

Hong Seseop, Biando; Joseon; late 19th century; Ink on ramie fabric; H: 119.6 cm, W: 47.9 cm; National Museum of Korea



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HWAJOHWA OF THE GORYEO AND JOSEON DYNASTIES

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[ABSTRACT]

During the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), hwajohwa (花鳥畵: flower-andbird painting) shed the supernatural and structural form of earlier periods and increasingly came to be created and admired as an independent art genre. In the Joseon period (1392-1910), the hwajohwa genre, as a visual medium for expressing natural beauty, developed into two distinct styles of painting: the elaborate and detailed chaemukpung (彩墨風: painting style using color and ink) and the simple and restrained sumukpung (水墨風: inkwash painting without colors). Chaemukpung, with its combination of realistic and decorative elements, was widely used together with fine-style painting using strong colors in everyday life and ceremonial rites. Moreover, its decorative usage further expanded during the Joseon period to encompass minhwa (民畵: folk painting). Sumukpung, capturing the essence of the subject matter rather than its physicality, reflected the intellectual and artistic tastes of the sadaebu (士大夫: scholar-officials) and reached its golden era with small-scale landscapes with birds or animals. In the late Joseon period, sumukpung developed into a new and fresh style through the introduction of light colors; and with the increasing interest in drawing true to nature, landscapes with birds and animals depicted from life became popular as a new style that emphasized individualistic brush-and-ink aesthetic toward the end of the Joseon dynasty.

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[KEYWORDS]

hwajohwa, Goryeo, Joseon, wonchehwa, sogyeong yeongmohwa, sagyeong yeongmohwa, noando, Jo Sok, Gim Hongdo, Jeong Seon, Byeon Sangbyeok

INTRODUCTION

In Korea, 'hwajo' (花鳥: flowers and birds) was first used as a term to describe an art genre in the fifteenth century, during the early Joseon dynasty. The earliest surviving Korean text containing the term 'hwajo' is Hwagi (畵記: Records of Paintings), written by Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417–1475) in 1445.¹ Around this period, hwajo along with the words josuchomok (鳥獸草木: birds, animals, grass, and trees), hwamokgeumjo (花木禽鳥: flowers, trees, and birds), hwachoyeongmo (花草翎毛: flowers, grass, birds, and animals), and hwajomokseok (花鳥木石: flowers, birds, trees, and rocks) came to be used as standard terms characterizing this genre.²

During the Six Dynasties period (220–589) in China, bird and flower painting had already evolved into an independent painting category. Throughout the Tang dynasty (618–906), it had developed into a new genre by virtue of the emergence of artists specializing in painting flowers and birds. Over the course of the Five Dynasties period (907–959), the Chinese painters Huang Quan (黄筌, ?–965) and Xu Xi (徐熙, first half of the tenth century) firmly established the stylistic traditions of Chinese bird and flower painting.³ Prior to this time birds and flowers were often used individually as subject-matter in the decorative designs and functional forms of various vessels, but over the course of the Six Dynasties period they came to be combined as in the main subject in paintings. As spiritual organisms, these subjects had been objects of worship since the prehistoric age, and from this time onwards they came to be widely used as auspicious and invocatory symbols of an abundant life filled with wealth, honor, longevity, offspring, and success.⁴

By combining these auspicious symbols with exquisite natural beauty, paintings of birds and flowers lent grandeur to the royal court and other noble places, and became popular as decorative paintings evoking scenes from paradise. They were also the essence of court painting and, in Japan, they became the main decorative theme of folding screens. From the time of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), huaniaohua, like shanshuihua (山水畵: landscape painting), featured significantly in literati painting theory as a means through which the profound principles of Mother Nature's order and harmony could be represented. As the genre grew increasingly popular as a medium for communicating the spirit

of such principles, flower and bird painting developed into elegant representations of rarified ideology and transcendent lyricism.

In Korea, too, birds - the main subject matter of hwajohwa - have adorned various kinds of artifacts since ancient times. Examples include the birds atop a branch seen on the front side of a ritual object from the Bronze Age in the National Museum of Korea,⁵ and the legendary birds that are described in the Chinese text Shanhaijing (山海經: Classic of Mountain and Seas), such as sanzuniao (三足烏: a mythical vermilion bird with three legs) as well as the cranes that are depicted in supernatural forms in the mural paintings of Goguryeo tombs. In Silla auspicious birds and lotus were depicted on a fan-shaped birchbark panel discovered from Cheonmachong (天馬塚: Tomb of the Heavenly Horse, late fifth to early sixth century)6 and phoenixes, peacocks, parrots, and ducks decorated metalwork and earthenware roof tiles (瓦塼, wajeon) together with various flowers in such patterns as pairs of birds under a tree and birds holding a branch in their beak.7 It was during the Goryeo period that hwajohwa came to form a distinct genre of its own, free of such supernatural and structural patterns, and the growth of this artistic form and the demand for it flowered in Joseon times. This study will first review hwajohwa of the Goryeo period - none of which survive as independent paintings today, although there are many examples of birds and flowers as subject-matter in Buddhist paintings of this period - using various historical sources, as well as examples on artifacts other than paper and silk, followed by an analysis of the changing patterns of hwajohwa of the Joseon period when the genre developed in four distinct phases.8

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HWAJOHWA OF THE GORYEO PERIOD

It was during the Goryeo period (918-1392) that Korean art developed more refined and elaborate forms, and began fabricating a new tradition. This period witnessed the emergence of new avenues of

creativity coupled with a culture of art appreciation which developed owing to the birth of a literati class that had appeared on account of the implementation of the civil service examination system in 958. The growth of paintings created for pure appreciation was also influenced by contemporary literati painting theories and by the art and literature of the Northern Song dynasty. These new trends in Goryeo paintings especially became prominent during the reign of King Munjong (文宗, r. 1046–1083), at a time when civil and cultural exchanges with Northern Song began to flourish.⁹

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According to the chapter on Gaoli Guo (高麗國: Goryeo State) in Volume 6 of Tuhuajianwenzhi (圖畵見 聞誌: An Account of My Experiences in Painting), written by Guo Ruoxu (郭若虛) of the Northern Song dynasty circa 1070, Goryeo emissaries brought a special gift item, jeopcheopseon (摺疊扇: folding fans) on their visits to China. The fans themselves are described as being originally from Japan, but the paintings on them are likely to have been made in Goryeo. On the acheongji (鴉靑紙: dark-blue paper) of the fan were drawn such subjects as ladies riding and saddle-horses (婦人鞍馬, buin anma) or flowering plants and waterfowl (蓮荷花木 水禽之類, yeonhahwamoksugeum-jiryu). These artworks on the folding fans were described as elaborate, and the added use of silver pigment (銀泥, eunni) convincingly indicates that the fans must have been quite extravagant.¹⁰ It is also likely that the flowering plants with various waterfowl on these fans were depicted in a similar composition to paintings of lotus flowers and waterfowl (蓮池水禽圖, yeonjisugeumdo), which emerged as a decorative subject matter during the late Five Dynasties and the early Northern Song periods.

Paintings depicting a pond with lotus flowers, reeds, and bamboo trees, and waterfowl such as ducks, mandarin ducks, and white herons were widely produced in the Northern Song dynasty. In Goryeo, similar motifs were used frequently on inlaid ceramic and bronze vessels of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among the most representative examples are a bronze *kundika* with landscape design (National Treasure No. 92), 12 a celadon vase with inlay of lotus

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flowers and waterfowl,¹³ and a celadon dish with inlay of flower, bamboo, and waterfowl in the Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka (Plate 1).¹⁴ The three white herons on the left and on the right of the celadon dish in the Osaka Museum may have been influenced by the figures of cranes painted by Huang Quan and described by Guo Ruoxu in the paragraph on Crane Paintings in Volume 5 of his *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in which he listed six positions of cranes: crying, startled, pecking, dancing, relaxing, and strolling.

