



"Rice Threshing" (detail) from "Journey through Everyday Scenes" (eight-panel screen), Kim Hongdo, 1778, ink and light color on silk, 90.9 (h) x 42.9 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



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[ABSTRACT]

As pictorial representations of daily scenes or events in the communal life of ordinary people, genre paintings can only achieve their aim through realistic expression. Abstract or non-representational styles cannot be employed in genre painting because it requires concrete depiction of subject matter. Realism is therefore the most important element in genre painting. And this is why genre painting is more reliable than any other type of painting as a medium for historical documentation. Artistic appeal is another vital element of a genre painting if it is to evoke sympathy from the viewer. A genre painting needs as much artistic quality as any other type of painting. In this regard, a genre painting is defined by 1) realism (寫實性), 2) documentary precision (記錄性), 3) representation of times (時代性), 4) artistic value (藝術性), and 5) historical integrity (史料性). Korean genre paintings should additionally represent 6) the native Korean ambience and sentiment (韓國的情趣). As a result, genre paintings can maintain their appeal despite the changing tastes of viewers through the ages.

In a broad sense, the earliest prototypes of genre painting in Korea may be found in agricultural scenes adorning a presumed ritual object from the

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Bronze Age. The incised human figures engaged in farming activities appear to stand for prayers for abundance and fertility. The images of farmers are expressed mainly through movements with their facial features boldly simplified.

Tomb murals of the Goguryeo Kingdom (37 BC–668 AD) may be regarded as the earliest extant examples of Korean genre painting. In particular, murals in the tombs of the early to middle periods, depicting scenes from the lives of the deceased in epic documentary styles, reveal characteristics of genre painting. In view of the fact that they were painted inside burial chambers, these paintings were intended to provide for the afterlife of the tomb owners rather than to be appreciated as objects of art.

Korean genre painting definitely reached its apex during the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910). Major events in the royal palace as well as fraternal gatherings of the literati were actively recorded in documentary paintings during the early years of Joseon, according to historical records.

Korean genre paintings of the highest standard are dated to the 18th and early 19th centuries during the latter part of the Joseon period. Literati painters, including Yun Duseo (1668–1715) and Jo Yeongseok (1686–1761), began painting genre scenes. Following in their footsteps were professional court painters such as Kim Duryang (1696–1763) and middle-class amateur painters such as Kang Huieon (1738–1764), who paved the road to a full blossoming of Joseon genre painting by Kim Hongdo (1745–after 1816), Kim Deuksin (1754–1822) and Shin Yunbok (1758?–after 1813). Kim Hongdo and Kim Deuksin humorously depicted scenes from the everyday lives of commoners while Shin Yunbok rendered the romantic world of hedonists and courtesans with refined technique. These prominent genre painters exerted influence on professional painters of following generations, such as Yu Suk (1827–1873) and Kim Jun-geun (dates unknown), as well as folk painters. But the later painters never attained the vital appeal and artistry of their predecessors and genre painting declined throughout the 19th century. In addition, the Buddhist nectar ritual paintings of Joseon featured scenes from everyday lives of laymen in lower sections, which obviously resulted from the influence of genre painting.

[KEYWORDS]

bronze ritual object, farming scenes, Muyongchong, royal protocols, fraternity meetings, tilling and weaving, Yun Duseo, Yun Deokheui, Yun Yong, Jo Yeongseok, Kim Duryang, Kang Heuieon, Kang Sehwang, Kim Hongdo, Kim Deuksin, Shin Yunbok, Yu Suk, Kim Jun-geun, folk painting, nectar ritual painting, realism, documentary precision, representation of times, artistic value, historical integrity

I INTRODUCTION

Genre painting refers to pictures depicting scenes and events from everyday life of ordinary people. The corresponding Korean term, *pungsokhwa*, literally means "folk custom painting." The lexical meaning of *pungsok*, "custom," is "everyday practice or habits handed down in a society from the past," "popular trends" (風氣) or "conventions" (時體).¹ Korean folk customs as they are known today may be traced back to the Bronze Age, when people began regularly cultivating crops and forming agrarian communities.

Traditional genre painting may be divided into two types. In the broad sense, the term covers paintings depicting events, customs, traditions, and other situations and scenes of daily life of people. Among these are events in the royal court and palace, activities and practices of the literati class, everyday lives of commoners, popular games, folk religion, rites of passage (冠婚喪祭), and seasonal customs.²

More specifically, in the narrow sense, genre painting may be defined as "secular painting" (俗畫). It comprises "paintings depicting mainly mundane affairs in markets and on the streets, miscellanies in the lives of commoners, leisure activities of the nobility, scenes of farming and weaving, and suggestive pictures charged with sexual desire."³ The latter are quite distinct from paintings describing the lofty and decorous life of aristocrats. The scenes depicted by Kim Hongdo (金弘道, 1745–after 1816; sobriquet, Danwon) and Shin Yunbok (申潤福, 1758?–after 1813; sobriquet, Hyewon) of the late Joseon period belong to this category of secular painting. But while they are quintessential genre scenes, it would not be right to consider them as the sole representatives of genre painting. Otherwise, under such a narrow definition, a considerable heritage of paintings depicting events in royal palaces, fraternal gatherings of scholars (契會), and other important documentary pictures of an official nature might be excluded. A broad range of observation would be helpful for understanding the diverse customs and lifestyles of

different periods. Genre painting, in the broad sense, should mean paintings depicting all types of customs in human communities.

Realism (寫實性) and documentary precision (記錄性) are the two most essential elements of genre painting, which is a genre of the fine arts primarily intended to depict aspects of human life as exactly as they are. No less important in this regard is historical integrity (時代性). An abstract or non-representative presentation of a genre scene or a modern artist's imaginary depiction of ancient customs cannot be considered a genre painting in the proper sense. If it is to evoke sympathy and touch the viewer, a genre painting would also need a certain degree of "dignity, tasteful and lyrical mood."⁴ It requires artistic and aesthetic sensibility(藝術性). Works by Kim Hongdo and Shin Yunbok, painted over two centuries ago, can appeal to Koreans today, and even be delightful, because they are rendered with realistic documentary precision and historical integrity, artistic expertise as well as uniquely Korean atmosphere. These may be defined as the "five most important virtues" of Korean genre painting.

Korea has a large corpus of genre paintings forming a prominent tradition from remote ancient times to the late years of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910). As faithful mirrors of the lifestyles, thoughts and emotions of the Korean people as well as intense representations of Korean aesthetics, genre scenes constitute an integral part of Korean painting history. They are also vital sources of inspiration for today's Koreans in reassessing their history, culture, lifestyle and aestheticism.

II PRE-JOSEON GENRE PAINTINGS

It is reasonable to assume that the type of painting which is called genre painting today emerged after mankind had developed a community life and painting technique had reached a certain level. On the Korean peninsula these two basic conditions were met

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during the Bronze Age. Ancestors of present-day Koreans had begun to settle down and live collectively during the Neolithic period, but the origins of genre painting should be found in Bronze Age relics which began to contain painterly expressions.

The oldest known record about Korean folk customs is found in *Dongyizhuan* (東夷傳: Accounts of the Eastern Barbarians) from the *Houhanshu* (後漢書, *History of the Later Han*). According to this ancient Chinese source, people of early Korean kingdoms such as Buyeo, Goguryeo and Ye (濊, Yemaek) conducted rites in the tenth month or in the twelfth month (Buyeo) after the harvest to thank the heavens for granting them rich crops.⁵ These rites, called respectively *yeonggo* (迎鼓), *dongmaeng* (同盟) and *mucheon* (舞天) in the three states, were accompanied by drinking, dancing and merrymaking to promote harmony among villagers. They were all basically thanksgiving customs rooted in early agricultural society. Regrettably, there are no paintings depicting these activities that remain today.

01 BRONZE AGE

The earliest extant relics that may be regarded as analogous to genre painting in Korea are the Bangudae (盤龜臺) petroglyphs in Daegok-ri, Eonyang, Ulju (蔚州), Gyeongsangbuk-do, and the Bronze ritual object with farming scenes (農耕文青銅器) in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. The rock carvings of Bangudae (盤龜臺) provide glimpses of the life of early inhabitants of the Korean peninsula, who engaged in fishing and hunting. The engravings feature many motifs including marine mammals such as whales, dolphins and turtles, and land animals such as tigers and deer, as well as scenes of hunting with nets, a captive animal confined in a wooden enclosure, and whale hunters at sea.⁶ Noteworthy in particular are images of pregnant animals and men with erect phalluses, symbolic of aspirations for fertility and abundance.

Drawing no less attention in this regard is the Bronze ritual object with farming scenes (Figure 1). Partially destroyed, the front of this presumed ritual object has a Y-shaped tree with a pair of birds looking across at each other from the two branch tips (only part of the bird on the right branch remains). A tree with birds perched on top probably portrays a ritual altar (蘇塗).⁷ On the back, to the right are featured two men, one with erect phalluses and tilling a field with a small plough and the other digging earth with a hoe. To the left of these images is another man about to put grain into a vessel covered with a net. These scenes depict farmers ploughing in the spring and harvesting in the autumn. The highly symbolic and simplified motifs are carved in a semi-abstract style on a plain background. Through this ritual piece some crucial aspects of the lifestyles and customs of Bronze Age people as well as their spiritual world can be observed. Prayers for abundance symbolically expressed on this bronze object are probably related to harvest rituals and



(Figure 1)
Bronze object with farming scenes
(農耕文青銅器), 7.3 (h) × 12.8 (w)cm,
assumed to be from Daejeon,
National Museum of Korea

festivals conducted in the ancient kingdoms of Buyeo, Goguryeo and Ye.

02 THREE KINGDOMS AND THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN DYNASTIES

During the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC–668 AD), more varied lifestyles emerged and everyday customs diversified further. As painting achieved remarkable development at this time, it would certainly have attempted to reflect diverse aspects of life. But, except for tomb murals of the Goguryeo Kingdom (37 BC–668 AD), no genre scenes remain from this period.

Over the past century and more, tombs in the northern state of Goguryeo have been found to contain mural paintings portraying diverse aspects of life, including clothing styles, architecture, religious faith and thought.⁸ Most murals in the tombs dating from the fourth to the sixth centuries describe daily customs of Goguryeo through scenes from the life of the deceased while those of the 7th century or later tend to focus on celestial deities such as the guardians of the four cardinal directions reflecting the influence of Daoism.

