: 禮曹正郎鄭光世將大內殿使僧元肅書簡數幅來啓,其一曰:(溫祖)〔溫祚百濟國王餘璋第三子,日本國來朝,隋大業七年辛未歲也.自來九百餘年矣,于今綿綿不絕焉.琳聖父曰餘璋,璋父曰餘瑁,瑁父曰餘慶,自此以上王代名號不記知.以其身在日本國,而契繼圖於百濟國之昔年之故,不可不知其溫祖之事業.殿下定可有國史,餘慶以上王代之名號,命寫賜之.僧元肅謹言……傳曰:“百濟溫祚之後世系,令弘文館略書賜之,……” A clue to the identification of the national history can be found in the contents of the “Family Lineage of the Ōuchi Clan” Ōuchishi kafusha, 大内氏家譜写 recorded on October 27<sup>th</sup> of the 18<sup>th</sup> year of the Bunmei (文明) era: Kiyoshi Kondō 近藤清石 and Keiji Misaka 三坂圭治, *Ōuchishi jitsuroku dodai* 大内氏實錄 [Veritable Records of the Ōuchi Clan] (Tokuyama: Matsuno shoten, 1974). The 18<sup>th</sup> year of Bunmei was 1486, which was one year after the Ōuchi received from the Joseon the written record of the royal Baekje lineage from the court's so-called “Book of History.” The royal Baekje lineage given in the Ōuchishi kafusha is very similar to that found in *History of the Three Kingdoms* (Samguksagi, 三國史記). The Special Counselor had composed a Baekje family tree for Masahiro straight out of the Samguksagi, a history of the Three Kingdoms period (57 CE-668 CE) compiled in 1145 by the Goryeo court. Suda Makiko 須田牧子, “Muromachichi inokeru Ōuchishi no taichō kankei to senzokan no keisei 實町期における大内氏の対朝関係と先祖観の形成,” 8-10.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 8.

competition with the Hoshogawa (細川氏), a daimyō family that ruled Shikoku and central Honshū, over foreign trade with the Joseon. Finally, Ōuchi Norihiro was able to prevail over the rival Hoshogawas for the lucrative tally trade with Korea. By promoting the clan's Korean origins, the Ōuchi not only received special treatment from the Joseon court, but also were looked upon favorably by the Ashikaga shogun for helping to facilitate diplomacy between the Joseon and Muromachi courts.<sup>63</sup>

### V. 2-3. Material Culture Exchanges between the Ōuchi Clan and the Joseon Court

The almost familial relationship between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi clan was reflected in frequent exchanges of material culture across the East Sea. Generally speaking, three types of commerce took place between Korea and the Japan during the early Joseon period: official trade (*gongmuyeok*, 公貿易), private trade (*samuyeok*, 私貿易), and illicit trade (*milmuyeok*, 密貿易).<sup>64</sup> Trade between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi family existed at all three levels, although official trade activities dominate the historical record. Regarding official trade, the Ōuchi family and the Joseon followed a “tributary system” (朝貢貿易) in which the Ōuchi family first presented “objects for offering up” to the Joseon court; in turn, the latter in turn bestowed “gifts in return” to the former.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, “Ōuchishi no karamo no tamamono atae to kenminsen 大内氏の唐物賜与と遣明船,” 139-40.

<sup>64</sup> Seki Shūichi 関周一, “Tōbutsu no ryūtsū to shōhi 唐物の流通と消費,” 92.

<sup>65</sup> In this period, the Joseon court adopted a “policy of friendly diplomatic relationship with neighboring states” (*Gyorin jeongchaek* 交隣政策) to its relationship with Japan. To execute this *Gyorin jeongchaek* with Japan, the Joseon court chose a “pluralistic relation system” (多元的 通交體制) during the early part of the dynasty. This meant that the Joseon court conducted formal state diplomacy with the Ashikaga

Common items traded between the Ōuchi clan and the Joseon court through the tributary system are documented in several Japanese sources and in the *Joseon wangjo sillok*. “Offering goods” from the Ōuchi clan included sulfur (硫黃), copper (銅), large swords (太刀), long swords (長刀), black lacquered long swords (黒漆大刀), folding screens (屏風), painted folding fans (彩畫扇), and various kinds of red lacquerware (朱漆工藝品). Official “trade items” from the Ōuchi include water buffalo, Sappanwood (蘇木, a medicinal tree), heartwood (丹木, a color dye), licorice (甘草, a medicinal plant),

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shogun, who lived in Kyoto and identified himself as “King of Japan” (日本國王) but also entered into independent diplomatic activities with provincial military lords (守護大名), such as the heads of the Hosokawa clan (細川氏) in Mikawa province and the Hatakeyama clan (畠山氏) in Musashi province as well as powerful families (豪族) such as in the Ōuchi and the Shōni clans (少弐氏) in western Japan, or the Sō family (宗氏) in the Tsushima islands. Especially, the Joseon court favored the Ōuchi and the Sō families as much as the Ashikaga shogun. The Joseon court and Ashikaga shogun exchanged goods and gifts (禮物交換) on an equal basis. On the contrary, the relationship between the Joseon court and its Japanese trading daimyō was less equitable. With local daimyo, the Joseon used a system of tributary trade or *Jogong muyeok jedo* (朝貢貿易制度) in which “offering goods” (進上品 or 獻納品) were exchanged for “returning gifts” (回賜品). Actually, many Japanese clans wanted to enter into a relationship with the Joseon court, because as “grantee” they always received more than the Joseon court, who were considered the “granter” under the rules of tributary trade. See Kim Byeong-ha 金柄夏, *Hanguk gyeongje sasang* 韓國經濟思想 [Korean Economic Thought] (Seoul: Iljogak press, 1977), 54-55 and 268-74; Ha U-bong 河宇鳳, “Joseon jeongi ui daeil gwangye 朝鮮前期의 對日關係,” 254-56. It was customarily for most visiting embassies to the Joseon court to present themselves as seekers of Buddhist scriptures (請經使) or some other item of high culture, but the actual purpose of the delegations for both sides was to exchange products and commodities, or trade. Kenneth R. Robinson, “The Sonkai Tokai nikki and the Korean Tribute System,” in *Tools of Culture: Japan's Cultural, Intellectual, Medical, and Technological Contacts in East Asia, 1000-1500s*, eds. Andrew Edmund Goble, Kenneth R. Robinson, and Haruko Nishioka Wakabayashi (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Association for Asian Studies, 2009), 85. Thus, the many entries in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* that record instances of Ōuchi envoys seeking Buddhist scriptures would be better understood as trade opportunities disguised as an exchange of cultural items and native products. Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展, 74.



rhinoceros horn (犀角), black pepper (胡椒), sugar (砂糖), ivory (象牙), and camphor (樟腦).<sup>66</sup>

As “gifts in return,” the Joseon court offered luxury objects such as the *Goryeo Tripitaka* (高麗大藏經), Buddhist temple bells (梵鐘), Buddhist scriptures (佛像), Confucian texts (儒教書籍), rice (米), beans (豆), cotton cloth (綿布), hemp (正布), white linen (白細麻布), hemp cloth (麻布), ramie cloth (苧布), silk fabric (線紬), multi-color straw mats (彩花席), tiger skin (虎皮), leopard skin (豹皮), blue sable skin (青斜皮), ginseng (人蔘), pine nuts (海松子), honey (清蜜), fruit of the *omija* tree (오미자, a medicinal tea), and so on.<sup>67</sup> In this inventory of “gifts in return” to Japan, Buddhist sutras were the most eagerly desired item by the Ōuchi as well as other Japanese trading clans.<sup>68</sup>

Considering the Ōuchi clan’s connoisseurship and patronages of the arts, their “offering goods” must have been of the highest quality. Red lacquerware bowls then produced in the Ōuchi domain were so famous that they were commonly known as “Ōuchi bowls” (Ōuchi wan, 大内碗). The *Set of Four Bowls with Chrysanthemum Design in Colored Lacquer Painting* (Fig. V-18) in the Mōri Museum collection would

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<sup>66</sup> Some of these items were neither native to Japan nor produced there. The Ōuchi likely obtained them from indirect trade with countries in the South Asia.