Furthermore, combinations of various flowers and birds such as parrots, mandarin ducks, cranes, egrets, ducks, and sparrows are found on ceramics, bronze bottles, and bronze mirrors of the mid-Goryeo period. 15 In particular, subjects such as willow and waterfowl and reeds and wild geese exhibit much affiliation with paintings. The pattern on a celadon bottle with carvings of reeds and wild geese in the National Museum of Korea¹⁶ is similar to the typical compositions of the close-up landscapes of reeds and wild geese from the Northern Song dynasty. In the case of flying cranes, such as those on a celadon maebyeong with clouds and crane design in the Gansong Museum of Art, they are very similar to the depiction of cranes flying over the Imperial palace in the painting entitled Ruihetu (瑞鶴圖, Auspicious Cranes) by Emperor Huizong (徽宗, r. 1119-1125) of the Northern Song dynasty, in the Liaoning Provincial Museum. Paintings by the Emperor, a master of bird and flower painting who was particularly fond of cranes, were introduced to Goryeo during the reign of King Yejong (睿宗, r. 1105-1122) and the early years of King Injong (仁宗, r. 1122-1146) along with other Chinese paintings that were pouring into Goryeo in "innumerable quantities (不可勝計)."17

Hwajohwa in Korea was much influenced by and developed in tandem with bird and flower paintings of the Five Dynasties and early Northern Song





that celebrated the beauty of nature. The paintings advanced in artistic quality in the latter half of the Goryeo dynasty following the military rebellion in 1170. During this period, the scholar-officials, who had become the new elite in Goryeo society, regarded paintings as a medium for the exchange of artistic sensibilities and the expression of ideas. They also conceived the cultivation of painting skills and art appreciation as a requirement for cultured men, which not only led to the introduction of new perspectives on painting derived from Northern Song art theories but also to the growth of art works created for the purpose of appreciation.¹⁸

Accordingly, hwajohwa became an important subject of artistic creation and appreciation. A good example of this emerging trend is the remark by Yi Gyubo (李奎報, 1168–1241): "Surround myself with paintings of birds to admire." 19 Also Yi Saek (李稿, 1328–1396) envisioned the order and the way of the natural world by appreciating a painting of swallows and sparrows flying over and perching on the blossoming branches of an apricot tree. 20

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Although none of the works of hwajohwa from this era survives today, the delicate but dynamic feeling of natural movement can still be inferred from poems describing the paintings (題書詩文, jehwasimun). Of the painting Ssangnodo (雙篇圖: Two White Herons), Yi Gyubo wrote a poem: "Depicting shapes and forms as they are requires no great skill, but attaining the divine level is a most rare feat. And yet, the eyes [of the birds in the painting] palpitate as if they are alive."²¹ Of a painting of Wild Geese, Lin Chun (李

椿, late twelfth century) observed, "There are thirtynine wild geese in the painting, among which eighteen are different from each other in shape: the geese, in various positions and motions, such as flying, coming in flocks, drinking, pecking, standing, lying prone, and spreading wings, are portrayed in delicate detail. The delicacy and the powerful, near-palpable motion in the painting have reached the highest level of artistry."22 The various shapes and motions of these wild geese are reminiscent of the Baiyan tujuan (百雁圖卷: Scroll of One Hundred Wild Geese) by Ma Ben (馬賁, dates unknown), an artist of the Xuanhe Academy in the Xuanhe reign (1119-1125).²³ Judging from such records, the works of hwajohwa during this period probably reached a high level of representation, not only aesthetically but also in the way in which the artists depicted the subject matters in a realistic manner by faithfully reproducing their gracefulness and dynamism. Among the Goryeo Buddhist paintings of the fourteenth century, glimpses of such artistic skills are offered in Gwan-gyeong simnyukgwan byeonsangdo (觀經十六觀變相圖: Sixteen Visualizations of the Contemplation Sutra) in Chionin (知恩院), Saifuku-ji (西福寺), and in Rinsho-ji (隣松 寺), and Suwolgwaneumdo (水月觀音圖: Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara) in Daitoku-ji (大德寺) (Plate 2). The latter depicts cranes, peacocks, and a blue bird pecking at a sprig of flowers elegantly illustrated in the techniques of gureukjeonchaepung (鉤勒塡彩風: ink outline and color fill) and molgolchaesaekpung (沒骨彩色風: boneless painting, i.e. without outlines in ink). The blossom at which the blue bird is pecking is a peony, as illustrated by Li Di (李迪, late twelfth century) and other artists in the court style of painting of the Southern Song dynasty.



(Plate 2)
Anonymous, Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara, detail
Goryeo, 14th century
Ink and colors on silk
H: 227.9 cm, W: 125.8 cm
Daitoku-ji, Kyoto



Due to the creative traditions and growing demands of the mid-Goryeo period onwards, by the early Joseon period (1392 to circa 1550), *hwajohwa*, like paintings of other genres, reached a higher level of artistic maturity than before. Realistic paintings in the

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style of gureukjeonchae and molgolchaesaek were officially promoted through the court painters of the Dohwaseo (圖畵署: Royal Bureau of Painting) in order to meet the increasing demands of the royal family. According to the section on the criteria for the selection of court painters (取才, chwijae) and the subject matters on which they were tested as recorded in the chapter Yejeon (禮典: Code of Rites) of the Gyeonggukdaejeon (經國大典: Complete Code of Law) completed in 1485, birds and animals, like humans, were classified as a third level subject. Therefore, the primary purpose of the selection process appears to have been to develop and to test the painter's mimetic abilities, as would have been required in portraiture. In order to improve the court painters' skills to 'observe and draw from life' (觀形 摹畵, gwanhyeongmohwa) and to prevent any mistakes, King Seongjong (成宗, r. 1469-1494) had various kinds of wild animals brought into the palace and had the court painters paint as realistically as possible all kinds of living organisms including grass, trees, birds, and animals.²⁴ Such development of painting techniques (畵技, hwaqi) was considered essential for copying and modifying the king's portraits (御容, eoyong) faithfully. It must also have been crucial for the production of paintings such as the following examples: Haecheongdo (海靑圖: painting of a falcon), made during the reign of King Sejong (世宗, r. 1418-1450), one of a series featuring various species of falcons drawn in a precise manner; an "extremely detailed" (極基精巧, geukgijeonggyo) parrot, drawn for the royal family during the reign of Yeonsangun (燕山君, r. 1494-1506); or New Year's paintings (歲 畵, sehwa) such as the chu-eung baktodo (秋鷹搏兎圖: painting of a falcon hunting a rabbit in autumn), which were included in the paintings that the king presented to his relatives and senior ministers at the start of the new year.²⁵

In the meantime, the <code>sadaebu</code>, who were the main patrons and admirers of art along with the royal family, saw bird and flower painting as a symbol of harmony with nature (江湖閒靜, <code>ganghohanjeong</code>) and transcendence from the secular world. They even considered the genre as a subject for allegory and satire as well as a medium for cultivating moral character. Seo Geojeong (徐居正, 1420–1488) realized a state of freedom in nature through paintings of ducks floating on the water and enjoyed imagining the ideal beauty of nature in the Jiangnan (江南) region in China from a painting of wild geese in a frosted field of reeds in autumn. This self-disciplined and moral-centered view that the nobility applied to bird and flower painting must have played an important role in the development of ink painting, a style that emphasized capturing the spirit of the object.

On the basis of such acknowledgement and demands, during the early years of the Joseon period, *hwajohwa* included a variety of birds, such as ducks, egrets, cranes, falcons, wild geese, swallows, sea gulls, sparrows, magpies, doves, orioles, peacocks, and chickens in various combined settings with *hwachojukmok* (花草竹木: flowers, grass, bamboo, and trees). The early Joseon period produced many noteworthy literati painters of *hwajohwa* such as Ham Seoksung (成石崇, early 15th century), Gim Jeong (金淨, 1486-1521, a former Minister of

the Board of Punishment [刑曹判書] and one of the Joseon scholar-reformers who were purged in the *gimyo sahwa* in 1519), and Yi Am (利巖, 1499-?), who were all also cultivated men of letters. Moreover, An Gyeon (安堅, dates unknown), regarded as the best painter from the Dohwaseo of King Sejong's era, also produced masterpieces such as *Noando* (蘆雁圖: *Geese and Flowers*), *Songhakdo* (松鶴圖: *Crane with Pine Tree*), *Hwaado* (花鵝圖: *Flowers and Geese*) and *Ando* (*Geese*).