Among the tombs of the first period (the 4th to the early 5th centuries), the most remarkable are Anak Tomb No. 3, dated 357, the 13th year of the Yonghe (永和) era; and the Old Tomb of Deokheung-ri, built in 408, the 18th year of Yongle (永樂). On the walls

of these tomb chambers, both located in North Korea, are rendered portraits of the deceased (Figure 2) and scenes from their lives in this world such as ceremonial processions (Figure 3), while the ceilings portray the celestial world where the masters of the tombs would dwell in the afterlife. Hence the tombs form a small universe as conceived by the people of Goguryeo, and the murals show the stylistic characteristics of painting and daily life in the ancient kingdom as well as its religious, spiritual and philosophical views.

Most Goguryeo tombs from the early period and the middle period (early 4th to the 6th centuries) had two or more chambers and therefore offered plenty of space to paint. Consequently, their murals feature diverse themes including portraits of the tomb owners, processions, hunting scenes, scenes of combat, dancers and musicians, and sacrificial offerings. These themes are set against different backdrops, including the interiors of aristocratic homes, kitchens, mills, butcher shops, garages, stables, cattle sheds, fortress walls and pavilions.⁹ The ceilings are adorned with celestial and mythical motifs such as the sun, the moon, constellations, flying fairies, immortals, mythical beasts, panacean herbs and lotus flowers.

While the murals on the walls obviously describe domestic daily life, those on the ceilings strongly represent Buddhist and Daoist ideas introduced from China, which suggests that these imported religious and philosophical traditions must



(Figure 2)
"Tomb Owner," on the wall of the main burial chamber of Anak Tomb No. 3, 357, Hwanghae-do, North Korea



(Figure 3)
"Ceremonial Procession," on the corridor wall leading to the main burial chamber of the Anak Tomb No. 3, 357, Hwanghae-do, North Korea

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have added diversity to native customs. Also, some of the mythical beasts and plants and geometric patterns indicate cultural exchanges with not only China but Central and Western Asia as well. With these physical records, it can be assumed that daily customs in Goguryeo had embraced foreign influences from China and beyond by this time.

The Goguryeo tomb murals from the early to the middle periods have dual characteristics. The paintings on the walls are typically realistic, explanatory, epic and documentary, while those on the ceilings tend to be imaginary, ideological and religious. Generally, however, the tomb murals of Goguryeo are characteristically dynamic and tense, a tendency that becomes even more obvious in the murals of Muyongchong (舞踊塚, Tomb of the Dancers), Gakjeochong (角抵塚, Tomb of the Wrestlers) and other tombs from the third period.

The full blossoming of the powerful style of Goguryeo tomb murals came in the late period as evident in Gangseodaemyo (江西大墓, Great Tomb of Gangseo), Sasinchong (四神塚, Tomb of Four Deities) in Tungkou (通溝), Jinpa-ri (眞坡理) Tomb No. 1 and Tomb No. 4 of Ohoebun (五盔墳, Five Helmet Tombs). As mentioned above, however, genre scenes rapidly disappeared from the tomb murals of later Goguryeo as the worship of the four directional gods and immortals grew increasingly popular under Daoist influence. No less important is the practical reason that painting space got drastically smaller as single-chamber tombs became popular. Certainly, with limited space available for mural painting inside the tombs, it became impossible to depict episodes from the life of the deceased with epic grandeur.

Apart from the Goguryeo tomb murals, few paintings that may be regarded as genre pictures remain from the Three Kingdoms and the Southern and Northern Dynasties (Unified Silla, 668–935; and Balhae, 698–926) periods. Most of these have previously been systematically discussed in other publications by the writer, and will not be discussed here.¹⁰

Nevertheless, a mural tomb discovered in 1985 in Sunheung (順興), Gyeongsangbuk-do deserves attention as it is one of the few ancient mural tombs located in South Korea. Believed to be a Silla tomb built in 479 or 539, it shows a strong influence from Goguryeo, particularly the murals painted on the four walls of the stone burial chamber.¹¹ The four walls feature different themes: the eastern wall shows mountains and a medallion containing the image of a bird, which is believed to be a representation of sunlight; on the northern wall are figures of a propitious bird and lotus flowers amid the mountains stretching from the eastern wall; on the western wall is a house and a tall willow tree surrounded by walls; and on the southern wall is a human figure holding a catfish banner near the entranceway. Above this human figure is an ink inscription: "己未中 墓像 人名." From the inscription it has been found that the

tomb was made in the *gimi* (己未) year, corresponding to 539 or 479. The catafalque (棺臺) is decorated with boshan (博山), the stylized Daoist mountain design, on the upper front panel; the motif of trees and more mountains is repeated below. A guardian warrior (力士) is painted on each side of the entranceway (羨道), one running to the outside, holding up a snake, and the other with an alien face (梵顏胡相).

The murals in this tomb generally look archaic. The mountains, in particular, are painted in the archaic style found in the hunting scenes of the Tomb of Deokheung-ri (德興理) and the Muyongchong (Figure 4). The lotus and mountain designs are thought to combine Buddhist and Daoist elements. But one particular mural, painted on the western wall, smacks of a genre view: the house, a tall willow tree and the walls surrounding them are clearly reminiscent of the background pictures of second-period Goguryeo tomb murals. Hence it may be assumed that genre paintings were often produced in Silla under influences from Goguryeo.

The tomb of Princess Jeonghyo (貞孝公主, 757–792) of Balhae, located on Mt. Xilongtou (西龍頭山) in Helong (和龍縣), Yanbian (延邊), Korean Autonomous Prefecture, in China's Jilin Province (吉林省), contains



(Figure 4)
“Hunting Scene,” on the wall main burial chamber of the Muyongchong, Tomb of the Dancers, late 5th century, Jian, China

important murals providing glimpses into the life and painting style in the northern kingdom.¹² The murals, rendered in beautiful colors, feature tomb keepers, guards, attendants, musicians and eunuchs. They are dressed in long robes with hoods and leather boots.

These human figures, mostly depicted in profile, seem to combine traditions from Goguryeo and Chinese figure paintings of the Tang period (618–907) in view of their style of dress and plump physique. It can be gleaned from these murals that the people of Balhae believed in an afterlife and decorated the interiors of their tombs with mural paintings, as did their Goguryeo forebears. It can also be conjectured that Balhae inherited its dress and daily customs from Goguryeo while embracing Chinese culture from Tang at the same time.

03 GORYEO PERIOD

As evidenced by historical records and extant works of art, Korean painting made great progress in many genres including figure paintings, portraits, landscapes, animals, birds-and-flowers, bamboo and palace scenes as well as Buddhist painting during the Goryeo period (918–1392).¹³ Lifestyles also grew markedly diverse and upper-class culture was permeated by aristocratic tastes. Goryeo had distinctive dress and food as well as general lifestyle. Both Chinese emperors and Korean kings expressed keen interest in each other's customs. For example, Emperor Zhezong (r. 1085–1100) of Northern Song gave the visiting Goryeo envoy Yi Jaeui (李資義, ?–1095) a list of books that he wanted to receive from Goryeo, which included a copy of *Goryeo pungsokgi* (高麗風俗記, Record of Goryeo Customs) and 30 volumes of *Pungsok tongeui* (風俗通義, Folk Customs Encyclopedia). Emperor Shizu (r. 1260–1293) of Yuan (1271–1368) sent a document titled *Fengsu baishi* (風俗百事, A Hundred Customs) at Goryeo's request in 1278, the 4th year of King Chungnyeol's reign (1274–1308).¹⁴ As is widely known, Goryeo followed Mongol customs and during the latter part of the period, Goryeo's own customs were also well known in Yuan. *Goryeosa* (高麗史, History

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of Goryeo) and *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* (宣和奉使高麗圖經, Illustrated Record of an Embassy to Goryeo in the Xuanhe Era), a 12th-century source written by the Song diplomat Xu Jing (徐兢, dates unknown), provide glimpses of everyday customs of the period.¹⁵

Given the advanced level of painting and the diversity of folk customs in Goryeo, it is possible that daily lifestyles were popular themes among painters. The lifestyles of the royal family and the nobility, in particular, must have been attractive subjects of painting. The literati class probably gave rise to a distinct sub-culture during the early part of the Goryeo period as evidenced by a painting by Yi Jeon (李佺, dates unknown), *Haedong girohoedo* (海東耆老會圖, Gathering of Retired Officials), depicting a scene from an elderly retired officials' fraternity meeting led by Choe Dang (崔謙, 1135–1211). The scene was also engraved on stone and fraternity meetings of elderly officials became even more popular.¹⁶ The works *Yeseonggangdo* (禮成江圖, Yeseong River) and *Cheonsusa nammundo* (天壽寺南門圖, South Gate of Cheonsu Temple) painted by Yi Nyeong (李寧, active in the 12th century) and *Geumgangsando* (金剛山圖, Mt. Geumgang) and *Jinyang sansudo* (晉陽山水圖, Landscape of Jinyang) by an anonymous painter attest to a tradition of realistic landscape painting established in Goryeo.¹⁷ This implies that genre paintings in the broad sense were also produced, but due to a dearth of paintings remaining from this period, further details are not available.

Extant fragments of the paintings titled *Suryeopdo* (狩獵圖, Hunting Scene), attributed to King Gongmin (r. 1351–1374) and *Gima dogangdo* (騎馬渡江圖, Horse Riders Crossing a River) by Yi Jehyeon (李齊賢, 1287–1367), testify to the aforementioned popularity of Mongol customs and hunting among the aristocrats of Goryeo.

Buddhist paintings provide fragmentary but useful glimpses of the daily customs in Goryeo. Among the most notable works in this regard is *Mireuk hasaeng byeonsangdo* (彌勒下生經變相, Frontispiece for the Sutra on the Descent of Maitreya), painted by Hoejeon (梅前, dates unknown) in 1350, which is preserved at Shinnou-in (親王院) in Mount Kouya in Wakayama, Japan. Another piece with the same title is at Chion-in (智恩院) in Kyoto, Japan.¹⁸ The lower sections of these Buddhist paintings feature farming scenes of ox-drawn ploughing, rice harvesting and threshing.

Buddhist paintings offer useful clues to lifestyles in the secular world through portrayals of gorgeous houses with tiled roofs, their interiors and the costumes of human figures. Large-scale Buddhist festivals organized by the state, such as *yeondeunghoe* (燃燈會, Lantern Festival) and *palgwanhoe* (八關會, Festival of the Eight Vows), were attended by the royalty as well as the general public. It is regrettable that no paintings depicting these annual celebrations remain today as they must have been intimately tied to folk customs at the time.