<sup>67</sup> Matsuoka Hisato 松岡久人, “Ōuchi shi no chosen bōeki kenkyū josetsu 大内氏の朝鮮貿易研究序説” [Introduction to the Study of Ōuchi Clan’s Trade with the Joseon Dynasty], in *Naikai chiiki shakai no shiteki kenkyū* 内海地域社会の史的研究 [Historical Research on the Community in Japan] (Tokushima city: Matsuno shoten press, 1978), 155-60.

<sup>68</sup> Robinson, “Treated as Treasures: The Circulation of Sutras in Maritime Northeast Asia from 1388 to the Mid-Sixteenth Century,” 48-53.

have been the standard of quality sent to the Joseon court.<sup>69</sup> The *Joseon wangjo sillok* record only a few Joseon art works taken back to Japan by the Ōuchi family and indicate that Japanese art works offered by the Ōuchi far exceeded the quantity presented by the court to the Ōuchi. That many Joseon art works were granted to the Ōuchi family is shown, however, by the number surviving in the Mōri collection.<sup>70</sup>

The eight-panel folding screen *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* in the collection of the temple Daiganji (Fig. V-19) in Hiroshima discussed in Chapter One was transmitted from Korea to Japan by an Ōuchi clan envoy Abbot Sonkai (尊海). Thanks to his travel account now mounted on the reverse side of the screen, we know that the latest date for the production of this painting is 1539, the year of his journey to Korea.<sup>71</sup> According to the *Joseon wangjo sillok* of the same year: “Ōuchi Yoshitaka sent an monk-envoy with an embassy of fifteen, including members of the *Yongondongdang* (龍穩東堂). So the King hosted a banquet for them and gave some gifts to each envoy according

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<sup>69</sup> Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no ihōten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展, 100.

<sup>70</sup> See Table 4 in this chapter, page. 173-4.

<sup>71</sup> According to the abbot's travel record, he was sent to Joseon in 1539 as a “Sutra Requesting Envoy” (請經使) by the Ōuchi family with a letter of introduction (書契) from Ōuchi Yoshitaka, head of the clan. Sonkai's mission was to procure a whole set of the *Goryeo Tripitaka* from the court of Jungjong. Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, “Daiganji zo sonkai tokai nihon byōbue 大願寺藏尊海渡海日本屏風,” [Sonkai's Diary on the Folding Screen] *Bukkyō bijutsu* 佛教美術 52 (1963), 127-30; Nakamura Hidetaka 中村 栄孝, “Itsukushima daiganji sō sonkai no chōsen kikō - kyōshū ōuchiden shisō no ichirei 嚴島大願寺僧尊海の朝鮮紀行-巨首大内殿使送の一例,” [Daiganji Monk Sonkai's Journey to Joseon]. Vol. 1 of *Nissen Kankeishi no Kenkyū* 日鮮關係史の研究 [Research on the History of Japanese- Joseon Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965), 729-748; Robinson, “The Sonkai Tokainikki and the Korean Tribute System,” 71-101.

to their official rank.”<sup>72</sup> Neither the abbot’s account nor the *Jungjong sillok* mention the screen. We do not know how it was acquired, whether by gift or by purchase. It is not likely the work of a court painter since it is not of high quality. Nevertheless it is valuable for this dissertation as an example of the early Joseon painting that entered the Ōuchi household after Sonkai’s visit to Joseon in 1539.<sup>73</sup>

No ship’s manifest exists for a specific Ōuchi embassy, but Abbot Sonkai reports departing with “ninety-three *tae* (駟), i.e. over six tons, of baggage.”<sup>74</sup> Presumably this was representative of the amount carried by the Ōuchi missions. Given that the quantity of “gifts in return” would always have been larger, then the tonnage that the Ōuchi embassy brought home to Japan was remarkable, far exceeding their investment.

Korean art objects not directly obtained through the tributary system also came to the Ōuchi, perhaps through Japanese markets where Korean artifacts were readily available.<sup>75</sup> It is also assumed that some Buncheong came to Japan through illicit trade, as

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<sup>72</sup> *Jungjong sillok* 中宗實錄, 34<sup>th</sup> year (1539). August 13<sup>th</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> article reads: “上御慶會樓下, 賜宴日本國大内殿義隆使送上官人僧龍穩東堂等十五人. 行酒進七爵而罷, 各賜禮物有差.”

<sup>73</sup> Robinson, “The Sonkai Tokai nikki and the Korean Tribute System,” 74.

<sup>74</sup> “十五日, 河舟之衆七人立, 荷物, 合九十三駟.” In Nakamura Hidetaka 中村 栄孝, “Itsukushima Daiganji sō Sonkai no Chōsen kikō - kyoshu Ōuchiden shisō no ichirei 巖島大願寺僧尊海の朝鮮紀行- 巨首大内殿使送の一例,” 731. Robinson, “The Sonkai Tokai nikki and the Korean Tribute System,” 78.

<sup>75</sup> The Zen priest Gidō Shūshin (義堂周信, 1325-88) purchased a Goryeo Buddhist bell for his temple at the marketplace in Japan. It is not known by what means or through whom the Korean bell came to Japan. It could have been plundered from Joseon Korea by pirates, bestowed as a gift from the Joseon court, shipped over on spec by merchants, or placed on consignment with a Japanese dealer. Kusui Takashi 楠井隆志, “Kōrai Chōsen bukkyō bijutsu denrai kō” 高麗朝鮮仏教美術伝来考 [Study on Imports of Goryeo and Joseon Buddhist Paintings to Japan], *Kōrai richō no bukkyō bijutsu ten* 高麗李朝の仏教美術展 [Buddhist Arts of Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties], ed. Yamaguchi prefecture museum (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi prefectural museum, 1997), 95-7; Yukio Lippit, “Goryeo Buddhist Painting in An Interregional Context,” *Art Orientalis* 35 (2005): 194-99.

number of Joseon Buncheong have been excavated in Japan. Such wares, however, are not mentioned in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* as trade goods.<sup>76</sup>

#### V. 2-4. Surviving Korean Objects of Exchange between the Ōuchi Clan and the Joseon Court

In this final section, I introduce some extant objects of material culture that likely entered Japan through Ōuchi trade missions of the fifteenth century when the Ōuchi clan frequently asked the Joseon court for Buddhist scriptures and artifacts. Most of the resulting “gifts in return” were contemporary in date, but quite a few of them were Buddhist scriptures and artifacts dating back to Goryeo and even earlier times.<sup>77</sup> The Joseon government practiced Neo-Confucianism and officially suppressed Buddhism, and thus had few qualms about giving away Buddhist relics. The Joseon court was all too willing to strip Korean Buddhist temples of their bells, statues, paintings, and scriptures and send them off to Japan. Thirteen sets of Buddhist sutras were given to the Ōuchi clan in the course of the early Joseon period.<sup>78</sup> Ōuchi Yoshitaka obtained a set of the Goryeo

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<sup>76</sup> Wakita Haruko 脇田晴子, “Taigai bōeki to kokunai shōgyōo” 対外貿易と国内商業 [Foreign Trade and Domestic Commerce] in *Dai Minkoku to wakō* 大明国と倭寇 [Ming Dynasty and Wakō Pirates], ed. Tanaka Takeo 田中健夫 (Tokyo: Gyōsei press, 1986), 90.

<sup>77</sup> An entry for the year 1414 in the *Taejong sillok* states that the ruler donated a whole set of the Goryeo *Tripitaka* which was kept in the temple Silleuksa (神勒寺) to a royal envoy sent by the Japanese emperor as well as bestowed the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (Daebanyagyong, 大般若經) that was preserved in the temple Guangdeoksa (廣德寺) to another Japanese envoy, a Buddhist monk named Gyuju (圭籌). *Taejong sillok* 太宗實錄, vol. 28, 14<sup>th</sup> year, July 11, 2<sup>nd</sup> article reads: “...鍾則可求諸廢寺以與之。...仍命禮曹以驪興神勒寺所藏大藏經全部, 送于日本國王, 寧山任內豐歲縣廣德寺所藏《大般若經》全部, 賜圭籌...” Much earlier in the year 1382, the scholar-official Yi Saek (李穡, 1328-96) with disciples of the Buddhist priest Naong (懶翁禪師, 1320-76) had built the scripture hall Daejanggak (大藏閣) in the temple Silleuksa (神勒寺) to enshrine the Buddhist *Tripitaka*.