The extant hwajohwa works of the early Joseon period include Jigoksonghakdo (芝谷松鶴圖: Cranes with Pine Trees in a Valley) by Yu Jami (柳自湄, late fifteenth century) in Gansong Museum of Art and paintings by Gim Jeong, Yi Am, An Gwisaeng (安貴生, late fifteenth century), Yi Jongjun (李宗準, ?-1499), Sin Jam (申潛, 1491-1554), and paintings attributed to Saimdang Sinssi (師任堂 申氏, 1504-1551, the mother of Yi Yi [李 珥, 1536-1584], the greatest Confucian scholar of the mid-Joseon period). These works can be loosely divided into two painting styles: in ink and colors, or in inkwash alone. The former (chaemukpung) typically features different kinds of birds with delicate brush strokes in color and ink against a wide landscape (大景, daegyeong) with trees in the upper half of the painting and water or stones in the lower half. Inkwash painting (sumukpung), on the other hand, generally features detailed, closeat-hand landscapes (小景, sogyeong), where only one or two birds of the same kind are brushed in ink.28 Whereas chaemukpung developed on the traditions of Goryeo with mixtures of the realistic and decorative styles of the early Ming dynasty, sumukpung grew as a new style out of mukhui (墨戲: playing with ink), symbolizing the interests of the scholar-officials.

Korean works that incorporate Chinese academic painting techniques²⁹ include: *Jigoksonghakdo* by Yu Jami, four pieces of *Hwajodo* (花鳥圖) – purportedly by Sin Jam, *Hwajodo* by An Gwisaeng in the National Museum of Korea, and *Hwajogujado* (花鳥狗子圖: *Flower and Bird with Puppies*) by the court painter Yi Am in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art. These paintings depict trees, stones, and earthen walls against a backdrop of natural features of the seasons, using the Zhe school

(浙派) painting style, characterized by asymmetrical compositions and strong contrasts of black and white, and combining realistic and decorative elements in a harmonious mix of ink and colors — characteristic of the Ming style of bird and flower painting. In particular, such works are believed to have been influenced by the style of Lü Ji (呂紀, 1477-?), widely considered the master of academic court painting. *Hwajodo*, attributed to An Gwisaeng, is strongly evocative of the spring scene of *Siji huaniao tu* (四季花鳥圖: *Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons*) in the Tokyo National Museum by Lü Ji, although An's work has a softer and more lyrical mood.

These styles are also reflected in the four pieces of Hwajodo by Sin Jam. 30 It is in the Hwajoqujado (Plate 3) by Yi Am, however, that they appear much more vividly. The flowering tree depicted in ink outline and color in the upper part of the painting and the innocentlooking bird in boneless technique in the lower part evoke a mood of innocence and a visual sense of beauty in a pure and unspoiled natural world. Yi Am, who excelled in depicting falcons and dogs, was regarded as the greatest painter of this genre. The chapter Chosenshokaden (朝鮮 書畵傳: Notes on Joseon Calligraphy and Paintings) in the 50th volume of the Japanese work Kogabikou (古畵備考: Review of Old Paintings) defines Yi's paintings as "having the Joseon style of painting (有朝鮮畵風, yuchosengafu)." The sentimental and lyrical world of painting that Yi created laid the foundation for the development of hwaiohwa of the Joseon dynasty.

Hwajohwa paintings attributed to the representative style of sumuk with simple and light colors and the sogyeongsik frame or a close-range landscape format were produced by: Gim Jeong, Jo Gwangjo (趙光祖, 1482–1519, a leader who was also purged in gimyo sahwa), and Saimdang Sinssi.

The small-size inkwash compositions typically come in two different kinds of representation: the first an extremely simple form whereby only one or two birds are featured, usually sitting on the extended end of *jeolji* (折枝: branch without the tree trunk) or on a flowering branch; the second a natural landscape,



(Plate 3)
Yi Am, Flower and Bird with Puppies
Joseon, 16th century
Ink and colors on paper
H: 86 cm, W: 44.9 cm
Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art



(Plate 4)
Gim Jeong, *Bird on a Small Branch*Joseon, early 16th century
Ink on paper
Private collection, Korea

represented by rocks, cliffs, or waterside plants at the watersides and valleys. Both types were standardized during the Southern Song dynasty. In Korea, most of the former type portrayed small birds such as wagtails, great tits, snipes, and magpies on the end of a branch of plum or bamboo in ink in the *sauiche* (寫意體: style mimicking the essence or the mindset rather than the subject matter) through the application of dry brush strokes (粗筆, *jopil*) or free-hand brushwork (放筆, *bangpil*). In the latter presented as a vignette of a landscape, one finds a convergence of the *byeon-gak* (邊角: one-corner) composition from the Southern Song dynasty with the Zhe school style from the Ming dynasty.

The Yeongmojeoljido (翎毛折枝圖: Bird on a Small Branch) (Plate 4) by Gim Jeong reflects the essence of sumukpung - simple composition and condensed use of brushstrokes. This style of painting developed as ink play by literary men and by Seon (Japanese: Zen) Buddhist painters. Seo Yugu (徐有榘, 1764-1845) observed that the Yijohwamyeongdo (二鳥和鳴圖: Two Birds Singing in Harmony on a Tree) from the Dongguo Huatie (東國畵帖: Painting Album of the Eastern State [i.e. Joseon]), which does not survive today, was "the oldest example of dongren momiao (東人墨妙: ink painting of the Easterners [i.e. Koreans])" that he had ever seen. It portrayed two birds on two different branches of a tree, one branch above the other. Seo remarked that despite the fact that the painting was so faded that it was hard to distinguish the technical artistry in the piece, he could still recognize the traces of ink play of a literary man.³¹ Such paintings created with ink play were considered as self-fulfilling and self-cultivating performances for the literati. Both Yeollodo (蓮鷺圖: Lotus Flower with White Heron) in the National Museum of Korea and Wonangdo (鴛鴦圖: A Couple of Mandarin Ducks) in a private collection, attributed to Saimdang Sinssi, illustrate birds and animals wading in water, suggesting sentiments of leisure found in a small vignette of nature.³² The uniformity of the ink brush strokes as well as the two dimensional expressions all contribute to evoking the lyrical feeling of the painting. These small-scale inkwash paintings focused more on creating an overall calm, feminine sentiment rather than recreating nature in detail. By the mid-Joseon period, this style, which focused on expressing the spiritual and serene scenery rather than merely representing the precise details of nature, strongly adopted the Zhe school ink brush modes into the style establishing the new main trend for bird-and-flower paintings.

HWAJOHWA OF THE MID-JOSEON PERIOD

Hwajohwa reached full bloom in the mid-Joseon period (circa 1550-1700), growing more vibrant than at any other time in the Joseon era. With the maturation of Joseon society, the scholar-officials came to view birds singing and flying freely in nature as the epitome of paradise and pure joy and

the quintessence of the profound truth of cosmological movement. They actively promoted these paintings that combined flowers and birds with natural scenery as a medium for describing and expressing man's intimate relationship with nature.In fact, the mid-Joseon period produced the greatest number of leading literati painters of hwajohwa. Among the outstanding artists of the genre that have been documented are: Gim Si, (金褆, 1524-1593), also known as Dongbangsinpum (東方神 品: Divine Creation of the East), the brothers Yi Gyeongyun (李慶胤, 1545-1611) and Yi Yeong-yun (李英胤, 1561-1611), Yun Eom (尹儼, 1536-1581), Sin Serim (申世 霖, 1521-1583), Yi Hangbok (李恒福, 1556-1618), Choe Jeon (崔澱, 1567-1588), Yi Jing (李澄, 1581-?), Jo Sok (趙 涑, 1595-1668), Gim Sik (金埴, 1579-1662), Gim Jib (金集, 1574-1656), Yi Geon (李健, 1614-1662), Gim Hakqi (金學 基, dates unknown), Yi Ham (李涵, 1633-?) Jo Jiun (趙之耘, 1637-1691), Yi Ryang (李湸, late seventeenth century), and Jeon Chunghyo (全忠孝, dates unknown). Most of these artists were either literati painters of the royal court or members of the scholar-gentry class.

The typical two-tiered large-scale *hwajohwa* in color of the early Joseon dynasty continued to develop during the mid-Joseon period under the aegis of artists such as Yun Eom and Yi Yeong-yun. However, the most representative *hwajohwa* of the mid-Joseon era were small inkwash paintings of animals and birds.³³ This technique of accentuating the bird as the essence of the painting against a backdrop of one or two loose branches (疎枝, *soji*) or *pyeon-gyeong* (片景: a small, close-up, cut-off scene) is the most distinctive feature of mid-Joseon *hwajohwa*.