III GENRE PAINTINGS OF THE EARLIER HALF OF THE JOSEON PERIOD

The Joseon period (1392–1910) witnessed further development of painting in diverse genres, including those depicting folk customs.

In terms of painting style and the nature of subjects depicted, the Joseon era that lasted about five centuries may be divided into four periods: the early period from 1392 to around 1550, the middle period from around 1550 to around 1700, the late period from around 1700 to around 1850, and the last period from around 1850 to 1910. Throughout these periods, Joseon produced documentary pictures of important events of the state and the palace, including *uigwedo* (儀軌圖, illustrations for royal protocols). Among the most remarkable genre scenes painted during the early period was *Daesoga euijangdo* (大小駕儀仗圖, Honor Guards in Full Armor) by An Gyeon (安堅, active 1440s–1460s).¹⁹ Also notable as genre paintings of outstanding documentary value are *Sindojongmyosajik gwanjeonjosi hyeongsejido* (新都宗廟社稷官殿朝市形勢之圖, Royal Ancestral Shrine, State Altars, Palaces and Cityscape of the New Capital), painted during the reign of the founding monarch, Taejo (r. 1392–1398), *Jungmyojo seoyeongwan sayeondo* (中廟朝書筵官賜宴圖, Banquet for Instructors of the Crown Prince in the Reign of King Jungjong), painted during the reign of Jungjong (r. 1506–1544), albums of genre scenes produced under Injong (r. 1544–1545) and scenes of state examinations painted under Myeongjong (r. 1545–1567).²⁰

The literati, or the scholar-bureaucrats, frequently held fraternity meetings (契會, *gyehoe*), which often resulted in the production of commemorative pictures by court painters during the early Joseon Dynasty.²¹ Most of these meetings were held in the mountains or riversides in spring or autumn and paintings depicting these gatherings naturally included the landscape. These pictures typically have a title at the top, a scene of the meeting in the middle, and a list of participants at the bottom. This style was

predominant in pictures of fraternity meetings of the early and the middle periods of Joseon. Kim Hongdo, who was active during the late period, maintained this style as shown by his 1804 work, *Giroseyeon gyedo* (耆老世聯稷圖, Fraternal Legacy of Elders).

Documentary pictures of literati fraternity meetings produced during the early Joseon period characteristically emphasized a huge overwhelming landscape in the style of An Gyeon, looming over a tiny symbolic image of the gathering, as shown in *Miwon gyehoedo* (薇垣契會圖, Fraternity Meeting of the Office of Censor-General), *Hagwan gyehoedo* (夏官契會圖, Fraternity Meeting of the Ministry of Defence), and *Dokseodang gyehoedo* (讀書堂契會圖, Fraternity Meeting of the Royal Athenaeum). Closer observation will lead to a useful understanding of popular patterns of entertainment: the participants are clad in official robes and silk hats; the wine jars placed on a table speak of their love for nature and drinking with friends in the outdoors as a means of cultivating a noble and valiant spirit. In particular, "Fraternity Meeting of the Royal Athenaeum" clearly shows some traits of a genre scene, marked by such details as catching fish with a net in the Han River (漢江).

Pictures of fraternity meetings changed greatly from around 1550. More of the meetings came to be held indoors, which resulted in a greater focus on portraying the meetings themselves rather than landscapes in the background. Consequently, the pictures memorializing fraternity meetings from this period show stronger characteristics as genre paintings. These changes can be easily confirmed through a few outstanding pieces, such as *Hojonanggwan gyehoedo* (戶曹郎官契會圖, Fraternity Meeting of Mid-level Officials of the Ministry of Revenue) (Figure 5), and *Namji giyeonghoedo* (南池耆英會圖, Fraternity Meeting of Retired Senior Officials by the South Pond) by Yi Giryong (李起龍, 1600–?) (Figure 6).

During the late period from around 1700 to around 1850, this style of documentary pictures of fraternity meetings of the literati declined, giving way



(Figure 5)
"Fraternity Meeting of Mid-level Officials of the Ministry of Revenue" (detail), anonymous, ca. 1550, ink and light color on silk, 121 (h) x 59 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 6)
"Fraternity Meeting of Retired Senior Officials by the South Pond", Yi Giryong, ink and color on silk, 116.7 (h) x 72.4 (w) cm, Seoul National University Museum



(Figure 7)
"Meeting of Senior Officials under the Reign of Seonjo," anonymous, 1585, ink and color on silk, 40.9 (h) x 59.2 (w) cm, Seoul National University Museum

to paintings in freer styles depicting elegant gatherings of the nobility (雅集圖). However, this did not mean the end of painting memorials of the gatherings of retired officials aged 70 or older who had served in positions of the major second rank or higher. The artists focused on depicting the meetings without landscape backgrounds. *Gisagyecheop* (耆社契帖), albums of fraternity meetings of retired senior officials, represent this style well.

Pictures of fraternity meetings of the literati after the middle period contain more genre views as they treat the meetings with greater care. *Seonjojo giyeonghoedo* (宣祖朝耆英會圖, Meeting of Senior Officials under the Reign of Seonjo) (Figure 7), painted in 1585, is a good example. The meeting appears to be taking place indoors. The participants are dressed in official robes and seated against a backdrop of a landscape painting rendered over six panels in the style of the Zhe school (浙派). Each of the participants is being offered a portable table with food and drink by women as they watch two female dancers performing. In the center of the foreground is a red lacquered table on which a white porcelain jar holds flowers. On either side of the table six beautiful women are portrayed in profile. Two lit candles in the hall indicate that the meeting lasted until the evening. Outside the hall are positioned musicians playing various instruments, maids standing beside wine jars and braziers, and attendants on their knees, standing by. Thus the painting provides glimpses of various aspects of the culture of the mid-Joseon period, such as the architectural style, interior decoration and dresses, not to mention the meeting itself. The composition and painting style served as the basis for *Gisagyecheop* produced a century and a half later, which expressed the protocol and formalities of such meetings in greater detail. This precise documentary style was dominant in the illustrations of manuals for royal protocols, called *euigwedo* (儀軌圖), describing major events in the palace during the mid-to-late Joseon period.²²

Chinese paintings on popular themes, such as *Binfengtu* (鬪風圖, Illustrations of the Odes of Bin), *Wuyitu* (無逸圖, Illustrations to 'Against Luxurious Ease') and *Gengzhitu* (耕織圖, Pictures of Tilling and Weaving), stimulated the development of genre painting in Joseon. *Binfengtu* illustrates the chapter "Illustrations on the Seventh Month from the Ode of Bin (鬪風七月篇)" of *Shijing* (詩經, Book of Odes), said to have been written by the Duke of Zhou, the younger brother of King Wu (武王) of Bin (the homeland of the Zhou) who served as regent for his young nephew, King Cheng (成王). The poem was intended to instruct the young ruler. Also known by the title *Binfeng Qiyuetu* (鬪風七月圖, Illustrations on the Seventh Month from the Odes of Bin), the poem depicts the life of farmers engaged in tilling and silkworm raising, along with the changing scenes of nature from month to month. As such, the illustrations naturally featured the daily customs in farming villages, an important theme of traditional genre painting. In Korea, from the early to mid-Joseon, similar paintings were produced under the same title, pronounced as *Binpungdo*, according to *Joseon wangjo*

sillok (朝鮮王朝實錄, Annals of the Joseon Dynasty).²³ One of the earliest extant works with this title is an eight-leaf album by Yi Bangun (李昉運, 1716-?).²⁴ The album contains pictures depicting different scenes of rural life, including farming and silkworm raising in natural scenery (Figure 8). This is a style frequently noticed in genre scenes by other painters, such as Kim Duryang (金斗樑, 1696-1763) and his son, Kim Deokha (金德廈, 1722-1772), who collaborated in painting rural landscapes of the four seasons, under the titles *Chunha doriwon hoheunggyeongdo* (春夏桃李園豪興景圖, Exciting Scenes at Peach and Cucumber Orchards in Spring and Summer) and *Chudong jeonwon haengnyeop seunghoedo* (秋冬田園行獵勝會圖, Hunting Contest in the Countryside in Autumn and Winter).

The verse under the title *Wuyi* (無逸) from the "Document of Zhou" in *Shujing* (書經, *Classic of History*) is the subject of *Wuyitu*. This is another verse composed by the Duke of Zhou to warn his nephew, King Cheng, who ascended the throne at young age, against indulging in ease. The earliest known painting under this title is attributed to Sun Shi (孫奭, 962-1033), a literati painter during the reign of Emperor Renzhong of the Song Dynasty. Sun is said to have presented his painting to the emperor so that it was hung in the Pavilion of Reading.²⁵ Likewise, in the royal court of Joseon from the early years under the founding ruler, Taejo, to Jungjong in the early 16th century, paintings on similar themes were often produced under the title *Muildo* and presented to the king or became a subject



(Figure 8)
"Illustrations on the Seventh Month from the Odes of Bin," Yi Bang-un, ink and light color on paper, 25.6 (h) x 20.1 (w) cm (each piece), National Museum of Korea

of discussion.²⁶ Both *Binpungdo* and *Muildo* were intended to promote good governance by reminding the king of the difficulties experienced by their subjects in carrying out their occupations. Therefore, these paintings had to depict the life of Koreans although their underlying themes were derived from ancient Chinese classics. In effect, they were genre paintings in the broad sense that they were often seen in the royal palace during the early and middle periods of Joseon. The aforementioned *Binpungdo* by Yi Bangun is one such painting. Regrettably, to this author's knowledge, there is no extant example of *Muildo* painted during the Joseon period.