<sup>78</sup> Suda Makiko 須田牧子, “Daizōkyō yunyū to sono eikyō” 大藏經輸入とその影響 [Imports of Buddhist Sutra and their Influence], *Chūsei nitchō aeki kakari to Ōuchi* 中世日朝關係と大内氏 [Japan-Joseon

*Tripitaka* subsequently donated to the temple Fukōji (普光寺) in Nagato (長門), Yamaguchi prefecture.<sup>79</sup> Ōuchi Mōriharu (大内盛見, 1377-1431), the most enthusiastic seeker of Buddhist scriptures from the Joseon court, obtained five sets of sutras and housed parts of them in the Buddhist Sutra Hall (一切經藏堂) at the temple Goseiji (國清寺), which he established in Yamaguchi prefecture. The Goryeo *Tripitaka* and other Korean sutras collected by generations of Ōuchi clansmen came into the possession of the Mōri, when the Ōuchi line was extinguished in the 1550s.<sup>80</sup> In 1601, after his recent

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Relations in the Medieval Period and the Ōuchi Clan] (Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai press, 2011), 145-48.

<sup>79</sup> This Goryeo *Tripitaka* was later housed in the Itsukushima shrine during the Edo period, but was de-accessioned by the shrine as part of the demotion of Buddhism during the Meiji Restoration which began in 1868. It is now in the collection of the Ōtani University Library (大谷大学). Ibid, 171.

<sup>80</sup> Fragments of the Goryeo *Tripitaka* still survived in Onjōji (present-day Miidera temple, 三井寺). Ibid, 172-74; Yamamoto Kazushige 山本一成, *Ōuchi bunka: rekishi zuisō* 大内文化: 歴史随想, 221-22. In addition to sutras, various other Buddhist artifacts were also often requested by the Ōuchi family and bestowed to them by the Joseon court. Some of the Buddhist artifacts that might have been bestowed to them back then are still extant in Japan. Two of these, both Buddhist bronzes, are kept in the temple Suōkokubun-ji (周防国分寺) in Hōfu, Yamaguchi prefecture. The first is Birth of Shakyamuni Buddha (Tanjo-Butsu, 誕生釋迦) (Fig. V-20), a Buddhist bronze of ninth to tenth century date from the Unified Silla period (統一新羅, 668-935). It is considered by scholars to be an object of material exchange between Korea and Japan through the trade and diplomatic activities of the Ōuchi clan in the early Joseon court. Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Suō kokubunji ten: rekishi to bijutsu* 周防国分寺展: 歴史と美術 [Exhibition on Suo Kokubunji temple: History and Arts] (Yamaguchi city: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, 2004), Fig. 74; Park Eungyeong 박은경 and Jeong Eunwoo 정은우, *Seo iibon jiyeok hangukeui bulsang gua bulhwa* 西日本地域 韓國의 佛像과 佛畫, 232-33. The second bronze is a seated image of the *Vairocana Buddha* (金銅毘盧遮那如來) (Fig. V-21), dated to the Goryeo dynasty. The hands of the *Vairocana* image are in the “wisdom-fist” mudra (*jigyeonyin*, 智拳印), which is typical for Buddha images of late Goryeo date. Ibid, 218-21. An entry in the *Seongjong sillok* in the year 1479 states that Joseon court bestowed on the Ōuchi a sculpture of the *Vairocana Buddha*: “Ōuchi Masahiro’s monk-envoy reports that a Buddha *Vairocana* image and a sutra had been enshrined in the sanctuary of the temple Ankokuzenji (安国善寺) in Chōshū 長州. Both the Buddha *Vairocana* image and the sutra were bestowed by the court of Joseon. But the sutra was burnt by fire, so if we can be given another sutra, we will build a structure to house the Buddha image and recite the [new] sutra to pray for your country’s eternal blessings every day...” *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol 103, 10<sup>th</sup> year (1479) April 17<sup>th</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> article reads: “日本國大内左京兆尹中大夫政弘, 遣僧瑞興, 來獻佛像及土宜, 對馬州太守宗貞國, 特遣平國忠, 來獻土宜. 政弘書契

military exploits in Korea for Hideyoshi, Mōri Terumoto moved the Goseiji Buddhist Sutra Hall and rebuilt it at the temple Onjōji (園城寺), in Ōtsu city (大津市), Shiga prefecture. The temple Suōkokubun-ji [Suō Kokubunji](周防国分寺) in Hōfu, Yamaguchi prefecture also has Korean cultural assets thought to have been transmitted to Japan under the auspices of the Ōuchi family, and this temple and its treasures too passed into Mōri hands to become a temple for prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the clan.<sup>81</sup> According to an entry for the year 1483 in the *Seongjong sillok*, Ōuchi Masahiro

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曰：先父棄世，既逾十餘歲，以僕無狀，叨蒙家業，宜通信於大邦，修同系之好。然屬多故騷擾，罔措今寢，將復靖寧。是以乃命專价，少旌企傾之私。僕所管部內長州安國禪寺，曾安置《毗盧大藏》，乃貴國所賜也。頃寺罹于鬱攸，經亦燼灰矣。寺僧等，欲重得一藏於貴國。特蒙薄助，別建經院，日日轉經，且為貴國祈永祚。若得允許，何賜加焉。” It is uncertain whether this Buddha Vairocana image is the same Buddha image that was given to Ōuchi by Joseon court in 1479; however, it is assumed that this Buddha Vairochana was transmitted during the Ōuchi period. Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan eds, *Suō Kokubunji ten: Rekishi to bijutsu* 周防国分寺展：歴史と美術, 134.

<sup>81</sup> Yugi Atsuru 八木 充, “Rekishi no naka suō kokubunji” 歴史のなか周防国分寺 [Suōkokubun-ji Temple in Hisotry] in *Suō kokubunji ten: Rekishi to bijutsu* 周防国分寺展：歴史と美術, 138. The Kokubun-ji temple in Suō (present-day Yamaguchi prefecture) was founded by the Shōmu emperor in the year 741 (Tenpyō 13) as one of many provincial temples built by the national government in Nara times. The temple still survives on its original site despite numerous fires and wars. Quite a few Korean cultural assets belong to this temple and they attest both to the high artistic standards set by “Ōuchi Culture” in western Japan during that country’s medieval period and to the Ōuchi family’s connection to its ally, the Mōri family. The Suōkokubun-ji temple was under the successive protection Ōuchi and Mōri clans before, during, and after the pre-Edo Warring States period (1467-1568) of Japan. Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Suō kokubunji ten: rekishi to bijutsu* 周防国分寺展：歴史と美術, 134. The relationship between the Ōuchi family and the temple crystallized sometime during Ōuchi Hiroyo’s tenure (大内弘世, 1325-80) as daimyō of the clan. Hiroyo had entered the service of the ruling Ashikaga family and moved the Ōuchi residence (大内館) to Yamaguchi where Kokubunji is located. The provincial temple was in a state of gentle decline but with the support and protection by the newly arrived Ōuchi family, its fortunes revived during the Medieval Period. Ōuchi Mōrimi (大内盛見 1377-1431), the sixth daimyō and grandson of Hiroyo, spearheaded the revival of the temple. He enshrined a seated Medicine Buddha (Bhaisajyaguru; 藥師如來坐像) in 1421 as the main Buddha image in the kondō (金堂) or main hall of the temple which had been rebuilt following a fire in 1417 (Ōei 24). Yugi Atsuru 八木 充, “Rekishi no naka suō kokubunji 歴史のなか周防国分寺,” 98-103. Interestingly, when the kondō hall was disassembled for repair, this Buddha had to be moved and hidden relics were found in the stomach of the image (腹臟遺物). Fifteen kinds of medicinal plants (藥材) were discovered, including Ginseng (人蔘) from Joseon Korea: <http://www5.ocn.ne.jp/~suoukoku/sight.html>. Ginseng was one of the items frequently given to Japanese envoys as “gifts in return” according to accounts

sent an envoy to Joseon to seek Buddhist items needed for the reestablishment of the temple Jōtenji (承天寺) in his domain. A bell preserved at Jōtenji in Fukuoka, Kyushu (Fig. V-22) seems to fit the description of the bell Masahiro had in mind.<sup>82</sup>