Paintings of birds and animals on small branches, developed by painters like Gim Jeong in the early Joseon period, were well-loved not only because such works could convey the painter's mind with only a few brushstrokes but also because they resembled the flying, singing, sleeping, and feeding birds found in the Ming painting manuals such as *Gao Song Lingmaopu* (高松翎毛譜: *Painting Manual of Birds and Animals by Gao Song*).³⁴ These traditions continued in the painting titled *Jukgeumdo* (竹禽圖: *Wild Birds with Bamboo*) by

Sin Serim, Maejomunhyangdo (梅鳥聞香圖: Bird on a Plum tree Surrounded by Fragrance) in the Gansong Museum of Art by Gim Sik, Han-gadokjodo (寒柯獨鳥圖: Lonely Bird on a Branch in Winter) in Nakpayeonjucheop (駱坡聯珠帖: Painting Album by Nakpa Yi Gyeong-yun) in the National Museum of Korea by Yi Gyeong-yun, and Yusangchun-gudo (柳上春鳩圖: Pigeon on a Willow) in the National Museum of Korea by Yi Yeong-yun. Gim Sik's Bird on a Plum Tree Surrounded by Fragrance painted in the midst of his flight to Hongyang (洪陽) during the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 is, in terms of the overall structure and the posture of the bird, very similar to the paintings of birds and flowers by Wang Yuan (王淵, dates unknown), who was a pupil of Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322) of the Yuan dynasty, and whose work was included in the collection Gushihuapu (顧氏畫譜: Painting Manual by Gu Bing [顧 炳, late sixteenth-early seventeenth century) of 1603. The Yusangchun-gudo by Yi Yeong-yun is akin to the ink painting of Geese by the celebrated Ming painter Lin Liang (林良, circa 1416-1480), in the British Museum. However, the former achieved a contrast between the ink painting method (墨法, mukbeop) applied to the leaves and the drawing technique with plain outlines (白 描風, baengmyopung), along with the foggy landscape created by a darker background(外量法, woe-unbeop) - that is, by using thin ink lightly around the bird, conveying an embossed-like effect - demonstrating new stylistic characteristics.

Paintings of birds and animals on small branches reached an artistic peak and highest popularity with the works of Jo Sok. Widely respected for being a virtuous nobleman of the utmost integrity, he was esteemed also for being a virtuoso of *hwajohwa*. Many of Jo Sok's extant paintings are identified only by attribution because the artist barely left his signature or seal. Nevertheless, these paintings disclose Jo Sok's particular fondness for depicting small mountain birds perched or dozing off, sitting by themselves on the tip of a bare branch of a plum, bamboo, or Chinese hawthorn. He also liked to paint aquatic birds such as wild geese and cranes within a succinct background, often left almost blank.



(Plate 5)
Jo Sok, Old Plum and Auspicious Magpie
Joseon, early17th century
Ink on paper
H: 100.4 cm, W: 55.5 cm
Gansong Museum of Art



(Plate 6)
Jo Jiun, Sleeping Bird
Joseon, late 17th century
Ink on paper
H: 78 cm, W: 50 cm
Private collection

Jo Sok's style of painting, particularly his depictions of birds and triangular leaves presented in a mosaic style, as exemplified in works such as Nosuseojakdo (老樹棲鵲圖: Magpie Resting on an Old Tree) in the National Museum of Korea, also shows resemblance to the works by Lin Liang, muchadmired by the gentry of Ming China. Jo's works are marked by a restrained elegance indicative of pure integrity. In particular, Gomaeseojakdo (古梅瑞鵲圖: Old Plum and Auspicious Magpie) (Plate 5), which accentuates, through flying-white outlines (飛白體, bibaekche), the solitude of the magpie perched atop the bare branch of a plum, is a masterpiece that best reflects these techniques. The powerful use of dry brushstrokes in the magpie's strong, straight, and steady posture makes it appear as if the bird is waiting steadfastly for spring as it gazes into the distance. In harmony with the restrained mungmaepung (墨梅風: plum blossom drawn in ink) distinctive of the mid-Joseon period, this, in turn, is strongly evocative of the ethos of the artist's pure sentiment of longing for spring to overcome the national suffering following the Chinese invasion of 1636.

Along with the lofty sentiments and elegance created in his works, Jo Sok also painted *mukgeum* (墨禽: birds in ink monochrome), utilizing both the rough and simple *jopil* and *bangpil* strokes in *saui* style – techniques that are exemplified in *Woryasugeumdo* (月夜水禽圖: *Waterbirds in the Moonlit Night*) in the National Museum of Korea and *Chunjijomongdo* (春池鳥夢圖: *Sleeping Bird by a Lake in Spring*) in the Gansong Museum of Art. These paintings depict a solitary, small, sleeping bird with its head on its breast, perched on a plum or a bamboo tree, or under a dry, leafless, bare, protruding branch of a Chinese hawthorn tree, thereby evoking a sentiment of bearing through a challenging wintry season.

This minimalistic trend in ink paintings of sleeping birds was continued in later works including Sukjodo (宿鳥圖: Sleeping Bird) (Plate 6) and Maesangsukjodo (梅上宿鳥圖: Sleeping Bird on a Plum), attributed to Jo Sok's son Jo Jiun, and Seorwoljomongdo (雪月鳥夢圖: Sleeping Bird in Snowy Night) in the Gansong Museum of Art by Yi Geon, dated 1661. Jo Jiun's painting style is barely distinguishable from that of his father, except that his depictions of bare branches are coarser and further simplified, creating a more liberated feel. In view of the fact that most of the works attributed to Jo Sok and Jo Jiun comprise the sleeping bird in light ink style or a solitary bird perching on a branch or branches, one may say that a new style of hwajohwa was established by these father and son painters.

Among sojiyeongmoryu hwajohwa – rather sketchy and abstract birds-and-flower paintings on small branches – there also exist paintings depicted in a more refined and graceful style. Yijohwamyeongdo (二鳥和鳴圖: Two Birds Singing in Harmony on a Tree) in the Gansong Museum of Art by Gim Sik and Sanchobaekdudo (山椒白頭圖: Bird with White Feathered Head on a Prickly Ash) and Danpungsojodo (丹楓小鳥圖: Small Bird on a Red Maple Tree) from the Yeongmocheop (翎毛帖: Painting Album of Birds and Animals) in the National

Museum of Korea by Yi Ham are the representative examples. These works display distinct organizational elements in the way that the titmouse and a small bird of the wagtail family are 'paired together' or 'singing in harmony' with a bare branch between them. Moreover, in the lucid and deliberate brushstrokes that even detail the veins of the leaves, the painting creates a lyrical atmosphere which reflects the sculptural techniques of the academic style of the Southern Song dynasty and the Zhe school style of the Ming dynasty. In other words, they reflect a compromise between the structure of *sojiyeongmo* (small scenes of birds and animals on branches) and the expressive style of *pyeon-gyeong yeongmo* (cut-off landscapes with birds and animals), the next topic to be discussed.

Within the style of sogyeong yeongmohwa, the main current of hwajohwa during the mid-Joseon period, pyeon-gyeong, or otherwise known as pyeongakgyeong (偏角景: a small, close-up, cut-off vignette of scenery) yeongmoryu (animal paintings), developed in tandem with and enjoyed the most popularity as sojiyeongmoryu. Small scenes with animals, combining the structural dimensions and the ink techniques of the Zhe school, are prominently displayed in the works attributed to Saimdang Sinssi. The style was further refined in the mid-Joseon era as represented in works such as Sugeumdo (水禽圖: Waterbirds) in a private collection by Yi Seunghyo (李崇 孝, late sixteenth century) and Hajeongsugeumdo (夏汀 水禽圖: Waterbirds on the Waterside in Summer) in the National Museum of Korea by Yi Gyeong-yun, along with other works by Gim Sik and Yi Jing.