Joseon wangjo sillok contains accounts on paintings of diverse themes related with the life of the people, which obviously developed under the influence of classical Chinese paintings on subjects concerning proper state governance. Among them are *Gasaekdo* (稼穡圖, Grain Cultivation), *Junggungjamdo byeongpung* (中宮蠶圖屏風, Screen with Pictures of the Queen Engaged in Sericulture), *Gwan-gado* (觀稼圖, Watching Grain Growing), *Samindo* (四民圖, Four Classes of People), *Anminddo* (安民圖, Peace for the People), *Yumindo* (流民圖, Wanderers) and *Jinminddo* (賑民圖, Relief for Suffering People).²⁷ These paintings not only served to encourage good governance and public welfare but also provided strong momentum for the development of genre painting. The two ancient themes, *Binpungdo* and *Wuyitu* gradually lost influence by around the reign of Jungjong (r. 1506-1544) as these and the more concrete themes of *Gengzhitu* (耕織圖) were introduced.²⁸

Gengzhitu, or Pictures of Tilling and Weaving, were first compiled by Lou Shou (樓璣, 1090-1162), a county magistrate of Yuquan (於潛), Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). Lou painted 45 scenes of agricultural activities – 21 of tilling and 24 of weaving – each annotated with a five-character verse, and presented the collection to Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127-1162).²⁹

Each of these scenes depicts a different step in tilling and weaving. The pictures of tilling feature (1)

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soaking rice seeds (浸種), (2) paddy ploughing (耕), (3) rough harrowing (耙耨), (4) fine harrowing (耖), (5) raking (碌碡), (6) sowing seeds (布秧), (7) fertilizing (布秧), (8) lifting seedlings (拔秧), (9) transplanting seedlings (插秧), (10) first round weeding (一耘), (11) second round weeding (二耘), (12) third round weeding (三耘), (13) irrigating (灌溉), (14) harvesting rice (收刈), (15) piling up sheaves of rice (登場), (16) threshing (持穗), (17) winnowing (簸場), (18) grinding (磨), (19) pounding (春碓), (20) sifting (簾), and (21) storing (入倉).

The pictures of silk farming and weaving portrayed scenes of (1) washing silkworms (浴蠶), (2) laying the worms in breeding baskets (下蠶), (3) feeding worms (餵蠶), (4) first moult (一眠), (5) second moult (二眠), (6) third moult (三眠), (7) transferring some worms into other baskets to avoid overcrowding (分箔), (8) picking mulberry leaves (采桑), (9) the larvae finish eating (大起), (10) setting up cocoon beds (提績), (11) mounting worms on the beds (上簇), (12) blocking baskets (灸箔), (13) removing cocoons from the beds (下簇), (14) sorting out cocoons (擇繭), (15) storing cocoons (窖繭), (16) drawing the thread (練絲), (17) moths emerging from cocoons (蠶蛾), (18) holding thanksgiving rites (祀謝), (19) reeling thread (絡絲), (20) making the warp (經), (21) preparing the weft (緯), (22) silk weaving (織), (23) weaving patterns (攀花), and (24) cutting silk (剪帛).

Many subsequent editions of these illustrations were produced under various emperors. Most famously, they were reorganized into 46 pictures, 23 each for tilling and weaving, under the reign of Kangxi Emperor (康熙帝, r. 1661-1722) of the Qing Dynasty. The court painter Jiao Bingzhen (焦秉貞, dates unknown) completed the edition in 1696 under the title *Peiwenzhai gengzhitu* (佩文齋耕織圖, Study Hall Edition of the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving). Woodblock prints were also produced based on these pictures. These paintings spread even among the commoners in Korea during the latter part of the Joseon period.³⁰

These Chinese paintings depicting the daily activities of farmers exerted tremendous influence on Korean genre painting during the latter part of the Joseon period. Genre scenes painted in later Joseon often portray farmers ploughing rice paddies, planting rice seedlings, cutting rice stalks, threshing, reeling thread, or weaving – in remarkably similar compositions and techniques. Probably, they were influenced by the Qing printed version of *Peiwenzhai gengzhitu*.

IV GENRE PAINTINGS OF THE LATTER HALF OF THE JOSEON PERIOD

Korean genre painting reached its apogee during the later Joseon (from around 1700 to around 1850) and waned in its last period (ca.1850-1910). The flowering of genre painting of the later period occurred in parallel with the

development of *jin'gyeongsansu* (眞景山水, true-view landscape). This was probably owing to genre amidst the burgeoning of national awareness in scholarly and artistic circles under the reigns of Yeongjo (r. 1724–1776), Jeongjo (r. 1776–1800) and Sunjo (r. 1800–1834). In this remarkable era of self-awakening, scholars and artists pursued aspirations more felicitous for themselves and their society and country, giving rise to new trends in literature, painting, music and the sciences.

Rational and practicable approaches were sought in scholarly research, resulting in the emergence of *Silhak* (實學, Practical Learning). Vernacular novels, such as *Chunhyangjeon* (春香傳, Story of Chunhyang), *Shimcheongjeon* (沈淸傳, Story of Shim Cheong) and *Heungbujeon* (興夫傳, Story of Heungbu), were widely enjoyed. In this milieu, true-view landscape describing the actual scenery of Korea and genre views delving into the daily lives of native folks gained strong momentum in the fine arts.³¹ Stimulating these strides were economic development and the subsequent rise in cultural aspirations as well as the spread of Qing culture and consequent accommodation of Western painting technique.³²



(Figure 9)
"Gathering Mugwort," Yun Duseo, ink and light color on silk,
30.2 (h) x 25 (w) cm, House of Yun Yeong-seon in Haenam, Jeollanam-do

Pictures of the everyday lives of commoners constituted the essence of Korean genre painting of this vibrant era. These genre paintings are generally divided into those with landscape backgrounds and those without them. The landscape backgrounds of genre paintings are in turn divided into those following the Zhe school style which was popular in the mid-Joseon period and those reflecting influences from the style of the Southern School. But landscapes gradually waned and eventually disappeared amid the tendency to highlight only the genre scenes. In terms of subject matter there was also a notable shift away from paintings of a documentary nature or serving didactic and political purposes toward paintings intended as pure genre scenes.

01 GENRE PAINTINGS OF THE LATE JOSEON PERIOD (ca. 1700– ca. 1850)

In the latter part of the Joseon period, as in landscape painting, several painters explored new horizons in genre painting while staunchly adhering to traditional elements. Among the pioneers were Yun Duseo (尹斗緒, 1668–1715; sobriquet, Gongjae) and his family, Yun's student Kim Duryang (1696–1763), and Jo Yeongseok (趙榮祐, 1686–1761; sobriquet, Gwanajae). With the exception of Kim Duryang, all the leading genre painters at this time were literati painters. Kim Hongdo and other court painters of the next generation consolidated the foundation laid by these pioneers. Deserving particular attention in this regard are Yun Duseo and his son, Yun Deokhui (尹德熙, 1685–1776) and grandson, Yun Yong (尹溶, 1708–40), who developed a distinctive family style. Adept in landscape as well as figure and horse painting, they followed the conservative Zhe style in general but also embraced Southern School techniques.³³ They all showed considerable interest in genre scenes as well.

In his painting titled *Chaeaedo* (採艾圖, Gathering Mugwort) (Figure 9), Yun Duseo depicted two women collecting wild herbs on a steep mountain slope in a style obviously showing remnants of the Zhe school influence stressing landscape as background.

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The composition gives a stuffy feeling as the distant mountain rising behind the women looks too nearby, the result of an excessive emphasis on the background landscape. The women are also awkwardly poised, one bending forward with her back stooped and one standing straight with her head turned back. Through this composition it can be assumed that landscape was regarded as important as human figures in genre scenes painted at the beginning of this period.

In spite of its overall clumsy impression, the painting still provides a glimpse of Yun's artistry through his depiction of the women's clothing in particular. He obviously had a shrewd eye for observation and the ability for accurate description with his smooth and spirited brushwork.

In his collection of critical essays, *Gijol* (記拙, Humble Writings), Yun gave high praise to Kim Si (金禔, 1524–93) and other mid-Joseon painters who had emulated the landscape style of the Zhe school.³⁴ Yun's views are also expressed in his paintings, *Chaeaedo* and *Jipsinsamgi* (Making Straw Shoes) (Figure 10). In the latter work, the shoemaker is presented in a semi-circular space framed by drooping branches of a big tree in the back and rocks and shrubbery in the foreground, depicted in monochrome in the Zhe school style. The composition, though indisputably a genre scene, is based on both tradition and a new style.

A leading literati painter of his time, Yun believed in principle that landscape, depicted in the Zhe school style in particular, should be part of genre scenes. Sometimes, as in *Seonchado* (旋車圖, Wood Turner) (Figure 11),



(Figure 10)
"Making Straw Shoes," Yun Duseo, ink on paper,
32.4 (h) x 21.1 (w) cm, House of Yun Yeong-seon
in Haenam, Jeollanam-do



(Figure 11)
"Wood Turner," Yun Duseo, ink on paper,
32.4 (h) x 20 (w) cm, House of Yun Yeong-seon
in Haenam, Jeollanam-do

he completely eliminated landscape from his genre scenes. Thus it may be said that Yun worked in both styles, though in principle he favored adding landscape backgrounds.

Yun Duseo's genre painting style was faithfully passed on to his descendants, as shown in *Gongginori* (Playing Marbles) by his son Yun Deokhui and *Hyeomnong chaechun* (挾籠採春, Gathering Spring Herbs) (Figure 12) by his grandson Yun Yong. In particular, Yun Yong painted a woman seen from the back as she looks around standing up from gathering wild vegetables, holding a hoe in one hand and with a basket slung over the other shoulder. Her pose clearly echoes his grand father's earlier work, *Chaeaedo* but the painting is more accomplished. It may be said that Yun Yong inherited his family style but outdid his forebears. He depicted some plants denoting the ground but left the rest of the space empty, which makes the painting look all the more impressive.

Landscape backgrounds continued to take an important place in the works of Kim Duryang (1696–1763),³⁵ as seen in *Mokdongosu* (牧童午睡, Oxherd Taking a Nap) (Figure 13) and *Sagyepungsok* (四季風俗, Customs of the Four Seasons). In the painting of the oxherd, a tree rising from a corner and the grass growing around show Zhe style methods, but the depiction of the sleeping boy with his round belly exposed and the grazing ox reveal influences from the newly-introduced Western painting technique. Following Yun Duseo's *Seonchado*, this may be another example where Western culture provided a certain stimulus to the development of genre painting in the latter part of the Joseon period. In contrast, residual Southern School methods still prevail in Kim's other work, *Sagyepungsokdo* (四季風俗圖, Customs of the Four Seasons). This is a serial work consisting of two long horizontal scrolls, *Chunhadoriwon hoheunggyeongdo* (春夏桃李園豪興景圖, Exciting Scenes at Peach and Cucumber Orchards in Spring and Summer) (Figure 14–15) and *Chudong jeonwon haengryeop seunghoedo* (秋冬田園行獵勝會圖, Hunting Contest in the Countryside in Autumn and Winter) (Figure 16–17). What is



(Figure 12)
"Gathering Spring Herbs with Basket," Yun Yong, ink and light color on paper, 27.6 (h) x 21.2 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum



(Figure 13)
"Oxherd Taking a Nap," Kim Duryang, ink and light color on paper, 31 (h) x 51 (w) cm, unknown private collection

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noteworthy about these paintings, which depict seasonal folk customs set against elaborate landscape backgrounds, is that the spring and summer scenes are arranged from right to left in the traditional style, but the autumn and winter scenes unfold from left to right.