The high standards for visual arts of the “Ōuchi Culture” is verified by colophons inscribed by two early Joseon scholar-officials, Pak Hyeongmun (朴衡文 1421-after 1488) and the previously mentioned Yi Ye (李蓀 1439-1520) on Sesshū’s *Landscape* (Fig. V-23), now in the collection of the Kosetsu Museum of Art in Kobe. Sesshū painted this work while living in Yamaguchi under the patronage of Ōuchi Mashahiro. Park and Yi, who were magistrates for Kimhae (金海) and Changwon (昌原), respectively, in Gyeongsan-do province (慶尙道), wrote the inscriptions at the behest of the Ōuchi envoy sometime between 1485 and 1488.<sup>83</sup> Monk-envoys from the Ōuchi family also wrote poems on Korean paintings at therequest of Joseon scholars. Exchanging inscriptions on paintings was a popular activity when envoys from China, Korea and Japan congregated for social occasions.

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in the *Joseon wangjo sillok*. Yugi Atsuru 八木 充, “Rekishi no naka Suōkokubunji 歴史のなか周防国分寺,” 138.

<sup>82</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, vol. 158, 14<sup>th</sup> year (1483), December 13. 2<sup>nd</sup> article reads: “...今遣通信使定林寺住持清鑑等, 謹啓僕治内筑之承天寺, 草創歳久, 而頽敗日隨...” Iwai Tomoji 岩井共二 and Fukusima Tsunenori 福島恒徳, *Kōrai, richō no bukkuyō bijutsuten* 高麗・李朝の佛教美術展 [Buddhist Art of the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties] (Yamaguchi prefecture: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan press, 1997), 192.

<sup>83</sup> Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, *Dongasia sokui jungse hanguk gwa ilbon* 동 아시아 속의 중세 한국과 일본,” 376-80.

### V. 3. The Chinese Identity to the Mōri Scrolls

Against this background, we will now turn to the question of how the Mōri scrolls came to be identified as Chinese works, i.e. as a “set of three genuine landscape scrolls brushed by Mi Youren” (眞山水豎物 三幅對 米元徽筆). By discussing these along with the scrolls that I described in my Introduction, I will consider not only why the Mōri scrolls were attributed to Mi Youren of the Song dynasty, but also how they became a set of three hanging scrolls (三幅對). Based on my conclusion that the panels were acquired by the Ōuchi clan not long after they were painted in the early Joseon period and came into the hands of the Mōri clan around 1550, I look for the answers to these two questions in the cultural context of the Muromachi and early Edo periods.

#### V. 3-1. False Attribution of the Mōri scrolls to Mi Youren

In the Muromachi period, the term *karamono* (唐物), although literally meaning “Tang [Chinese] goods,” was used to designate a larger category of foreign goods also known as *hakuraihin* (舶来品), or imported goods, and included all items arriving from China, Korea, the Ryūkyūs and South Asia.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, in the same period, the category *sōgenga* (宋元画), meaning “Song and Yuan paintings” encompassed paintings from Joseon Korea.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, “Ōuchishi no karamono shiyo to kenminsen 大内氏の唐物賜与と遣明船,” 127.

<sup>85</sup> Akazawa Eiji 赤澤 英二, “Muromachi suibokuga to lichoga no seki kakari” 室町水墨画と李朝画の關係 [The Relationship between Ink Paintings of the Muromachi Period and Joseon dynasty Painting], *Yamato bunka* 大和文華 117 (2008): 1-2.



During the Muromachi and Edo periods, Japanese painters of the Kano school made paintings modeled after Chinese works and called them *kanga*, “Han painting” (漢画). Paintings imported from Korea at the time, continued to be mixed with Chinese *sōgenga* and became models for paintings in Chinese style or *kanga*. It was likely in this manner that considerable numbers of unsigned Joseon paintings lost their anonymous Korean identities and came to be considered Chinese. Based on the information recorded on covers of painting storage boxes and notes on accompanying sheets of paper inside the boxes, many of the mistaken identifications were made by Japanese painters of the Edo period. For instance, there is an old connoisseur’s inscription on the box cover of the anonymous a set of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (Fig. V-24) in the Jinju National Museum that attributes to the Northern Song master Guo Xi (ca.1020-90).<sup>86</sup> The connoisseur who made this identification was Kanō Tan'yū (狩野探幽, 1602-74), a famous painter of Chinese-style ink landscapes who served as an official painter (*goyō eshi*, 御用絵師) to the Tokugawa Shogunate. In addition to being the foremost Kanō School painter of the Edo period, Tan'yū was also a renowned collector and connoisseur of Chinese paintings. Because of his exalted position, Tan'yū likely played an important role in the mistaken attribution of Korean paintings to Chinese masters. Such mistakes by respected Edo connoisseurs like Tan'yū contributed to the loss of information about Joseon works, like the Mōri scrolls, and to the creation of false identities for them.

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<sup>86</sup> Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, “*Richō kaiga: rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: tokubetsuten* 李朝絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界: 特別展 [Painting of the Yi Dynasty: The World of Beauty in a Neighboring Kingdom] (Nara: Yamato bunkaka, 1996), 125.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the painters of the Kano school were called upon to identify and authenticate old paintings in their positions as official painters to the Tokugawa government.<sup>87</sup> Most of these paintings were known as *kowatari* (古渡). *Kowatari*, literally “old crossings,” means continental works that came to Japan during the Muromachi period.<sup>88</sup> The Kanō masters inscribed their appraisals directly onto the lids of the paintings’ storage boxes, wrote titles or identification labels for the works for the covers of the lids, and added comments on separate sheets of paper to go inside the boxes. They then authenticated their colophons and inscriptions by affixing impressions of their seals or chops.<sup>89</sup> Among Kanō painters who authenticated old paintings, Tan’yū was perhaps the most influential. He produced *Sketch Books by Tan’yū* (*Tan’yū shukuzu*, 探幽縮図) in order to keep track of the many paintings in the school’s art collection as well as to record old paintings that had undergone the school’s authentication process. Most of the paintings depicted in *Sketch Books by Tan’yū* are Japanese and Chinese paintings, the latter categorized as *kanga* (漢画) or “Han paintings.”<sup>90</sup> A few scenes of Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers paintings listed in Tan’yū’s *Sketch Book* under

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<sup>87</sup> Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the realm: the Kano house of painters in 17th-century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2012), 3-6.

<sup>88</sup> Tsukamoto Maromitsu, “Frictions in Universal Contexts and Individual Values; Chinese Paintings at the Toyokan” *Orientalism* 44, no.5 (June 2013): 40-7.

<sup>89</sup> Lippit, *Painting of the realm: the Kano house of painters in 17th-century Japan*, 133-35.