Gim Sik excelled at lifelike painting, known as saengchojitae (生肖之態: drawing so true to life that it seems alive) and his brush technique was hailed as ethereal. Gim was celebrated especially for the delicacy of his brushstrokes, with many expressing admiring disbelief that a 70-year-old man could be capable of brushstrokes that were "finer than the finest hair." Others, however, rated Gim Sik's technique one level below that of Jo Sok, and in a book of the later period, Yeollyeosilgisul (燃藜室記述: Narratives by Yeollyeosil), it was asserted that Gim's

with animals attributed to Gim Sik currently housed in the National Museum of Korea and the Hongik University Museum would seem to confirm the latter assessment, as they exhibit the *molgol* or boneless technique, for example in his *Umado* (牛馬圖: *Oxen and Horses*). Likewise, as can be seen in *Seokjukbiyeondo* (石竹飛燕圖: *Flying Swallow with Rocks and Bamboo*), the vignette consisting of swallows, sweet williams, rocks, and waterfalls is painted in a method that eliminates borderlines and expresses a fine, sleek, deep, two-dimensional, balanced feeling. All this is presented within a structural frame that creates an overall pleasing atmosphere.

These techniques and lyrical moods were further refined by Yi Jing and developed into a prototype.³⁸ The illegitimate son of Yi Gyeong-yun, Yi Jing won King Injong's favor and painted under the king's auspices. Yi's style and techniques were reminiscent of those apparent in Qiuzhu shuiqin tu (秋渚水禽圖: Waterbirds on a River Bank in Autumn) in the National Museum of Taipei by the Ming master Lü Ji. This is particularly reflected in his work Noando (Geese and Reeds) now in a private collection. However, Yi's true distinctiveness in the genre of hwajohwa is better displayed in his small works in hwacheop (畵帖: painting albums and manuals). Among the works attributed to Yi, Sansu hwacheop (山水畵帖: Painting Album of Mountains and Waters) in the Gansong Museum of Art is his most representative. The work contains an introduction by Sin Ikseong (申翊聖, 1588-1644), who was King Seonjo's (宣 祖, r. 1552-1608) son-in-law and a prominent collector and appraiser of paintings.

Yodang wonangdo (蓼塘鴛鴦圖: A Couple of Mandarin Ducks on a Pond with Weeds) (Plate 7) is a painting included in this album. The painting is of an affectionate pair of ducks playing in water flowing around rocks that are covered with lichen. The contrast of the black and the white, the rocks on top of each other, their pointed shapes, and the brush technique of bubyeokjun (斧劈皴: axe-cut brushstrokes) are reminiscent of the art style of Chen Zihe (陳子和, dates unknown), a painter from Fujian Province (福建) of

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the Ming dynasty. However, in the application of the rhythmic method of the boneless style, seen in the detailed description of the duck feathers, and in the detailed depiction of the flower plants and water plants by the use of dots (點描風, jeommyopung), the distinctive artistic ethos and character of this period can be observed. In particular, the landscape consisting of a vignette of nature and a couple of birds, depicted by the distinct technique of sumuk or ink painting, gently evoking a harmony of the innocence and earthiness of the natural world, represents quintessential Korean aesthetics and sentiments founded in folk art.³⁹

As seen above, *hwajohwa* of the mid-Joseon period brought forth numerous prominent painters, reaching its heyday through small inkwash paintings of birds and animals. By illustrating the subject of a lone mountain bird on a bare, broken branch, such paintings were able to evoke the restrained beauty of nature and the painter's lofty spirit through coarse and simple brushstrokes. This style was standardized and refined by Jo Sok. Close-view landscapes with birds and animals, characterized (through a variation on the conventions of Zhe school techniques) by endearing images of pairs of waterbirds in a stream or a river close to rocks and wild flowers, sought to recreate the calm and lyrical mood of nature. Yi Jing standardized and refined this kind of painting, which took place when Neo-Confucian ideology permeated more deeply into the society. Such painting styles and the social ideology are similar in their concept for they both highlight harmony with nature. On the other hand, while the restrained elegance of the former exercised a particular appeal to the literary society of the scholar-officials, the latter, with its decorative features, was greatly favored by the royal family and wealthy elites.



(Plate 7)

Yi Jing, A Couple of Mandarin Ducks on a

Pond with Waterweeds

Joseon, 17th century
Ink and colors on silk

H: 21 cm, W: 31 cm

Gansong Museum of Art

HWAJOHWA OF THE LATE JOSEON DYNASTY

Hwajohwa of the late Joseon dynasty (circa 1700-1800) changed in more diverse ways as a result of the growth of a culture that valued paintings, new creative dispositions among painters, and the rise of a new trend of namjonghwa (南宗畵: Southern school or literati painters). In particular, through the works of masters such as Jeong Seon (鄭敾, 1676-1759), Jo Yeongseok (趙 榮袥, 1686-1761), Sim Sajeong (沈師正, 1707-1769), and Gim Hongdo (金弘道, 1745-1806), a new creative and individualistic world of art sprang forth. Use of the light-ink method widely practiced in the mid-Joseon period diminished whereas chaemuk, using both color and ink, and detailed works with strong colors, increased. This change toward an elaborate and vivid aesthetic stemmed mainly from the inherent dynamism of the natural organisms in hwajohwa, but also from the increase in demand for invocative and decorative objects as a result of a more lavish lifestyle. Moreover, the importation of painting albums consisting of multi-colored woodblock prints made during early Qing times, such as Shizhuzhai huapu (十竹齋書譜: Ten Bamboo Studios Manual of Painting) and

Jieziyuan huazhuan (芥子園畫傳: Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), must have played an important role in the development of Joseon hwajohwa.

In the context of the new trends in late-Joseon hwajohwa, one prominent painter to emerge is the master of true-view landscape (實景, silgyeong) painting, Jeong Seon. Jeong did not paint many hwajohwa, but espoused an aesthetic that strove to capture the essence of nature. He left works such as Deungnyong unggyedo (燈籠雄鷄圖: A Rooster under a Tree with a Chinese maxim) (Plate 8) and Gyegwanmanchudo (鷄冠晚雛圖: Chickens with Cockscomb Plant), both of which breathe realism and vitality. The composition of his works followed the principles of byeon-gak pyeongyeong; however, the realistic depictions of roosters and hens leisurely playing around the barn with plants such as cockscomb and ground cherry in the background demonstrate a new realistic style of painting. In particular, the aggressive stance of the rooster, depicted in vibrant colors and vigorous brushwork, rises beyond simple description and is noteworthy in its realistic portrayal of the rooster's natural behavior.

This new trend developed from a process of "self-taught (自得的, jadeukjeok)" creativity, obtained through keen observation that emphasized the structural characteristics and essential character of the object under study. Its development was led by a scholar- painter named Jo Yeongseok, who stressed jeungmulsajin (卽物寫眞: painting drawn as the object appears) or realistic painting. Jo Yeongseok, who was a childhood friend and a longtime neighbor of Jeong Seon

in the northern part of Seoul, drew a rough sketch with willow charcoal' (柳炭略寫, yutanyaksa) of domestic birds (家禽, gageum) like chicks and quails and wild birds (野 禽, yageum).40 Ssangjakdo (雙鵲圖: A Brace of Magpies) (Plate 9), which he created at forty, was based on the strength of rough sketches, in a departure from the mid-Joseon mimetic tradition typically placing a plum at the center. The painting brings to life two magpies sitting on a thick branch of an old pine tree. This work that recreates with precision and vigor the existential being of the magpies in a delicate mix of black ink and white chalk (胡粉, hobun) is the epitome of an art style newly developed through physiological sketches of nature, and reflects the essence of a theory that emphasizes the significance of delivering inner spirit rather than the outward appearance of objects (傳神, jeonsin).41

Chaemukpung hwajohwa was refined further as a delicate art form by Byeon Sangbyeok (卞相璧, 1730-?), the painter who was famed as "National Artist" (國手, guksu) for his excellence in portraiture. He drew cats so exceptionally well that he also gained the nickname of "Byeonmyo" (卞猫, Byeon: Byeon the Cat); he also excelled at rooster paintings, for which he gained a third nickname, "Byeongye" (卞鷄, Byeon the Rooster). Jawungjangchudo (雌雄將雛圖: A Hen and Rooster with their Chicks) (Plate 10) is remarkable in its composition observed from nature, the distinct posture of an aggressive rooster, and the high level of realism that comes from near-palpable, precise, and meticulous techniques. Gang Sehwang (姜世晃, 1713-1791), a scholar-painter and art critic of great repute, left the following encomium on the right side of this