(Figure 14)
"Exciting Scenes at Peach and Cucumber Orchards in Spring and Summer," Kim Duryang and Kim Deok-ha, ink and light color on silk, 8.4 (h) x 184 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 15)
"Exciting Scenes at Peach and Cucumber Orchards in Spring and Summer" (detail), Kim Duryang and Kim Deok-ha, ink and light color on silk, 8.4 (h) x 184 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 16)
"Rice Threshing' in the Hunting Contest in the Countryside in Autumn and Winter," (detail) Kim Duryang and Kim Deok-ha, ink and light color on silk, 7.2 (h) x 182.9 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 17)
"Hunting Contest in the Countryside in Autumn and Winter" (detail), Kim Duryang and Kim Deok-ha, ink and light color on silk, 7.2 (h) x 182.9 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea

These paintings of seasonal customs also show a close resemblance to the pictures of tilling and weaving, especially in depictions of detailed activities like rice threshing. In this context, the paintings reflect composite trends such as the lingering importance of the traditional landscape background, the adoption of Southern School techniques, borrowing from pictures of tilling and weaving, and exploration of a new style in genre painting. The farm scenes, in particular, continued to be depicted frequently by later artists such as Kim Hongdo and Kim Deuksin (金得臣, 1754–1822; sobriquet, Geungjae).

Jo Yeongseok stood out among genre painters before Kim Hongdo.³⁶ A typical literati painter, Jo was especially good at figure and genre painting and was a close friend of Jeong Seon (鄭叡, 1676–1759; sobriquet, Gyeomjae), Korea's most renowned true-view landscape painter, who was ten years older. A collection of his writings, titled *Gwanajaego* (觀我齋稿, *Manuscripts of Gwanajae*) after his pen name, was found in 1984 and then an album of genre scenes was also uncovered by his descendants, shedding more light on his life and thought.³⁷ Unlike his friend Jeong Seon, Jo painted landscapes showing influences of



(Figure 18)
"Wood Turner," Jo Yeongseok, ink and light color on paper, 28 (h) x 20.7 (w) cm, private collection in Seoul

the Zhe school and had obviously embraced Southern School techniques as well, but his album of genre scenes clearly show that he also explored a new style in genre painting. The album, carrying the intriguing title, *Sajecheop* (麝臍帖, Musk Deer Navel Album), has a warning written on the cover: "Never show this to others. Anyone who disobeys is not my descendant (勿示人 犯者非吾子孫)." This stern warning suggests that Jo did not want his genre paintings to be known widely. The paintings in the album attest to his remarkable achievement in exploring a radically new style in genre painting. Most of his genre paintings eschew landscape backgrounds and focus completely on the folk custom itself. If a little awkward at first glance his genre scenes are honest without exaggeration and overflow with pleasant humor. In particular, *Sugong seonchado* (Wood Turner) (Figure 18) recalls the similar scene painted by Yun Duseo under the title *Seonchado* (Figure 11) while *Saecham* (Snack Time) (Figure 19) depicts a scene similar to *Jeomsim* (Lunch) by Kim Hongdo and *Gangbyeon hoeum* (Riverside Picnic) (Figure 20) by Kim Deuksin in his later years. The commoners seated with their backs turned toward the viewer are recalled by the humble figures appearing in Park Sugeun's oil paintings in the 20th century. The resemblance may be incidental but the figures come alive through the brushstrokes of the two artists who, though separated by time and space, saw with the same eyes and captured the same mood of ordinary Koreans at work and play.

Through Yun Duseo and Jo Yeongseok, it can be reaffirmed that literati painters were more active than professional court painters in exploring and embracing new painting styles. It was a persistent trend in painting throughout the Joseon period. Genre painting was no exception.

It is widely known that Jeong Seon was a pioneer in exploring and establishing the remarkable tradition of depicting the "true view" of Korean landscapes.³⁸ But, as shown in his painting *Dokseoyeoga* (讀書餘假, A Break from Reading) (Figure 21),³⁹ he also possessed a peerless ability in depicting motifs in genre style. The painting features an old scholar gazing at

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potted plants in the yard, sitting sideways on a verandah, a folding fan painted with a landscape design in his hand. Behind the scholar, who may be Jeong himself, is seen the interior of his study. A bookcase with many books neatly piled up, the inside of an open bookcase door lined with an archaic picture of a sage contemplating a waterfall, a window detailed with an iron knob with decorative flower design open to the view of an old juniper tree, a bamboo mat with exquisite patterns on the floor, the wavy grain of the verandah's wooden floor, a pair of pretty leather shoes on the ground, and the plants in beautiful flower pots outside – all these motifs are elegantly harmonized to create a lyrical ambience. The skillful diagonal composition giving depth to the scene and realistic depiction of motifs aside, what is especially impressive is the graceful dignity and poetic atmosphere. The painting fully shows that Jeong could have made an ingenious contribution to the development of genre painting if he had wanted to.

(Figure 19)
"Snack Time," Jo Yeongseok, ink and light color on paper, 20 (h) x 24.5 (w) cm, private collection in Seoul



(Figure 20)
"Riverside Picnic," Kim Deuksin, ink and light color on paper, 22.4 (h) x 27 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum



(Figure 21)
"A Break from Reading," Jeong Seon, ink and light color on silk, 24.1 (h) x 17 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum





(Figure 22)
 "Poetry Meeting for Celebrating Longevity of Nam Gihan," Jeong Hwang,
 ink and light color on paper, 25 (h) x 57 (w) cm, private collection in Seoul



(Figure 23)
 "Literati Wielding Brush" from "Three Literati Scenes," Kang Huieon,
 ink and light color on paper, 26 (h) x 21 (w) cm, private collection in Seoul



(Figure 24)
 "Literati Composing Poems" from "Three Literati Scenes," Kang Huieon,
 ink and light color on paper, 26 (h) x 21 (w) cm, private collection in Seoul



(Figure 25)
 "Literati Performing Archery" from "Three Literati Scenes," Kang Huieon,
 ink and light color on paper, 26 (h) x 21 (w) cm, private collection in Seoul

Jeong Hwang (鄭槐, 1737-?), a grandson of Jeong Seon, emulated the true-view landscape style of his grandfather but also had an interest in genre painting, as is well shown in *Ianwa suseok sihoedo* (易安窩壽席詩會圖, Poetry Meeting for Celebrating the Longevity of Nam Gihan) (Figure 22). The painting depicts elderly men seated in two rows facing each other in an open space surrounded by square walls. The venue is decorated with potted plants and a miniature rock collection with a tall tree rising from a corner in the foreground. The composition and technique resonate with the influence of Jeong Seon.

Among other notable genre painters before Kim Hongdo are Kang Huieon (姜希彦, 1738-1784), Yi In-sang (李麟祥, 1710-1760) and Kang Sehwang (姜世晃, 1713-1791).⁴⁰ They were all amateur literati painters famous for landscape painting rather than genre pictures.

Seokgongdo (石工圖, Masons) by Kang Huieon betrays a certain resemblance to Jo Yeongseok in its Zhe style composition and neat depiction of figures.

Kang was obviously trying to explore his own style in *Sainsamgyeongdo* (士人三景圖, Three Literati Scenes) (Figures 23-25) but he still remained under the influence of Jo in these serial works. For example, the scholars writing or drawing while sitting on the floor and leaning forward in *Sainhwiho* (士人揮毫, Literati Wielding Brush) (Figure 23) look appealingly fresh but the overall composition, especially a tree shown at the upper left corner, definitely resembles *Sugong seonchado* (Figure 18) by Jo Yeongseok, attesting to a close stylistic relationship between the two artists. This painting also reveals a certain affinity with *Hyeonjeong seungjipdo* (玄亭勝集圖, Pleasant Gathering at the Hyeonjeong Pavilion) (Figure 26) by Kang Sehwang (姜世晃, 1713-1791). And yet, it can't be denied that Kang Huieon's remarkable originality clearly showed in his enduring interest in refined cultural activities of the literati rather than the daily life of commoners as well as his simple and lyrical expression of essential themes.

Also a part of the serial work, *Sainsaye*

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(Figure 26)
 "Pleasant Gathering at the Hyeonjeong
 Pavilion," Kang Sehwang, ink on paper,
 101.8 (h) x 35 (w) cm,
 private collection in Seoul



(Figure 27)
 "Study under Pine Tree," Yi In-sang, 18th
 century, ink and color on paper,
 28.7 (h) x 27.5 (w) cm, private collection



(Figure 28)
 "Taverns at Yucheonjeom," Yi In-sang,
 ink on paper, 24 (h) x 43.2 (w) cm,
 private collection in Seoul

(士人射藝, Literati Performing Achery) (Figure 25) adopted traditional ideas of composition in the three figures arranged in a triangle under a pine tree rising from a corner and the importance of the landscape background. But the technique employed for depicting human figures, the shape of the pine tree and the women in the background reveal the unique painting style which prevailed during the late Joseon period, and the pine tree looks somewhat similar to those by Yi In-sang. Moreover, the women in the background present a crucial clue to the stylistic lineage flowing down to the two master genre painters, Kim Hongdo and Shin Yunbok, of the following generation.

Along with Kang Sehwang, Yi In-sang (李麟祥, 1710-1760) contributed remarkably to the development of literati painting in the Southern School style during the latter part of the Joseon period. He is better known for both figure and landscape painting than for genre.⁴¹ But two paintings attributed to him, *Songha sueopdo* (松下授業圖, Study under Pine Tree) (Figure 27) and *Yucheonjeom bongnodo* (柳川店蓬壺圖, Taverns at Yucheonjeom) (Figure 28) explicitly reveal that he had considerable interest in genre scenes.

Songha sueopdo depicts a teacher and a student studying in the shade of a pine tree with a large rock in the background. The landscape in the background is undoubtedly the work of Yi In-sang, but as pointed out by Lee Dongju (李東洲), the human figures foreshadow the brush technique of Kim Deuksin (1754-1822),⁴² who was only six years old in 1760, when Yi died. But the composition highlighting two men against a landscape background, the serious facial expressions of teacher and student, and the props laid out beside them, such as a pitcher and cup, and an ink stone and water dropper, well reflect the lifestyle of scholars at the time. In contrast, *Yucheonjeom bongnodo* successfully expressed an interesting aspect of the late Joseon lifestyle by adroitly depicting commoners' houses, stable, thatched lookout post and travelers with a skillful dry brush.