<sup>90</sup> Itakura Masaaki, “Edo jidai shoki kanōha ni okeru chūgoku kaiga juyō —Tan’yū shukuzu’o tōshite 江戸時代初期狩野派における中国絵画受容 - 『探幽縮図』を通して” [Adoption of Chinese Painting by the Kano school during the Edo period – through the *Sketch Books by Tan’yū*], *Entaku to Tan’yū - Aizuhan okakae eshi Katō Entaku no geijutsu* 遠澤と探幽- 会津藩御抱絵師加藤遠澤の芸術 (Aizuwakamatsu: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan Press, 1998), 93-101; Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, *Tan’yū shukuzu’o* 探幽縮図 (Kyoto: Dohosha shuppan, 1980-1981)

the heading of *kanga* are most likely early Joseon works on this theme.<sup>91</sup> For example, modern scholarship has determined that *Album of the Landscape* (Fig. V-25) from the *Sketch books by Tan'yū* is most likely based on the Xiao and Xiang paintings tradition from the early Joseon.<sup>92</sup> Itakura Masaaki points out that Joseon landscapes were often recognized as Chinese paintings by Tan'yū and those in his social circles. Even in the painting market of the period, Korean paintings were sold as Chinese.<sup>93</sup>

The fact that Tan'yū assigned the Eight Views of the Xian and Xian Rivers of early Joseon date to Guo Xi is interesting because few, if any, authentic Northern Song painting, let alone those by a great master like Guo Xi, existed in Japan at the time.<sup>94</sup> Guo Xi's name is listed in the first rank (上) of Chinese painting in *Kundaikan sōchōki* from 1476, but in fact, no paintings by Guo Xi appear in the *Gyomotsu on'e mokuroku* (御物御画目録), an inventory of paintings in the Ashikaga Shogunal collection compiled by Nōami (能阿弥, 1397-1471) during the Muromachi period.<sup>95</sup> It is interesting that

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<sup>91</sup> Itakura Masaaki, “Tan'yū shukuzu kara mita higashiajia kaigashi- shōshōhakkeilei” 探幽縮図から見た東アジア絵画史-瀟湘八景例 [East Asian Painting History seen through *Sketch Books by Tan'yū* - focusing on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xing Rivers], in *Zuzō no imi* 図像の意味 [Meaning of Iconography]. Vol. 3 of *Koza Nihon bijutsushi* 講座日本美術史 [Lectures on Japanese Art History] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2005), 120-28.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 126.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 124.

<sup>94</sup> Yonezawa Yoshiho 米澤嘉圃, “Nihon ni aru sogenga” 日本にある宋元画 [Song and Yuan Painting in Japan] *Shōrai bijutsu* (Kaiga, sho) 請来美術 (絵画. 書) [Imported Art (Painting and Calligraphy)]. Vol. 29 of *Genshoku nihon no bijutsu* 原色 日本の美術 [Art of Japan with Color Plates] (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1971), 165-77.

<sup>95</sup> Nakamura Tanio 中村溪男, “*Gyomotsu gyo-e mokuroku*” no senja nōami ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu ‘御物御画目録’の撰者能阿弥に関する一考察 [Investigation into Noami, compiler of Inventory of Selected Chinese Paintings in the Ashikaga Collection] (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1971)

Tan'yū identified early Joseon landscapes, painted in the northern Chinese landscape style of Guo Xi, as being Chinese paintings.

Doing appraisals of old paintings also became fashionable in other painting houses during Edo times. One of these houses was the Unkoku school (雲谷派). Unkoku Tōgan (雲谷等顔, 1547-1618), founder of the school, was employed by Mōri Terumoto (1553-1625) and many other Unkoku painters also served as official painters to successive Mōri households.<sup>96</sup> The Unkoku school traced its “Chinese lineage” to the ink master Sesshū (1420-1506) and considered themselves latter practitioners of the “*kanga* school of Sesshū.” It will be recalled that Ōuchi clan invited Sesshū to Yamaguchi and patronized him. He stayed at the Unkoku Temple (Unkoku an 雲谷庵), which became his studio and later the source of the name of Unkoku school.<sup>97</sup> The Unkoku school’s connoisseurship of Korean paintings seems to have been better than that of Kanō school’s experts like Tan'yū.<sup>98</sup> Since the Ōuchi clan greatly favored art and frequently traded with the Joseon and Ming dynasties and most of the Sesshū paintings commissioned or collected by the Ōuchi clan fell into the hands of the Mōri family, it is likely that the Unkoku school painters had more opportunities to see and compare

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<sup>96</sup> Yamamoto Hideo 山本英男, *Unkoku Tōgan to sono ippa* 雲谷等顔とその一派, 31-2.

<sup>97</sup> Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Unkokuha no keifu: Sesshū no kōkeishatachi* 雲谷派の系譜: 雪舟の後継者たち [Unkoku school: the Successor to Sesshū style], (Hofu: Yamaguchi prefecture museum 1986), 154.

<sup>98</sup> Itakura Masaaki, “Tan'yū shukuzu kara mita higashiajia kaigashi- Shōshōhakkeilei 探幽縮図から見た東アジア絵画史-瀟湘八景例,” 124. Also see Yamamoto Hideo 山本英男, *Unkoku Tōgan to sono ippa* 雲谷等顔とその一派 [Unkoku Tōgan and his School]. *Nihon no Bijutsu* 日本の美術 [Art of Japan], vol. 323 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1993), 49-50: It is assumed that Unkoku Tōgan learned Joseon painting styles and these styles influenced his paintings.

contemporary paintings from Joseon Korea and Ming China than did their Kano contemporaries.<sup>99</sup> For example, there is an appraisal record in *Ohōzō odōgu ken chōsha* (御寶藏御道具檢張寫, Records on implements of treasures in imperial collection) by two of the school's masters, Unkoku Tōeki (雲谷等的, 1606-64) and Unkoku Totoyo (雲谷等與, 1612-68), authenticating an eight-panel screen of landscape paintings and poems as being of Korean origin.<sup>100</sup> Scholars now believe that the anonymous *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (Fig. V-26) set of early Joseon date in the Kyushu National Museum bears a strong resemblance to the painting set described by Tōeki and Totoyo in that record.<sup>101</sup> The Kyushu screen consists of panels of paintings mounted as a folding screen. Accompanying it is an eight-panel calligraphy screen of *Eight Poems on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. The eight poems were composed by the Goryeo scholar Jin Hwa (act. 12<sup>th</sup> century) and the calligraphy was brushed centuries later by the Joseon scholar-official, Kim Hyeonsong (金玄成, 1542-1621).<sup>102</sup>

The attribution of the Mōri scrolls to Mi Youren was likely done by an Unkoku school painter working for the Mōri family during the early Edo period, but by someone

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<sup>99</sup> Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru ōuchi bunka no ihō ten* 室町文化の中にみる大内文化の遺宝展 [Treasures from the Ōuchi Culture within the Muromachi Culture] (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan press, 1989), 74-85.

<sup>100</sup> The Sino-Japanese text reads: 御寶藏御道具檢張寫: “一, 小屏風壹雙, 金屏八枚絶縁ふち金具有之, 内, 片方八景絹之押字八枚同絹地之押繪八枚高麗繪之由等與等的, 申候, 片方白地石摺之押物八枚...” in Toda Teisuke 戸田禎佑, “Shōshōhakkeitu osae e jō byōbu 瀟湘八景図押繪帖屏風,” *Kokka* 国華 1024 (1996): 21.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 22. Also see Hong Sunpyo et al., eds. *Chōsen ōchō no kaiga to Nihon: sōtatsu, taiga, jakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi: soaassu, taiga, chakuchudo baeun iut nara ui mi* 朝鮮王朝の絵画と日本: 宗達, 大雅, 若冲も学んだ隣国の美, 226.

<sup>102</sup> Toda Teisuke 戸田禎佑, “Shōshōhakkeitu osae e jō byōbu 瀟湘八景図押繪帖屏風,” 21-2.

who was also possibly made a member of the Kano school, with which the Mōri also engaged on some occasions. As to the latter possibility, a case in point is another pair of hanging scrolls entitled *Landscapes* that also have the Mi Youren attribution (Fig. V-27).<sup>103</sup> Now in a private collection in Japan, they formerly belonged to the Tokuyama branch of the Mōri family (徳山毛利家) started in 1617 by Mōri Taritaka (毛利就隆, 1602-79), the second son of Mōri Terumoto (1553-1625). Therefore, it is likely that *Landscapes* were in the Mōri family before they belonged to the Tokuyama Mōri family. Kanō Yasunobu (狩野 安信, 1614-85) wrote the inscription on the storage box attributing the scrolls to Mi Youren. And here again, the painting style, like that of the three Mōri scrolls, is in no way similar to Mi Youren's usual "cloudy mountain" landscape style. Rather, the scrolls are related to works by Ma Yuan and Xia Gui in brushwork, iconographic motifs, and spatial conception; and their style suggests that the artist was a later follower or imitator of the Southern Song court Ma-Xia style. That Kanō Yasunobu should attribute them to Mi Youren is puzzling because the Ma-Xia style was a very popular in the Muromachi period and well known to painters of the Kanō school.