(Plate 8)
Jeong Seon, A Rooster under a Tree
Joseon, early 18th century
Ink and colors on silk
H: 30.5 cm, W: 20.8 cm
Gansong Museum of Art



(Plate 9)
Jo Yeongseok, A Brace of
Magpies
Joseon, 1726
Ink and colors on silk
H: 25 cm, W: 21 cm
Private collection, Korea

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painting: "skills that far surpass those of the painters of the past, marvelous and wondrous in both precision and delicacy." It was also said that the rooster in Byeon Sangbyeok's work could be mistaken for a real rooster because of the degree of realism achieved.⁴²

In contrast with the realistic mimicry of color and ink hwajohwa, sumuk damchaepung (水墨淡彩風: ink painting with pale color), which was based on the painting aesthetics of the Southern School, was duly recognized as a legitimate art style of noble painters by Sim Sajeong after mastering the styles of masters in the Ming and Qing dynasties through the copying of Chinese painting albums. Sim Sajeong, who contributed greatly to the establishment of Southern school landscape paintings in Joseon society, was renowned as a painter of flowers and birds and insects. Replicating the art style of Jiang Tingxi (蔣廷錫, 1669-1732) of the Qing dynasty, who acquired his meticulous techniques from studying Song painters, Sim Sajeong used colorful and delicate gongpilchaesaekpung in his works, as is evident in Yeonjiyuapdo (蓮池遊鴨圖: Ducks on a Lotus Pond) in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art. Sim also cultivated his own distinct style through his liberal yet strong brushwork and skillful blending of color.

Sim Sajeong enjoyed painting hawks, pheasants, woodpeckers, and Indian kingfishers. He partially continued the tradition of the simple brushwork of Jo Sok, as reflected in his *Sugeummunhyangdo* (水禽聞香圖: *Waterfowl Surrounded by Fragrance*) (Plate 11). Sim incorporated in his work the strong brush and ink of Lin Liang of the Ming dynasty; the broad brushstrokes of the Wu school (吳派) of the Ming dynasty like Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427–1509) and Chen Shun (陳淳, 1483–1544); and rough brushstrokes comparable to the style of Zhou Zhimian (周之冕, sixteenth century), the pioneer of the bird and flower painting of Changzhou (常州) in the late–Ming. His work reflected the literati painters' comprehensive

(Plate 10)
Byeon Sangbyeok, *Cock and Hen with Their Chicks*Joseon, late 18th century
Ink and colors on paper
H: 30 cm, W: 46 cm
Gansong Museum of Art



style of damchae (淡彩: light coloring).43

Sim Sajeong's style developed under the influence of *namjong* (Southern School) literary painters and painting manuals. His style was soon admired by yeohang (閭巷: the lower social class that appeared at the end of Joseon dynasty following the fall of the higher sadaebu class) literary painters such as Choe Buk (崔北, 1712-1786) and Gim Hongdo. Gim Hongdo, who was regarded as the finest painter in the circle of artists of King Jeongjo (正祖, r. 1776-1800), excelled in all aspects of paintings. Gim left great accomplishments in color and ink paintings of flowers and birds, devising and employing his own creative perspective method known as the Danwon technique, named after his pen name, "Danwon (檀園: birch tree garden)." Gim left many paintings featuring mallards, egrets, magpies, pheasants, hawks, and cranes. He utilized the traditional grand-view and close-view landscape compositions in his own distinctive ways, but he also achieved a higher creativeness in his animal paintings by breaking away from the typical formal layouts by incorporating realistic scenes of remote mountains, deep valleys, rural fields and gardens into his works.44

Gim's greatest works such as Churimssangchudo (秋林雙雉圖: A Brace of Pheasants in an Autumn Grove), Gyeryuyuapdo (溪流遊鴨圖: Ducks on a Stream), and Chunjakbohuido (春鵲報喜圖: Magpies Making Joyful Sounds in Spring) (Plate 12) are all included in Byeongjinnyeon-hwacheop (丙辰年畵帖: Painting Album of byeongjin Year), compiled by Gim Hongdo at the age of 42. His technique, characterized by virtuosic brushstrokes, clear and lucid colors, and exquisite structures balanced by blank spaces, has produced scenic landscapes unsurpassed in beauty and overflowing with lyricism. Gim's paintings typically portray a quiet scene from nature such as birds playing peacefully or an earthy moment of everyday life, which burst forth joy and poetic lyricism through his unique brushworks. Such are essentially the products of Gim's exceptional talents, but also of the significant artistic development in the late Joseon period nurtured by the true-view landscapes of Jeong



(Plate 11)
Sim Sajeong, Waterbirds and Fragrant Flowers
Joseon, early18th century
Ink and colors on paper
H: 27.2 cm, W: 21.2 cm
Gansong Museum of Art



(Plate 12)
Gim Hongdo, Magpies Making Joyful Sounds in Spring in Byeongjinnyeon-hwacheop
Joseon, 1796
Ink and colors on paper
H: 26.7 cm, W: 31.6 cm

Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art

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(Plate 13)
Anonymous, Flower and Bird
Joseon, 18th century
Ink on paper
H: 132.8 cm, W: 48 cm
Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art

Seon and the Southern School style of Sim Sajeong.

Gim Hongdo's hwajohwa style had a great influence on his son, Gim Yanggi (金良驥, dates unknown) as well as the court painters of late Joseon, including Gim Deuksin (金得臣, 1604-1616), Sin Yunbok (申潤福, 1758-?), Yi Sumin (李壽民, 1651-1724), Jang Hanjong (張漢宗, 1768-1815), Jo Jeonggyu (趙廷奎, 1791-?), Yi Hancheol (李漢喆, 1808-?), and Yu Suk (劉淑, 1827-1873). Much influenced by Gim's new style and the widely-available painting manuals, these painters were able to manifest their uniqueness in both composition and brushworks, and to leave their own marks on Joseon painting.

In the late Joseon period, colorful hwajohwa featuring birds, flowering trees, and rocks depicted in cheongnokpung (青綠風: blue-green style) came to be everyday decorative and celebratory artifacts that were not only enjoyed at the royal court and in the chambers of the wealthy, but also in the homes of jung-in (中人: middle class) as well as wealthy merchants (who were considered to be below jung-in in the social hierarchy). The growth of hwajohwa during this period was due in large measure to the economic stimulus and the consequent spread among the wealthy of a taste for an extravagant lifestyle. On one hand, paintings intended for celebration or invocation, or for wishing longevity continued to be produced, including New Year's paintings such as Ugilhochwido (旭日豪鷲圖: Heroic Condor at Dawn) in the National Museum of Korea by Jeong Hong-rae (鄭弘來, 1720-?) and Songhakdo. On the other hand, the bulk of hwajohwa produced during this time was intended for decoration - to transform one's house into a beautiful and fantastic paradise. It became a popular practice to give baekjado (百子圖: paintings of one hundred children at play) and hwajohwa screens to daughters on the eve of their wedding with which to decorate their bridal chamber. 45

Among the decorative *chaesaek* (彩色) *hwajohwa* painted on screens that represent good fortune, delicate workmanship, and dazzling colors, *haehakbandoryu* (海鶴蟠桃類: paintings featuring cranes and peach trees as symbols of immortality and longevity), which was used in the palace, stands out as the epitome of decorative beauty and structural grandeur. Hawajodo in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art painted by Sin Hanpyeong (申漢枰, 1726-?) at the age of 62, *Hwarimchaegeumdo* (花林彩禽圖: *Colorful Birds with Flowers*) Gansong Museum of Art by Yi Uiyang (李義養, 1768-?), and a *hwajodo* screen (Plate 13) by an anonymous artist are decorative *chaksaek hwajohwa* with an elaborate *cheongnokpung* (bluish-green hue), that exhibit detail and elegance, along with beautifully decorated birds highlighted by a lucid color contrast of green and red expressed with fine brush strokes. These *chaesaek hwajohwa* came to be greatly modified as decorative art through the late-Joseon period due to the growth of the market. The majority of these works were produced as folk paintings and a substantial amount of these paintings are extant in large and small screen painting formats.