As mentioned above, Kang Sehwang made an enormous contribution to the development of Southern School painting during the latter part of Joseon. He morally supported many professional painters including Kim Hongdo and wrote encomia on their works, but was known to have left behind no genre painting by himself. But one of his early works, *Hyeonjeong seungjipdo*, painted when he was 34 years old, portrays a popular custom of the literati class through a picture of upper-class scholars leisurely enjoying refined hobbies like a game of go, reading, and music (Figure 26).⁴³ In spite of somewhat immature brushwork, the painting is impressively lyrical and even betrays a close kinship with *Sainsieum* (士人詩吟, Literati Composing Poems) by Kang Huieon in terms of subject and composition (Figure 24). Since they are known to have been distantly related, it may be considered natural that they painted in a similar style. One distinctive difference, however, is that Kang Sehwang's paintings are more refined and Kang Huieon's far

simpler and more straightforward. Kang Sehwang was three years younger than Kang Huieon, but in view of his superior expertise in painting, his power in the art world and social position, it is assumed that he exerted influence on the latter.

Despite a few early works depicting genre scenes and his comments on numerous genre paintings, after middle age Kang Sehwang does not seem to have painted any genre scenes. It was probably because he, as a man of the literati class, was reluctant to deal with mundane subjects.

Genre painting of the late Joseon period attained its marvelous ingenuity through Kim Hongdo, Kim Deuksin, and Shin Yunbok. Kim Hongdo distinguished himself in all areas of painting landscapes, figures, and birds-and-flowers, but he made truly monumental achievements in genre scenes.⁴⁴ When he was young, Kim studied under Kang Sehwang, who ever after remained his stalwart mentor. A collection of Kang's writings, *Pyoamyugo* (豹菴遺稿, Posthumous Manuscripts of Pyoam) contains pages titled "Record on Danwon (檀園記)," where he wrote about Kim:

And he also has incredible skill in portraying people and customs of our country, such as scholars reading, pedlars heading to market, travelers, boudoir scenes, peasants, women growing silkworms, many-roomed homes, double doors, craggy mountains, and

*trees in the fields. He can describe all these exactly as they are – an ability with no precedent at all.*⁴⁵

In another section of the same book Kang wrote "A Second Record on Danwon (檀園記又一本)":

*It may be said he possesses skills as yet unheard of in the past four hundred years. Furthermore, he is so good at depicting all daily customs of people precisely as they appear, as well as the streets, ferries, shops and stores, scenes at public service examinations and playgrounds that no sooner than he lays down his brush, everyone can't help applauding and exclaiming in wonder. These are the very renowned genre pictures painted by Kim Saneung (金士能, another name of Kim Hongdo). How could he ever attain such artistry without his smart brain and enigmatic apprehension which led him to lofty awakening?*⁴⁶

These records vividly bring to light the dexterity displayed by Kim Hongdo in depicting genre scenes and the high regard given to his works.

Through most of his thirties Kim enjoyed painting landscapes as well as houses and street scenes in traditional concepts. Among notable works from this period are *Haengnyeo pungsokdo* (行旅風俗圖, Journey through Everyday Scenes) (Figures 29, 30), which was painted in 1778 when Kim was 34 years old; *Modang Hong Yisang pyeongsaengdo* (慕當 洪履祥平生圖,



(Figure 29)
"Rice Threshing" (detail)
from "Journey through
Everyday Scenes"
(eight-panel screen),
Kim Hongdo, 1778,
ink and light color on silk,
90.9 (h) x 42.9 (w) cm,
National Museum of Korea



(Figure 30)
"Blacksmith's Workshop" (detail) from "Journey through Everyday Scenes"
(eight-panel screen), Kim Hongdo, 1778,
ink and light color on silk, 90.9 (h) x 42.9 (w) cm,
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Scenes from the Life of Hong Yisang), dated 1781, when he was 37; and *Damwa Hong Gyehui pyeongsaengdo* (淡窩 洪啓禧平生圖, *Scenes from the Life of Hong Gyehui*)," also believed to have been painted during his thirties. At 34, Kim also produced *Seowonajipdo* (西園雅集圖, *Literati Gathering in the Western Garden*) in Chinese style on a folding screen and on a fan,⁴⁷ where the landscape background is emphasized.

A few important facts can be confirmed through these early genre paintings by Kim from his thirties. First, he regarded landscapes and houses as important backgrounds. Second, he often painted scenes from the lives of members of the literati at their request. Third, Chinese paintings of tilling and weaving exerted considerable influence on Kim's genre scenes of this period.

Later in life, however, Kim Hongdo developed his own genre painting style by removing the landscape and houses from the background and highlighting the activities of people. For example, when the threshing scene on the folding screen is compared with farming scenes from his famous work, *Pungsok hwacheop* (風俗畫帖, *Album of Scenes from Daily Life*) (Figures 31–39) in the National Museum of Korea, where the paintings are more refined and mature in technique than those on the screen and also convey a far more artistic impression.

Therefore, as mentioned earlier, it is believed that Kim painted most of the less refined genre scenes with landscape or house backgrounds while in his thirties and those works focusing on human figures engaged in their activities against a plain background were painted later. This is again backed by the fact that the subjects of "Journey through Everyday Scenes" are remarkably similar in theme but less lively and dynamic when compared with genre scenes in the album at the National Museum of Korea, especially *Tajak* (Rice Threshing) (Figure 35), *Daejangan* (Blacksmith's Workshop) (Figure 37) and *Nojung sangbong* (路中相逢, *Reunion on the Road*). The change in style was probably necessitated by a need to effectively meet demand in a short time and to add humor and vitality – in other words, greater effects for less time and effort. Besides, landscape backgrounds had naturally to be abandoned when working on album leaves that were much smaller than screen panels. Kim still employed landscape or houses in the background after his forties, as shown in *Samgong bulhwando* (三公不換圖, *Life Worthy of Three High Councilors' Positions*) or *Giro seyeongyedo* (耆老世聯稷圖, *Fraternal Legacy of Elder Statesmen*),⁴⁸ but these paintings were probably done under mandatory conditions of respecting traditional style or subject. In this regard, they must be seen under a different category from his genre paintings. What is noteworthy is that both these works show an absolutely original brush technique in spite of their conventional subject and composition.

There was obviously great demand for genre paintings by Kim Hongdo among royalty and the literati as well as the rich middle class, considering that



(Figure 31)
"Roof Tiling" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 32)
"Tavern" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 33)
"Ppalaeteo" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 34)
"Mat Weaving" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 35)
"Rice Threshing" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 36)
"Lunch" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 37)
"Blacksmith's Workshop" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 38)
"Village School" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 39)
"Wrestling" from "Album of Scenes from Daily Life," Kim Hongdo, ink and light color on paper, 27 (h) x 22.7 (w) cm, National Museum of Korea



(Figure 40)
"Secret Gambling," Kim Deuksin, ink and light color on paper, 22.4 (h) x 27 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum

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he painted scenes from the lives of such private patrons as Hong I-sang and Hong Gye-hui and that he was supported by the wealthy salt merchant Kim Han-tae.⁴⁹ Kim satisfied demands from his powerful and wealthy patrons but he was interested more fundamentally in observing the daily life of ordinary people engaged in their occupations and depicting them with a humorous touch, as shown by his numerous genre scenes, including *Giwaigi* (Roof Tiling) (Figure 31), *Jumak* (Tavern) (Figure 32), *Ppalaeteo* (Washing Place) (Figure 33), *Jarijagi* (Mat Weaving) (Figure 34), *Dambaesseolgi* (Cutting Tobacco Leaves), *Umulga* (A Scene by the Well), *Seodang* (Village School) (Figure 38) and *Ssireum* (Wrestling) (Figure 39). These paintings tell clearly why, as his mentor Kang Sehwang gushed, "everyone can't help applauding and exclaiming in wonder as soon as he laid down his brush." His vivid and realistic genre scenes appeal strongly to viewers beyond time because they are based on his attentive observation of the life of people at the grass roots.

As evidenced by his *Pungsok hwacheop* at the National Museum of Korea, Kim's genre scenes are characterized by immaculate composition based on circular or X shapes, vibrant depictions of human figures with dynamic facial expressions, and energetic and powerful brushwork. His style has influenced Kim Deuksin, Shin Yunbok and other professional painters of his time as well as folk painters of later years.

Paintings by Kim Deuksin faithfully echo the style of Kim Hongdo. For example, *Pungsok palgok byeong* (風俗八曲屏, Eight-panel Screen with Everyday Scenes) reveals a close stylistic resemblance to early genre scenes by Kim Hongdo, especially in rendering landscapes and figures. The obvious influences from Chinese tilling and weaving scenes also seem to have come through Kim Hongdo. Human figures, houses, cattle and horses, chicken and other domestic fowl, and tree branches all attest to a strong influence from Kim Hongdo.

Kim Deuksin's ability as a genre painter is well expressed in an album in the collection of the Kansong Art Museum. Paintings in this album show a far more powerful technique by all measures than those in another album at the Ho-Am Art Museum. Including *Milhuitujeon* (密戲鬪棧, Secret Gambling) (Figure 40), *Songha giseung* (松下棋僧, A Buddhist Monk Engaged in a Chess

(Figure 41)
"A Buddhist Monk Engaged in a Chess Game under Pine Tree," Kim Deuksin, ink and light color on paper, 22.4 (h) x 27 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum



(Figure 42)
"Shoe Weaving in Midsummer," Kim Deuksin, ink and light color on paper, 22.4 (h) x 27 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum



Game under Pine Tree)(Figure 41), *Seonghajingni* (盛夏織履, Shoe Weaving in Midsummer) (Figure 42) and *Gangbyeon hoeum* (江邊會飲, Riverside Picnic)(Figure 20), the paintings in the album at Kansong Art Museum still tend to place weight on background, though more moderately in comparison with the works that Kim Hongdo painted in his forties or later. A notable characteristic is that in most cases the background was simplified rather than completely removed. These paintings also reflect an unmistakable influence from Kim Hongdo but at the same time reveal the originality of Kim Deuksin. A clear resemblance is noted in the facial expressions of human figures vibrant with lively spirit and the concise but clear depiction of subjects, while folds in the clothes are tightly drawn with thinner lines. Generally, it can be said Kim Deuksin developed his own style based on influence from Kim Hongdo.