In the Chinese section of *Kundaikan sōchōki*, the paintings of Mi Youren are ranked in the high middle level (中上) in terms of excellence.<sup>104</sup> That Mi Youren's name

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<sup>103</sup> Both are done in ink on silk and measure 106.1×57.7cm in size. They were once part of a triptych (三幅対) with the two landscapes flanking a central Bodhisattva image. Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, *Muromachi shōgunke no shihō o saguru: 室町将軍家の至宝を探る* [Exploring the Great Treasures of the Muromachi Shoguns], (Nagoya: Tokugawa bijutsukan, 2008), 210-11. This painting set was likely collected by the Ashikaga shogun in the early Muromachi period because it has a seal belonging to Yoshi Kuma 善阿. The presence if this seal suggests that the painting was collected around the time of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (足利義満, 1358-1408) at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>104</sup> *Kundaikan sōchōki* 君台観左右帳記, “中上 米友仁, 字元暉 元章之子, 山水 烟雲林泉...”

was known, however, does not mean that authentic works by him were known, as was also the case with Guo Xi. Among early Edo painters, however, the most likely ones to have had some information and understanding of Mi Youren and his painting style would have been those connected to the artistic circles of the Unkoku school that connected its lineage to Sesshu. According to *Honchō gashi* (本朝画史, History of Painting of the Realm), one of Sesshū's pen names is "Master Mi Yuanshan" (米元山主).<sup>105</sup> Though it is not clear why Sesshū chose this pen name, but it has been suggested that was in admiration of Mi Fu and Mi Youren.<sup>106</sup> In addition, when Sesshū visited China, he met the court painter Li Zai and was influenced by his art. In addition to working in the monumental landscape tradition of Northern Song, Li Zai was also renowned for works in the Mi style such as his *Cloudy Landscape in the Manner of Mi* (米氏雲山圖) (Fig. V-28), painted around 1446 and now in the Huai'an Chuzhou Museum in Jiangsu. Sesshū may well have seen the Mi-style landscapes by Li Zai and others while he was in China. Later, in 1474, Sesshū painted a landscape after the style of Gao Kegong (倣高克恭山水圖卷) (fig.V-30) for his student Tōetsu (等悦, ?-?), who requested from his teacher a "copybook of paintings" (*gahon*, 画本) to imitate and study. In his inscription (actually a later version of Edo date) Sesshū, wrote: "A long time ago, I went to China and saw many paintings. Many (Ming) painters follow the style of Gao Kegong. I'm also

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<sup>105</sup> Kanō Einō 狩野永納, "諱等楊. 又称 備溪齋, 或称米元山主. 氏小田, 備之中州赤浜人也," in *Honchogashi: Yakuchu* 本朝画史: 訳注 [A History of Painting in Japan: Translation and Annotations], translated and annotated by Kasai Masaaki 笠井昌昭, Sasaki Susumu 佐々木進, and Tekai Akio 竹居明男 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1985), 202.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, 209

following that trend and did this painting in the manner of the Gao Kegong... ”<sup>107</sup> As we know, Gao Kegong (1235-1310) was the primary transmitter of the Mi landscape tradition in Yuan times. In addition, according to the *Tenkai togarō ki* (天開図画楼記), “Sesshū was good at painting landscapes in the style of Gao Kegong’s *Cloudy Mountains* (雲山圖). Gao Kegong learned Dong Yuan and Juran (董巨) and Mi Youren (米友仁) painting styles...”<sup>108</sup> However, the style of *Landscape after Gao Kegong* (Fig. V-29) differs from those of Gao Kegong and Mi Youren, and is more similar to that of Xia Gui.

In sum, we have considered two sets of works attributed to the Song painter Mi Youren, the three scrolls in the Mōri Museum and the two landscapes that formerly belonged to the Tokuyama branch of the Mōri family that are now in a private collection in Japan. The sets differ in style from each other and from the commonly recognized style of Mi Youren, but their shared Mōri family provenance points to a common basis for their long-standing misattributions. When Sesshū visited Ming China, he acquainted himself with the Mi tradition of Chinese landscape art, and upon his return to Japan evoked this tradition in his own works. Such works were known to the Ōuchi and later to the clan that inherited their cultural legacy, the Mōri. I think that sometime in the seventeenth century, an artist of either the Unkoku or the Kanō school authenticated the Mōri scrolls as from the hand of Mi Youren on the strength of this artist’s reputation, even though they did not have access to authentic works by the master.

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<sup>107</sup> Recite Japanese translation from the catalogue, see Tokyo kokuritus hakubutsukan, *Sesshū: Botsugo 500-nen Tokubetsuten* 雪舟: 没後 500 年特別展 [Sesshū: Master of Ink and Brush. 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Exhibition (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha press, 2002), 259. Fig. 61.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 259.



### V. 3-2. How the Mōri Scrolls became a set of three panels

Our analysis of the subject matter of the Mōri scrolls in Chapter One led us to the conclusion that they were once part of a painting set with more panels. The fact that they are currently only a set of three hanging scrolls is significant. Although it is possible that the separation of the original scrolls making up the set was accidental, it should be noted that the phrase “a set of three scrolls” (三幅對) was inscribed on the title label to the cover of their accompanying storage boxes. This means the Mōri set already consisted of only three paintings when the Edo-period authenticator identified them as Chinese paintings by Mi Youren. Moreover, the triptych format carried a certain cachet among the cultural elite during the Muromachi period. The triptych became the most popular painting format of that period because it was highly favored by the Ashikaga shogun. This suggests that the three hanging scrolls having become a set was not accidental but purposeful.

The painting collections of the Ashikaga shoguns, who were enthusiastic collectors of Chinese paintings, contained many triptychs, including Liang Kai's (梁楷 ca. 1140-ca. 1210) *Sakyamuni Emerging from the Mountains* flanked on either side by winter landscapes with snow (Fig. V-30).<sup>109</sup> These three scrolls are representative of a typical Muromachi-period triptych consisting of a center figural image flanked by a pair

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<sup>109</sup> Tokugawa bijutsukan, *Muromachi shōgunke no shihō o saguru* 室町將軍家の至宝を探る [Exploring the Great Treasures of the Muromachi Shoguns] (Nagoya: Tokugawa bijutsukan press, 2008), 206, fig.3.

of landscapes. This combination of three painted *kakemono* or hanging scrolls is known as “Ashikaga shogun’s intentional display.”<sup>110</sup>

The *Gyomotsu on-e mokuroku* and *Kundaikan sōchōki* demonstrate the Ashikaga shoguns’ preference for the triptych form, and a drawing of the imperial palace in the *Record of Art Objects on Display at the Eighth Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimasa’s Residence, Ogawa gosho and Higashiyama dono* (小河御所并東山殿御傍図) (Fig. V-31) shows how triptychs were displayed in combination with other treasures in the shogun’s place.<sup>111</sup> An example of this sort of display is shown at the Ogawa Imperial Palace and the Higashiyama Villa (popularly known as Ginkakuji or “Temple of the Silver Pavilion”), residence halls of the eighth Muromachi shōgun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa (足利義政; 1436-90, r.1449-1474). Yoshimasa is considered a significant person in the popularization of the triptych. His interest in the three-scroll format strongly influenced the trend toward combining a central image with two side paintings and led to its adoption as a permanent format for paintings that became “imperial treasures” (*gyomotsu*, 御物).<sup>112</sup>

It is noteworthy that there is a record on the triptych form that connects the Ōuchi clan with Ashikaga Yoshimasa. In 1481, Ōuchi Masahiro (大内政弘, 1446-95), the

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<sup>110</sup> Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, “Oūchishi no karamono shiyō to kenmisen 大内氏の唐物賜与と遣明船,” 100.

<sup>111</sup> Tokugawa bijutsukan, *Muromachi shōgunke no shihō o saguru* 室町將軍家の至宝を探る 224-5, fig.90.