$\overline{\mathrm{VI}}$ HWAJOHWA OF THE END OF THE JOSEON DYNASTY

Toward the end of the Joseon period (circa 1800-1910), a culture of producing art for appreciation (as opposed to invocative or didactic purpose) emerged under the leadership of Gim Jeonghui (金 正喜, 1786-1856), the leading artist of appreciative paintings and a school of yeohang literary artists. Masterpieces of the 'Four Gentlemen' (梅蘭菊竹: plum, orchid, chrysanthemum, and bamboo), which aimed at ink-concentrated calligraphic excellence as well as floricultural and landscape paintings became prevalent.⁴⁷ The hwajohwa of this period not only continued to follow Gim Hongdo's tradition but also new approaches exhibiting a propensity for one's subjective expressions through the use of utmost succinct ink brushworks. This new expressive approach, mainly used in floral and landscape paintings, brought about an exotic feel. In the field of hwajohwa, the new trend fused with the traditional sauiche sumuk of the mid-Joseon period, as exemplified in Yeongmobyeongpung (翎毛屛風: Folding Screen of Birds and Animals, National Museum of Korea) by Hong Seseop (洪世燮, 1832-1884). The panels of this screen, now mounted as eight hanging scrolls, drew attention for their unique composition and the sensitive use of light and rich inks, reminiscent of Western watercolor painting.48

This style of painting also shows some connections between Bada Shanren (八大山人, 1626–1705, one of the individualist painters of the Qing dynasty) and ink brushworks by Gao Qipei (高其佩, 1672–1734) and Gao Fenghan (高鳳翰, 1683–1748) among the group of Yangzhou (揚洲) artists. At the same time, with the exception of the ink smearing effect as shown in *Biando* (飛雁圖: *Flying Geese*) (Plate 14), the peculiar scenic structure in *yaapdo* (野鴨圖: *paintings of wild ducks*) and the bold use of the bird's-eye view in *yuapdo* (遊鴨圖: *paintings of ducks swimming*), the style of *hwajodo* of the end of the Joseon period was in line with the past traditions. For example, the shape and posture of birds such as magpies and sleeping birds in the five pieces of



(Plate 14)
Hong Seseop, Flying Geese
Joseon, late 19th century
Ink on ramie fabric
H: 119.6 cm, W: 47.9 cm
National Museum of Korea



(Plate 15)
Jang Seung-eop, A pair of Pheasants
Joseon, late 19th century
Ink and colors on paper
H: 135.5 cm, W: 55.3 cm
Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art

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these *hwajohwa* hanging scrolls including *maejodo* (梅鳥圖: paintings of birds and plum blossom), the command of *woe-unbeop* – a technique that gives a three-dimensional effect and the expression of decorative water plants in specks of dark and light ink, all reflect techniques in the tradition of Jo Sok.

In the last years of the Joseon dynasty, during the period of Korea's opening and enlightenment period, hwajohwa was transformed into the new liberal, but understated inkwash and light color (sumuk damchae) style, chiefly under the influence of Jang Seungeop (張承業, 1843-1897). Jang, whose art studio was located in central Seoul, became very popular among wealthy patrons for his own individual style based on the prevalent styles of paintings by Shanghai artists that flowed into Joseon.49 Jang developed the style of gimyeongjeoljido (器 皿折枝圖: flower-and vessel painting) by incorporating the hwahwebakgodo (花卉 博古圖: still-life paintings with flowers and antiquities) using three-dimensional shading effects and light ink coloring that in effect evoked a modern stylistic impression. He popularized the image of falcons as a symbol of a bird of prey, perched on one leg on a branch of a tree in a robust manner, as well as a new form of noando, portraying large-headed wild geese descending toward a field of reeds. Ssangchido (雙雉圖: A Brace of Pheasants) (Plate 15) shows Jang's vigorous style of employing ink in boneless technique and the smearing effect or the dynamic use of light coloring. Jang's art traditions were carried forward by Jo Seokjin (趙錫晉, 1853-1920) and An Jungsik (安中植, 1861-1919) as the main current of the Korean art scene until the 1920s, when a new style of modern Japanese art came into the picture.

Jin Hongseop (秦弘燮), Source Book of Korean Art History (韓國美術史 資料集成), Seoul: Iljisa, 1991. 456-59.

2

Perhaps because painting albums of the Ming dynasty like *Gaosong huapu* (高松畫譜) and *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (十竹齊書畫譜) used the classification lingmao (翎毛: fur and feathers; Korean: *yeongmo*), the term came into wide use since the mid-Joseon period.

3

Lothar Ledderose, "Subject Matter in Early Chinese Painting Criticism," *Oriental Art*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 72; Nishigami Minoru (西上實), "Flower-and-Bird Paintings of China (中國の花鳥畫)," The Beauty of Flowers and Birds: Paintings and Design (花鳥の美・繪畫と意匠), Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum (京都國立博物館), 1982. 10-2.

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Miyazaki Noriko (宮崎法子), Understanding Flowers and Birds and Landscape Paintings: The Significance of Chinese Paintings (花鳥・山水畵を讀み解く: 中國繪畫の意味), Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten (角川書店), 2003. 132-93.

5

National Museum of Korea, *National Museum of Korea*, (English collection catalog of the National Museum of Korea), Seoul: The Cultural Foundation of the National Museum of Korea, 2008. 35.

6

This fan-shaped birchbark panel shows auspicious birds with outspread wings on the front, and on the reverse, lotus buds connected by undulating stems. On both sides of on this birchbark panel, these designs were executed in black outline on a red ground. For more information this panel, see Munhwajae gwalliguk (文化財管理局, present Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea), Cheonmachong: Excavation Report (天馬塚: 發掘照查報告書), 156, plates 92-1, 92-2; The JoongAng Daily, The Korean Aesthetic: Art of Ancient Tombs (韓國美: 古墳美術), ed. Han Byeongsam (韓炳三), Seoul: The JoongAng Daily, 1985. Plate 56.

7

For more details, see Hong Sunpyo, "Hwajohwa of Korea," *The Korean Aesthetic: Hwajo and the Four Gracious Plants* (韓國 美: 花鳥 四君子), ed., Jeong Yangmo, Seoul: The JoongAng Daily, 1985. 184.

8

The evolution of the *hwajohwa* during the Joseon dynasty correlates with the four different stages of development among artistic circles. For the chronology of the development of paintings during the Joseon period, see Ahn Hwi-Joon, *The History of Korean Painting* (韓國花鳥畫), Seoul: Iljisa, 1980. 92.

9

See Hong Sunpyo, "Paintings of the Goryeo Period (高麗時代 一般繪畫)," *The History of Korean Art* (韓國美術史), Hanguk yesulwon (韓國藝術院: Center for Korean Art) edition, Seoul: Hanguk yesulwon, 1984. 271–87; "The Development of the General Paintings of Goryeo Period (高麗時代 一般繪畫 發展)," *Theories on the History of Paintings of the Joseon Period* (朝鮮時代 繪畫史論), Seoul: Munye chulpansa (文藝出版社), 1999. 126–7.

10

At this time, Goryeo artists excelled in the production of Buddhist sutras written in gold and silver on indigo-dyed paper, that were much appreciated in Song and Yuan China. See Pak Youngsook "Illuminated Sutras" in Kumja Paik Kim, ed., Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment, 918-1392, San Francisco, Asian Art Museum, 2003: 94-138.

11

Miyazaki, 2003. 181-2.

12

Cheongdong eunipsa poryusugeummun jeongbyeong (青銅銀入絲蒲柳水禽文淨瓶: Bronze kundika with landscape design), National Museum of Korea, National Treasure No. 92. For image, refer to *National Museum of Korea*, 2008. 198.

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13

Cheongja sanggam yeongjisugeummun pyeonho (青瓷象嵌蓮池水禽 文扁壺: Celadon vase with inlay of lotus flowers and waterfowl), National Museum of Korea. See Im Yeongju (林永周), "Patterns of Goryeo Ceramic (高麗陶瓷 文樣)," *The Korean Aesthetic: Celadon Wares* (韓國 美: 青瓷), ed. Choi Sunwu, Seoul: The JoonAng Daily, 1981. Plate 142.

14

Cheongja sanggam hwajuksugeummunpan (青瓷象嵌花竹水禽 文板: Celadon dish with inlay of flower, bamboo, and waterfowl), Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka.