Needless to say, Shin Yunbok along with Kim Hongdo formed the two pinnacles in genre painting of the late Joseon period. He was the son of Shin Hanpyeong (申漢枰, 1726–?), a court painter who was distinguished in painting landscapes, figures, and flowers and grass, and participated in the production of royal portraits for King Yeongjo (r. 1724–1776) in 1773 and Jeongjo (r. 1776–1800) in 1787. Shin Yunbok was certainly influenced by his father to a great extent. The clear affinity between the father and son in terms of subject matter, supple brushwork and pleasant coloring technique is confirmed through Shin Hanpyeong's work *Jamoyugado* (子母育兒圖, Mother Caring for Her Children) (Figure 43), bearing his sobriquet Iljae (逸齋), in the collection of the Kansong Art Museum. It is believed that the son developed his father's style.



(Figure 43)
"Mother Caring for Her Children,"
Shin Hanpyeong, ink and color on paper,
31 (h) x 23.5 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum

(Figure 44)
"A Scene on the Fifth Day of the Fifth Month,"
Shin Yunbok, ink and light color on paper,
28.2 (h) x 35.2 (w) cm, Kansong Art Museum



Shin Yunbok was also influenced by Kim Hongdo, a junior colleague of his father. His calligraphic style and drawing techniques for depicting landscape elements such as oddly-shaped rocks, the swell of the sea and variations in the lotus-leaf texture stroke exhibit similarities to Kim. He also resembles Kim in not a few genre elements. As he developed a distinctively original style of genre painting, however, Shin at a glance looks entirely unrelated to Kim. It may be said that he developed his own style based on legacies from Shin Hanpyeong and Kim Hongdo.

Shin is markedly different from Kim Hongdo, however, in his choice and command of subject matter, composition method, description of human figures and coloring technique. In terms of subjects, Shin energetically delved into the world of hedonists and courtesans, whereas Kim's primary interest was in the daily lives of ordinary commoners. This is why, though he sometimes dealt with commoners' themes, Shin's genre scenes frequently portray erotic themes or have such an atmosphere (Figure 44).⁵⁰

To effectively describe romantic and erotic scenes, Shin depicted backgrounds and props with great care and applied delicate and supple brush lines and gorgeous colors. As a result, his genre paintings look remarkably sophisticated. And through elaborate backgrounds they realistically present household goods and dress and hair styles as well as the season or the hour of the day. As in the case of *Danopungjeong* (端午風情, A Scene on the Fifth Day of the Fifth Month) (Figure 44), his compositions often contain extra figures peeping at the main theme from the background, a technique of two-directional viewing that originated

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(Figure 45)
"Grand Matches" Yu Suk, 1836, ink and
color on paper, 104.7 (h) x 52.5 (w) cm,
Seoul University Museum



(Figure 46)
"Tightrope Walker" from "Gisan's Genre
Painting Album," Kim Jun-geun, ink and
light color on paper, 18 (h) x 25.5 (w) cm,
Hamburg Museum of Ethnology, Germany

from Kim Hongdo's *Ppalaeteo* (Washing Place) (Figure 33). Shin also intended a specific motif to draw the viewer's attention within a composition. In *Danopungjeong*, the woman on a swing takes the role of eye-catcher. Also, men and women in his paintings all have more or less similar faces so they appear to lack diversity. The landscape background is sometimes excessively stressed at times and this undermines the overall effect of the composition.

In general, however, Shin's genre paintings are absolutely original and extremely refined and romantic. They are charming and realistic representations of everyday scenes and styles of late Joseon culture, particularly the life of the affluent classes, which would otherwise have been forgotten. This is a valuable contribution of Shin Yunbok and also an important reason why his genre scenes are cherished. In this sense, Shin deserves even deeper appreciation for bravely putting his seal on works that might have been viewed as disgraceful or immoral in his day. It would have been even more helpful for research about him if he had dated his works. It is regrettable that he didn't do so. Shin's genre paintings exerted influence on several painters of later years and his style was even adopted in folk painting. After him, however, Korean genre painting began to wane.

02 GENRE PAINTINGS OF THE LAST PERIOD OF JOSEON (ca. 1850–1910)

Genre painting rapidly declined along with the contemporary true-view landscape painting from around 1850 through the final years of the Joseon Dynasty. Behind this trend was probably the dominance of Southern School theory which placed greater emphasis on *xieyi* (寫意) or the "freehand" style stressing the meaning hidden in the subject, rather than the likeness (形似) in external appearance. As Kim Jeong-hui (金正喜, 1786–1856; sobriquet, Chusa) led this trend, the emergence of Kim and his school should be associated with the fast decline of genre painting.⁵¹

Some painters continued to paint genre scenes during the final years of Joseon. Among them were Yu Suk (劉淑, 1827–1873; sobriquet Hyesan) and Kim Jun-geun (金俊根, dates unknown; sobriquet, Gisan).⁵² But their works no longer had the powerful appeal and charm that typified the genre paintings of previous generations.

Yu Suk's painting style is clearly revealed in *Daekwaedo* (大快圖, Grand Matches) (Figure 45), the best-known of his works, which is in the collection of the Seoul National University Museum.⁵³ It depicts two combat sports matches – traditional Korean wrestling (*ssireum*) and martial art (*taekgyeon*) – each taking place between a pair of boys on a vacant lot alongside the old Seoul city wall. The painting is clearly reminiscent of Kim Hongdo's *Ssireum* (Wrestling) in theme and replicates another painting with the

same title attributed to Shin Yunbok in composition. Yu appears to have attempted to paint a work of his own by combining the styles of two masters of the previous century. But his painting ended up falling far short of the ingenious artistry of his forebears. The slanted oval composition, featuring the young fighters surrounded by spectators, lacks tension and vigor as the focus is divided between the two simultaneous matches, one in the foreground and the other in the background. Also distracting is the landscape depicted in detail. The combating boys, all with similarly bulging heads, look languid and expressionless and so do most of the lookers-on. The sporting scene seems spiritless and inanimate. It no longer echoes with the exciting screams that reverberated across the genre scenes of the previous era.

Most of the outstanding traits of the above painting by Yu Suk are also detected in the works by the late 19th century professional genre painter Kim Jun-geun, who is believed to have hailed from Pyeongyang. Kim left behind over 1,000 works, many of them scattered abroad in various countries including the United States, Germany, France and Denmark. Kim worked mostly in Choryang and Wonsan, where he could easily contact Western missionaries who were interested in Korean folk customs. Hence his paintings were carried by the missionaries when they returned home. Genre paintings attributed to Kim appear to have been produced in collaboration with other painters, probably in a workshop system.⁵⁴ The mass production system enabled him to make prints to illustrate a Korean edition of *Tyeollo ryeokjeong* (天路歷程, *The Pilgrim's Progress*).⁵⁵

Kim eliminated landscape backgrounds and focused on human figures, but his genre scenes almost invariably look inanimate. The human figures are small and weak, all with similar expressionless faces and bulging heads, and generally wearing dyed clothes. His heads are reminiscent of human figures depicted by Yu Suk, and compositions replicate genre scenes of Shin Yunbok. *Julgwangdae* (Tightrope Walker) (Figure 46) exemplifies this lifeless style. Most of Kim's paintings

have a title written in Korean script in a corner, another conspicuous change from the previous era.

During the late Joseon period, genre scenes were also frequent motifs of folk painters, who referred most often to works by Kim Hongdo and Shin Yunbok. This indicates the genre painting styles of leading court artists spread widely among ordinary painters.

The nectar ritual paintings (甘露圖) of the Joseon period also deserve attention as they contain scenes such as folk entertainments from the lives of the deceased in this world, that resemble secular paintings in both subject matter and style.⁵⁶ These Buddhist temple paintings, depicting the "sweet dew" ceremony for guiding the souls of those who met untimely or tragic deaths to heaven, also feature diverse scenes representing the pain and suffering experienced by mortals while they are alive, such as war, hunger and accidents, as well as punishments in hell. These cannot be considered ordinary scenes from daily life but still deserve attention as they show thematic affinities to genre paintings.⁵⁷ Commercial scenes depicted in lower sections of many nectar ritual paintings are especially worthy of note as they clearly resemble ordinary genre views.⁵⁸ There are several dozens of this type of ritual paintings dated to the 16th to the 19th centuries, forming a treasure trove of not only Buddhist paintings but also secular genre paintings of the later Joseon period, which requires a thorough and systematic research.⁵⁹

V CONCLUSION

Korean genre painting achieved remarkable development from ancient times through the Joseon Dynasty. Genre paintings of the Goguryeo and late Joseon periods deserve to be highly valued for their successful depiction of Korean life and folk customs in unique and admirable artistic styles. They reflect diverse aspects of Korean history, culture, lifestyles, thought and aesthetics, and therefore can appeal strongly to

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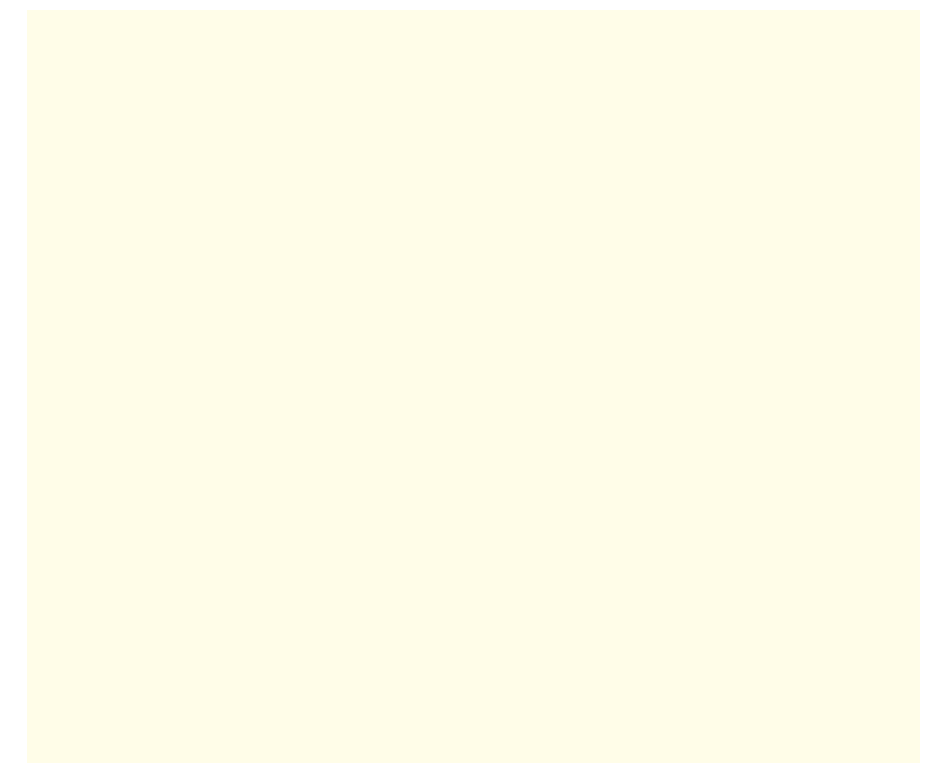
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Koreans even today. The value of their insightful observation, witty subjects, neat composition, and honest and humorous portrayals – the defining qualities of traditional Korean genre painting – should be rediscovered and utilized as sources of inspiration and wisdom in exploring new genre styles for the future.