<sup>112</sup> Shiga Taro 志賀太郎, “Gaisetsu muromachi shōgunke no shihō saguru 概説室町將軍家の至宝を探る” [Overview of the Muromachi Ashikaga Shogun’s Collection] in *Muromachi shōgunke no shihō o saguru* 室町將軍家の至宝を探る, 162-63.

clan's head (当主), offered some *karamono* as gifts to Yoshimasa. Among them were ten sets of Chinese paintings, consisting of thirty-three hanging scrolls all together. Five of the sets were triptychs, and among them Yoshimasa selected a triptych composed of a painting of *Avalokiteśvara* by Ma Yuan flanked and two landscapes by Yan Ciping (閻次平, ca.1119-ca.62) as his favorite.<sup>113</sup> Masahiro apparently knew of Yoshimasa's preference for the triptych format and prepared his gift offerings accordingly.<sup>114</sup>

Unlike a typical triptych with a central panel, usually a figural image, taken from one painting set and two side panels taken from another, the Mōri set consists of three panels from a single set of landscapes. Can it be considered a triptych or just three scrolls? We might compare it to another triptych in the Mōri collection, which we know was created from a single source, albeit one in a different format. These three panels, titled *Joy of Fishing* (漁樂圖) (fig.V-32), attributed to the Ming artist Qian Gu (錢穀, 1508- ca.1578), were cut from a handscroll and remounted into a set of three panels.<sup>115</sup> *Joy of Fishing* (Fig. V-32) seems to be a Ming painting from the hand of a Zhe School reviver of the Southern Song court style of Xia Gui. It was Kanō Yasunobu (狩野安信, 1614-85) who attributed this work to the Wu school painter Qian Gu of the Ming dynasty.<sup>116</sup> Like other *karamono* in the Mōri Museum collection including the three

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<sup>113</sup> Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄, "Oūchishi no karamono shiyo to kenminsen 大内氏の唐物賜与と遣明船," 131-35.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 132-33 for a listing of the painting that Ōuchi Masahiro offered to Ashikaga Yoshimasa.

<sup>115</sup> Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai 毛利元就展企画委員会 et al., *Mōri motonari ten: sono jidai to shihō* 毛利元就展: その時代と至宝, 246, fig. 234.

<sup>116</sup> Mōri Motonari ten kikaku iinkai 毛利元就展企画委員会 et al., *Mōri Motonari ten: sono jidai to shihō* 毛利元就展: その時代と至宝, 246. It is unclear why Yasunobu attributed this painting to Qian Gu,

scrolls under scrutiny, it is assumed that the *Joy of Fishing* triptych came into the hands of the Mōri family from the Ōuchi clan sometime during the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, soon after the demise of the clan due to the forced suicide of Ōuchi Yoshitaka in 1551.

Cutting up paintings and remounting them into a new format was a common Japanese practice during the Muromachi period.<sup>117</sup> Another example may be the landscape triptych (Fig. V-33) attributed to An Gyeon in the Imperial Household Agency Collection, which was created from a larger set of paintings, most likely from the Xiao and Xiang theme.<sup>118</sup> According to the inscription written on the paper of the box lid by Takashi Kei (崇溪 ?-?) in 1781, this work is a *kowatariga* (古渡画), or “old imported painting,” that came into Japan during the Muromachi period. Subsequently, it was divided up and preserved as a set of three paintings.<sup>119</sup>

The Mōri scrolls differ from a standard triptych format because of the absence of a central figural image, but other triptychs from the same period also consists only of landscapes. I propose that three Mōri scrolls were removed from a set of eight or more

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because Qian did work in the style of the Zhe school. He was a Wu School painter born in Changzhou, Jiangsu province. He learned painting from the Wu school master Wen Zhengming (文徵明, 1470-1559) and was close friends with the scholar Wang Shizhen (王世貞, 1526–90). The fact that Yasunobu assigned a Zhe-style landscape to Qian Gu reflects his poor knowledge and connoisseurship of Chinese painting, as exemplified by his erroneous attribution of the two Southern Song-style *Landscapes* (Fig. V-32) to the Northern Song master Mi Youren.

<sup>117</sup> Another example of this re-formatting phenomenon is Southern Song painter Muqi’s *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, which was also once a handscroll like the *Joy of Fishing* but is now remounted as *kakemono* panels. Early Joseon landscapes in Japan were also cut and remounted. For example, early Joseon painting *Cloudy Mountains* in the collection of the Yamato Bunkakan is thought to have been a handscroll but is now divided into several *kakemono* panels. See Yamato bunkakan, “*Richō kaiga: rinkoku no meichōna bi no sekai: Tokubetsuten* 李朝絵画: 隣国の明澄な美の世界, 83-4, figs, 12~14.

<sup>118</sup> Hong Sunpyo et al., eds. *Chōsen ōchō no kaiga to nihon: sōtatsu, taiga, jakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi* 朝鮮王朝の絵画と日本: 宗達, 大雅, 若冲も学んだ隣国の美, 226.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, 226.

panels and were made into a three-panel set not long after their arrival into the Ōuchi household from the early Joseon court. Probably the cultured Ōuchi did this intentionally to synchronize with the Muromachi shōgun's preference for this format.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I used texts and objects related to the Ōuchi clan to identify the most likely context for the entry of the three scrolls into the Mōri collection. Rather than war booty brought back by the Mōri warrior Terumoto from the Hideyoshi invasion of 1592-97, the paintings were very likely a part of a painting set of eight or more panels (or a screen) bestowed by the early Joseon court on the Ōuchi family. After the collapse of the Ōuchi clan around 1550, the panels came into the possession of the Mōri family. The Mōri family also saw a reversal of fortune and lost much of its former domain and power at the start of the Edo period because it had been politically aligned with Hideyoshi, but the lineage and some of its wealth (including its art holdings) survived into the pre-modern times. The oral history of the three scrolls is that they were handed down through generations of the Mōri family since the Edo times until their accession into the public collection of the Mōri Museum of Art.

The Mōri scrolls were labeled “three landscapes by Mi Youren of the Song” after they entered the Mōri collection, most likely by an artist of the Unkoku school, official painters to the Mōri clan during the Edo period, although possibly by an artist of the more illustrious if less knowledgeable Kanō school, official painters to the Tokugawa shogunate. In Chapter One, I concluded on compositional grounds that the three Mōri scrolls could not have come from a set of the Four Seasons paintings with one panel

(winter) missing. Here I go on to argue that the removal of three scrolls from a set of eight or more panels for assembly as a triptych was in keeping with elite Muromachi taste.

## Conclusion

The early Joseon period, spanning the years from the founding of the dynasty in 1392 to about 1550, has been called a “Korean Renaissance.” It was a time of revival, innovation, and regal output in culture and the arts. Regrettably, most of the landscape paintings of the time have been lost. The *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* in 1447 (fig. II-21) by An Gyeon (安堅, act. ca.1440-70) is the only surviving landscape work from the period that is fully documented with subject title, painter’s name, production date, connoisseur’s inscriptions, and seals. In recent decades, however, art historians, particularly in Japan and Korea, have identified quite a few unsigned paintings as early Joseon works primarily on the basis of painting style. These paintings have not received much scholarly attention because it is difficult to go beyond the stylistic analysis research in studying them. Moreover, style-based research on these works is not a straightforward endeavor because some of them are painted in manners that vary considerably from the landscape tradition that we have commonly associated with the period, namely, that of the so-called An Gyeon school. Thus, the anonymous paintings newly assigned to the early Joseon period have been largely ignored not because of their quality, but because it is difficult to place them in relation to secure or reasonably secure works of the period and to draw conclusions about their origins and transmission histories.

I accepted this challenge in this dissertation by taking a set of anonymous landscapes in the Mōri Museum of Art as a case study and seeking to locate it in particular times, places, and cultural contexts. Until recently, this set of three hanging scrolls was attributed to the Chinese Song-dynasty landscape master Mi Youren on the basis of inscriptions on their painting boxes. Yet their style is not the evocative ink-wash

landscape style of the Mi family but refers instead to the monumental landscape idiom of another great Song Chinese landscape artist, Guo Xi. In addition to conducting a conventional stylistic analysis of the three paintings and comparing them with contemporaneous paintings in East Asia, I explored the paintings' subject matter, their most likely place of production and patronage, and finally their provenance in Japan. In the process, I drew on a variety of other aspects of early Joseon culture such as *jehwasi* poetry, historical records, architecture, clothing, and even social customs, and found in them important corroborating material.