15

The Korean Aesthetic: Celadon Wares, 1981 (note 12).
Plates 73, 75, 77, and 110; Yi Nanyeong, The Bronze Mirrors of Korea (韓國 銅鏡), Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1983.
Plates 105, 111, 128, etc.

16

Cheongja yanggak noanmun jeongbyeong (青瓷陽刻蘆雁文淨瓶: Celadon bottle with carvings of reeds and wild geese pattern), National Museum of Korea. Refer to Hong, 1999. 142.

17

Hong, 1999. 132.

18

Hong Sunpyo, "The Painting Style of Yi Gyubo (李奎報 [1168~1241) 繪畫觀," *Misuljaryo* (美術資料), vol. 39 (June 1987): 28-45; "Painting Theory in the Goryeo Period (高麗時代 繪畫理論)," *Gogomisul* (考古美術), vol. 187 (September 1990): 3-23.

19

Refer to Yi Gyubo (李奎報), Donggug isanggukjip (東國李相 國集: Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea) Part II, vol. 4, "Gumukjugyeosajin (求墨竹與寫真: Portraying Bamboos True to Life)."

20

See Yi Saek (李穡), "Yeonjakdo (題燕雀圖: Small Birds such as Swallows and Sparrows)," *Mogeunsigo* (牧隱詩藁: *Poems of Yi Saek*), vol. 33.

21

See Yi Gyubo, *Donggug isanggukjip*, vol. 8: "On the Painting of Two White Herons at Bak Hyeongu's House (朴君玄球家 賦雙鷺圖)."

22

Lin Chun (林椿), "Huayanji (畫雁記: Journal of Wild Geese Painting)," Xiheji (西河集: Anthology of Lin Chun's Poems) j. 5.

23

For Ma Ben (馬賁)'s *Baiyan tujuan* (白雁圖卷), see Kometaku Kaho (米澤嘉圃), "About Reeds and Wild Geese Paintings (蘆雁圖について)" in *Kometaku Kaho Bijutsushi Ronshu* (米澤嘉圃美術史論集: *Essays on Art History by Kometaku Kaho*) II. Kokukasha Edition (國華社編), Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha (朝日新聞社) 1994. 324, Plate 2.

24

Seongjong sillok (成宗實錄: Annals of King Seongjong), vol. 95 (Eighth month, 30th year, 1478).

25

Sejong sillok (世宗實錄: Annals of King Sejong), vol. 46 (tenth month, 39th year, 1429); Yeonsangun ilgi (燕山君日記: Diary of Yeonsangun), vol. 40 (twelfth month, 56th year, 1499); Seong Hyeon (成俔), "New Year painting granted by the King of a Falcon Hunting a Rabbit in Autumn (受賜歲畵 所畵秋鷹搏兎)," Heobaekdangjib (虛白堂集: Art Theory of Heobaekdang Seong Hyeon), vol. 4, rev. ed.

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Hong Sunpyo, "The Ideological Foundation of Early-Joseon Paintings (朝鮮 初期 繪畫 思想的 基盤)," The Annals of Korean Thought (韓國思想大界), vol. 4, Seoul: Hangukhak Jungang Yeonguwon (韓國學中央研究院: The Academy of Korean Studies), 1991. 562-3.

27

Seo Geojeong (徐居正), Jukgyebuapdo (竹溪浮鴨圖: Painting of Ducks on the River with Bamboo) in Sagajib (四佳集: Anthology of Seo Geojeong's Poems), vol. 45.

28

See Hong, 1985. 186-7.

The artistic style of *Jigoksonghakdo* is sometimes considered a "Koreanized" Southern Song academic court style. For more information, see Choi Wansu. "A Study on the Cranes with Pine Trees in a Valley (芝谷松鶴圖稿)," *Gogomisul*, vol. 146 and 147 (August 1989): 31–45. However, the intricacy of *pimajun* (披麻皴: hemp-fiber texture stroke, a painting technique using fine lines to depict grains of stone) on rock and the technique using dark dots seem to reflect the painting style of Cheng Mao (盛懋) of the Yuan dynasty – a successful fusion style of Guoxi (郭熙) and Dongju (董巨); See also Ahn Hwi–Joon, "The Evolution of Korean Namjong Landscape Paintings (韓國 南宗 山水畵 燮遷)." *Sambul* (三佛) *Professor Kim Won-yong's Retirement Commemoration Thesis*. Part II. Seoul: Iljisa, 1987. 15–6.

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National Museum of Korea, *Catalog of the Calligraphies and Paintings* (國立中央博物館 書畵 遺物圖錄), Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1992. Plates 8–1~4.

31

Seo Yugu (徐有榘), "Yewan-gamsang II" (藝玩鑑賞: Art Appreciation) II, "Bu Donggukhwacheop" (附 東國畵帖), *Imwonsibyukji-Yiunji* (林園十六志 - 怡雲志: *Pleasures of Life in a Garden with Trees and Plants – For an Elegant Life*).

32

Yi Song-mi (李成美), "A Study on Female Artists of the Joseon Period," *Misuljaryo*, vol. 51 (June 1993): 110-4.

33

For a study on the structural method and the artistic style of faint-ink hwajohwa album that was popular during the mid–Joseon period as sequential paintings depicting the flow of the four seasons, see Yi Wonbok, "Sagyeryeongmodogo (四季翎毛圖考: A Study on the Four Seasons Birds-and-Animals Paintings) of the mid-Joseon Period," Misuljaryo, vol. 47 (June 1991): 27-71. However, others view the seasonal meaning as secondary and as standing at variance with the painter's intention. See Kim Jihye, "Heoju Yi Jing's Sumukyeongmohwa," Misulsayeongu (美術史研究), vol. 11 (December 1997): 27.

34

Hong Sunpyo, "The *Yeongmohwa* (翎毛畵) of Korea," *Gukbo*: *Hoehwa* (國實-繪畫: *National Treasure-Paintings*), ed., Ahn Hwi-Joon, Seoul: Yekyeong, 1984. 235.

35

O Sechang (吳世昌), "Josok (趙涑)," *Geunyeokseohwajing* (槿域書畫徵), vol. 4.

36

Ahn Hwi-Joon, "Various Aspects of Paintings during the Mid-Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮王朝 中期 繪畫 諸 樣相)," A Study on the History of Korean Paintings (韓國繪畫研究), Seoul: Sigongsa (時空社), 2000. 546-7; "Various Aspects of Paintings uring the Mid-Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮王朝 中期 繪畫 諸 樣相)," Misulsahakyeongu (美術史學研究: Art History Studies), vol. 213, 1997.

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Hwang Sang (黃床), "Mallangjib" (漫浪集), vol. 8, *Jeguemsikhwahu* (題金埴畵後: *Postscripts on Paintings of Gim Sik*).

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Kim, 1997 (note 32). 23-42.

39

Hong, 1985. 188.

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Ahn Hwi-Joon, "The Historical Significance of *Gwanajaego* (觀我齋稿: *Anthology of Jo Yeongseok*)," The Academy of Korean Studies Research Department edition, *Jo Yeongseok Gwanajaego* (趙榮祐 觀我齋稿), Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1984. 3-17.

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Jeong Yak-yong (丁若鏞), "Prolog to Byeon Sangbyeok's Hen with Her Chickens (題卞相璧母鷄領子圖)," Yeoyudangjeonseo (與猶堂全書), vol. 6

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44

Hong, 1985. 189.

45

Yi Gihong (李箕洪), "Seoyeojabyeonghunhu (書女子屛訓後: Sayings for Folding Screen Paintings Given to Daughter to be Married)," *Jigamjib* (直菴集), vol. 10.

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On the court paintings of the late–Joseon period, see Kim Hongnam (金弘南), "Court Paintings of the 18th Century," *Korean Art of the 18th Century*, Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1993. 43–6.

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Hong Sunpyo, "The Paintings and Creative Inclinations of 19th Century Yeohang Literati," *Debate on Art History I, Misulsanondan* (美術史論壇) (June 1995): 203–19.

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Yi Taeho (李泰浩), "The Life and Works of Seokchang Hong Seseob," *Gogomisul*, vol. 146-7 (1980): 55-65.

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Hong Sunpyo, "Re-evaluating Owon Jang Seung-eop," Wolganmisool (月刊美術), vol. 10-2 (1997): 158-63.