It is truly sad that the tradition of genre painting vanished in Korea during the turbulent years of colonial rule through modernization and there is hardly any sign of its revival. This lamentable situation has been caused by the decorative, sensual and escapist tendencies of fine arts and art education under Japanese rule and the overwhelming influence of Western painting, especially the widespread popularity of abstract painting. Compounding this is a lack of appreciation of genre scenes and the tendency to avoid sensitive themes among Korean artists today.

Genre painting does not necessarily have to criticize reality. Good subjects can be found everywhere. The bustling subways, happy summer holidaymakers on the beach and in the mountains, markets pulsing with the energy of ordinary people, innocent children around elementary schools, pedlars crisscrossing alleyways to sell their goods, the earnest and joyful faces of visitors from home and abroad at museums and galleries – all these can make wonderful genre scenes. If the bright and vital images of these people everywhere can be conveyed onto the canvas along with their resonant spirit, they can make great genre paintings from a modern viewpoint. In this regard, it is earnestly hoped that the study and appreciation of genre paintings from the past may lead to the revival of modern Korean genre painting in new styles. ≡



NOTES

¹ Lee Hiseung (李熙昇), *Great Korean Dictionary* (國語大辭典), Minjungseogwan, 1974, 3975.

² Regarding seasonal and other folk customs, see Im Donggwon (任東權), *Korean Seasonal Customs* (韓國歲時風俗), Seomun Pocketbook Series 061, Seomundang, 1974; Jang Jugeun, *Seasonal Customs and Folk Games of Korea* (), Saebeot Pocketbook Ser. 43, Christian Literature Society of Korea (大韓基督教書會), 1974; Yang Jaeyeon et al., *Records on Korean Folk Customs* (韓國風俗誌), Eulyu Pocketbook Ser. 73, Eulyu Publishing Co., 1972; Im Donggwon, *Korean Folklore* (), Korean History for General Education 11, Sejong the Great Memorial Society, 1975; Korean Society for Cultural Anthropology, *Korean Customs* (), vol. I, Cultural Properties Preservation Bureau (文化財管理局), 1970; Korean Cultural Research Center, Korea University, *Compendium of Korean Folklore* (韓國民俗大觀) in six volumes, 1980. Regarding documentary paintings of palace events, see Park Jeong-hye, *Study of Palace Documentary Paintings of the Joseon period* (朝鮮時代 宮中記錄畫 研究), Iljisa, 2000. Regarding paintings depicting celebrations of longevity of the royalty and literati, see Choe Seok-won, "Paintings of Longevity Celebrations (慶壽宴圖)," Figure Paintings *Containing History and Ideology of the Joseon period* (), compiled by Ahn Hwi-Joon and Min Gil-hong, Hakgojae, 2009, 269–93.

³ Lee Dongju, *Ancient Korean Paintings* (), Pakyoungsa, 1975, 194, 198. For general understanding of Korean genre paintings, Ahn Hwi-Joon, *Genre Paintings* (風俗畫), Beauty of Korea (韓國 美) Ser. 19, JoongAng Ilbo, 1985; Lee Tae-ho (李泰浩), *Genre Paintings I, II*, Daewonsa, 1995, 1996; Jeong Byeong-mo (鄭炳模), *Korean Genre Paintings* (韓國 風俗畫), Hangil Art, 2000; National Museum of Korea, *Genre Paintings of the Joseon period* (朝鮮時代 風俗畫), Korean Museum Society, 2000.

⁴ Lee Dongju, *Ancient Korean Paintings*, 208–9.

⁵ Regarding records about ancient Korean customs, including *Book of the Later Han* (後漢書), refer to *Compendium of Materials Regarding Customs before Goryeo* (高麗以前の風俗關係資料撮要) I, compiled by the Privy Council of the Japanese Government-General (朝鮮總督府中樞院), Tokyo: Tosho Kankoukai (圖書刊行會), 1974, 1–237.

⁶ Hwang Suyeong (黃壽永) and Mun Myeongdae (文明大), *Bangudae: Rock Carvings in Ulju* (盤龜臺: 蔚州岩壁彫刻), Dongguk University Press, 1984; Kim Wonyong (金元龍), "Rock Carvings on Bangudae in Ulju," *Journal of Korean Archaeological Studies* (韓國考古學報) 9, 1980, 6–22; Kim Hoseok, *Korean Rock Carvings* (), Munhakdongne, 2008.

⁷ Han Byeongsam (韓炳三), "Prehistoric Bronze Object with Farming Scenes," *Gogomisul* (考古美術) 112, 1971, 2–13. Although the engravings on this object are not paintings, they are believed to have been based on sketches on tree bark or animal skin, and certainly have painterly quality.

⁸ Kim Wonyong, *Korean Mural Tombs* (), Iljisa, 1980 and *Mural Paintings* (), Korean Art Series () 4, Donghwa Publishing Co., 1974; Kim Giung (金基雄), *Korean Murals* (), Donghwa Publishing Co., 1982; Kim Yongjun, *Study of Goguryeo Tomb Murals* (), Pyeongyang: North Korean Academy of Social Science Press (), 1985; Lee Tae-ho and Yu Hong-jun (俞弘濬), *Tomb Murals of Goguryeo* (), Pulbit Publishing Co., 1995; Choe Mujang and Im Hyeoncheol, *Tomb Murals of Goguryeo* (), Sinseowon Publishing Co., 1990; *Goguryeo Murals in Jian* (集安), Chosun Ilbo, 1993; Jeon Hotae, *Study of Goguryeo Tomb Murals* (), Sagyejeol Publishing Co., 2000 and *The World of Goguryeo Tomb Murals* (), Seoul National University Press, 2004;

Ahn Hwi-Joon, *Paintings of Goguryeo: Representations of Ancient Korean Culture* (: 가), Hyohyeong Publishing Co., 2007; Ju Yeongheon (朱榮憲), *Tomb Murals of Goguryeo* (), Tokyo: Gakuseisha (學生社), 1977.

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⁹ Kim Giung, *Korean Murals*, 23–29.

¹⁰ Ahn Hwi-Joon, *History of Korean Painting* (), Iljisa, 1980, 12–50; *Study on Korean Painting* (), Sigongsa, 2000, 17-214; *Paintings of Goguryeo* (), 2007.

¹¹ This tomb was discovered by Prof. Lee Myeongsik of Daegu University. The author participated in an investigation organized by the Cultural Properties Preservation Bureau, the predecessor of the Cultural Heritage Administration (文化財廳). For further information about the mural painting, see Ahn Hwi-Joon, "Content and Significance of the Mural Tomb with Inscription of *gimi* Year in Eumnae-ri, Sunheung," *Mural Tomb in Eumnae-ri, Sunheung* (), Cultural Properties Preservation Bureau, 1986, 61–99; and *Excavation Report on the Mural Tomb in Eumnae-ri, Sunheung* (), Daegu University Press, 1995, 148–75.

¹² "A Brief Report on the Excavation of the tomb of Princess Jeonghyo of Balhae (渤海貞孝公主墓發掘清理簡報)," *Social Science Front* (社會科學戰線) 17 (first period, 1982): 174–80, figures on 187–8.

¹³ Ahn Hwi-Joon, *History of Korean Painting*, 51–89.

¹⁴ For relevant information, see *Goryeosa* (高麗史), ch. 10 on "Sega (世家)," entry 23a–25b for the sixth month of the eighth year of King Seonjong; and ch. 31, entry 30a–30b for the seventh month of the fourth year of King Chungnyeol (忠烈王).

¹⁵ For relevant records of customs of Goryeo, see Han Jaeryeom (韓在瀾), *History and Evidence of the Ancient Capital of Goryeo* (高麗古都微), Asian Culture Co., 1972, vol. 4 on "Folk Customs (風俗)," 111–30; and *Compendium of Materials* 1974, 239–843.

¹⁶ Ahn Hwi-Joon, "Fraternity Meetings of the Literati and Documentary Paintings during the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties," *Gomunhwa* (古文化) 20, 1982, 4–8; and "Fraternity Meetings of the Literati and Documentary Paintings in Korea," *Traditional Korean Painting* (), Munye Publishing Co., 1988, 368–92.

¹⁷ Ahn Hwi-Joon, *History of Korean Painting*, 52.

¹⁸ Lee Dongju, *Buddhist Paintings of Goryeo* (高麗佛畫), Beauty of Korea (韓國 美) Ser. 7, JoongAng Ilbo 1981, figures 5–6 and Mun Myeongdae (文明大)'s explanations on 236–7.

¹⁹ *Sejong sillok* (Annals of King Sejong) ch. 119 contains in its entry for the third month of the 30th year of Sejong (1448) an account about An Gyeon's assignment to paint *Daesoga euijangdo* (大小駕儀仗圖). The entry says An was assigned the job because the previous work had many errors. *Joseonwangjo sillok* (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty), National Institute of Korean History ed., vol. 5, 52. See also Ahn Hwi-Joon, *An Gyeon and A Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (Revised Edition) (), Sahoi Pyeongron, 2009, 106, 193 (n. 119).

²⁰ Ahn Hwi-Joon, *Calligraphies and Paintings as Historical Sources in the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* (), Academy of Korean Studies (韓國精神文化研究院), 1983, 14, 136, and 141.

²¹ Ahn Hwi-Joon, "Fraternity Meetings of the Literati and Documentary Paintings during the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties."

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