In Chapter One, I challenged the current thinking on the subject matter of the three scrolls, specifically the idea that they represent one of the two standard themes associated with early Joseon landscape paintings, the “Four Seasons” or the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers.” Instead, I proposed that their subject matter is a variation on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers theme. I based my proposal on evidence from early Joseon *jehwasi* poems, which list titles for painting sets that are similar but not identical to the standard scenes from the Eight Views series. I further argued that the three extant Mōri scrolls were originally part of a larger set of paintings that consisted of eight or more panels, likely produced for mounting on a folding screen.

In Chapter Two, I analyzed the style of Mōri scrolls and pursued the probability that they are early Joseon works. Although their compositions follow the monumentality of Northern Song landscape, they display the exaggerated rock and mountain forms and more expressive brushwork connected to contemporary developments in landscape painting at the early Ming court. However, upon seeing the Mōri landscapes and early Ming Guo Xi-style landscapes in person, I recognized that they differ substantially. The



former have a sense of approachability; the latter have a sense of magnificence. After ruling out a Chinese origin for the Mōri scrolls, I looked for an origin in Korea, and found more commonalities between the Mōri scrolls and landscape paintings attributed to the early Joseon, notably works produced in the style of the so-called An Gyeon school style. These paintings lack the monumentality of the Mōri landscapes but are otherwise cut from the same cloth in terms of iconography, composition, and pictorial form. I also found links between the Mōri scrolls and An Gyeon's *Dream Journey*, Buddhist paintings, and other aspects of early Joseon culture such as architecture, costume, historical records and *jehwasi* poetry. None of these connections alone prove that the Mōri scrolls are of Korean origin and early Joseon date, but taken together, they offer compelling evidence that this is the case.

In Chapter Three, which continued the analysis of Chapter Two, I argued that the Mōri scrolls and a handful of other anonymous landscape paintings represent a distinctive but previously unrecognized landscape tradition that existed in early Joseon times and was based on the monumental landscape art of Guo Xi. I introduced five hanging scrolls that, together with the three Mōri landscapes, form a body of eight works that I believe represents this tradition. The tradition was continued into the seventeenth century at the Joseon court by Yi Jing (李澄, 1581-after 1643), a famous court painter during the Seonjo era (r. 1567-1608).

The painter of the Mōri scrolls was very probably a court painter working for the Bureau of Painting (*Dohwaseo* 圖畫署). I based this assumption on commonalities between the Mōri scrolls and paintings produced by early Joseon court painters. These findings were presented in Chapter Four, along with a detailed discussion of Prince

Anpyeong's role in reviving the monumental landscape tradition of Guo Xi. I further recognized shared cultural trends between the early Ming and early Joseon dynasty and observed that the prince modeled his cultural and artistic pursuits on those of his royal contemporaries in China while implementing them at the court of his illustrious father, Sejong the Great (r.1418-50).

In Chapter Five, I provided a detailed account of the possible transmission of the Mōri scrolls from Korea to Japan and then within Japan. I considered why, when, and by whom the scrolls came to be owned by the Mōri clan and concluded that they were originally a part of a set of paintings transmitted to Japan as a result of the relationship between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi clan, a powerful daimyō in western Japan in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Subsequently, the scrolls came into the hands of the Mōri clan around 1550s when the Ōuchi clan was obliterated by a rival clan. In the modern era, the three scrolls and many other Chinese and Korean artifacts from the Mōri family collection were incorporated into the Mōri Museum of Art established in 1967. Over the course of the five or so centuries since the Mōri scrolls came to Japan, they lost their original Korean identity and were identified as Chinese works by the Song master Mi Youren. Additionally, the three landscapes were separated from their original format as a set of eight or more panels and were made into a triptych, a popular format. The changes in the scrolls' attribution and format reflect the taste and social aspirations of their new Mōri owners as well as the cultural trends of Muromachi (1337-1573) and early Edo (1600-1868) Japan.

## Contributions of the Dissertation

In this study the Mōri scrolls were used to shed light on early Joseon landscape painting and the transmission of early Joseon works to Japan. The scrolls were recognized as rare examples of the many early Joseon paintings that offered compositional variations on the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers. Such variants are known from *jehwasi* poems. In fact, Xiao and Xiang sets with titles and scenes that vary or are different from those of the standard Eight Views repertoire seem to have been more common than those that adhere to it. While the subject of *Mōri Scroll One* is the familiar “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist,” the subjects of *Scroll Two* and *Three*, are more ambiguous, eclectic and not derived purely from Eight Views scenes. Therefore, I proposed that we recognize “variation on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” as a thematic category in early Joseon painting as documented by *jehwasi* and exemplified by the Mōri scrolls.

Secondly, I drew attention to documentation showing that the Guo Xi style was the most widely practiced Chinese landscape painting style in early Joseon times. As recorded in the *Hwagi* of Sin Sukju in 1445, it was favored by Prince Anpyeong, who had seventeen Guo Xi paintings in his private collection. The most celebrated court painter of the early Joseon, An Gyeon, also employed the Guo Xi style in his *Dream Journey to the Peace Blossom Land* (1447). This rare work showcases how an old monumental landscape style of Northern Song China was transformed and made anew by a fifteenth century Korean master. *Dream Journey* is a handscroll, a format that suited the purpose of its patron, Prince Anpyeong [Yi Yong] (安平大君 李容, 1418-53), who wished to leave a complete record of his dream to the Peace Blossom Spring in a seamless work of

poetry and painting. However, evidence from *jehwasi* reveals that the vertical panel made to be mounted as a hanging scroll or on a folding screen was the most popular format of the period. The Mōri scrolls can be considered rare survivors of the monumental landscape tradition of Guo Xi interpreted in the vertical format from early Joseon times.

Taste for the Guo Xi style on the peninsula reached back to Goryeo times when there was close contact between the Korean court and the courts of China where the Guo Xi monumental landscape tradition was transmitted from the Northern Song to the Jin and Yuan dynasties. However, the popularity of the Northern Song Guo Xi painting style in the early Joseon might also be connected to the Korean court's close relationship with the early Ming court, where professional painters like Li Zai (李在 ac. 1424) revived the Guo Xi style. Ming court antiquarianism and efforts to reestablish pre-Yuan cultural forms were emulated at the early Joseon court. The Mōri scrolls and early Ming paintings such as Li Zai's *Mountain Villa and Lofty Recluse* (Fig. II-13) demonstrate the simultaneous popularity of the Guo Xi tradition both in Korea and China during the fifteenth century. The Mōri scrolls further exemplify early Joseon use of the Northern Song master's style in a uniquely Korean manner.

Finally I argued that the Mōri scrolls were part of the active exchange of material culture between the early Joseon court and the Ōuchi daimyō, who controlled the tally trade in western Japan, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. I found more than 250 entries regarding the Ōuchi clan in the *Joseon wango sillok* for the years from 1392 to 1556, showing that contact between the Joseon court and the Ōuchi clan was close and frequent. The *Joseon wangjo sillok* further confirm that successive early Joseon courts traded many goods and exchanged many kinds of material culture with the Ōuchi

clan. Similar cultural exchanges took place between the Joseon court and other Japanese daimyō of western Japan, such as the Sō (宗) clan of Tsushima Island. More landscape paintings of unknown authorship but probable early Joseon origin are also scattered through collections in Japan, Korea, and the West. Like the Mōri scrolls, some of these paintings have old provenances in Japan and connoisseurship records from the Edo period, and thus might lend themselves to the types of inquiry employed here.

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*Sejo sillok* 世祖實錄 [veritable records of King Sejo] (r.1455–1468)  
*Yejong sillok* 睿宗實錄 [veritable records of King Yejong] (r.1468–1469)  
*Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄 [veritable records of King Seongjong] (r.1469–1494)  
*Yeonsangun ilgi* 燕山君日記 [veritable records of Pince Yeonsan] (r.1494–1506)  
*Jungjong sillok* 中宗實錄 [veritable records of King Jungjong] (r.1506–1544)  
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