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O Sech'ang's Compilation of Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa □□ □□□ (History of Korean painting and calligraphy) and the Publication of Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching □□ □□□ (Biographical records of Korean painters and calligraphers)

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O Sech'ang's Compilation of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* 權域書畫史 (*History of Korean painting and calligraphy*) and the Publication of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* 權域書畫徵 (*Biographical records of Korean painters and calligraphers*)

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The compilation of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* 權域書畫史 (*History of Korean painting and calligraphy*) by O Sech'ang 吳世昌 (1864–1953) in 1917 represents the first tangible achievement of a growing “national” and “independent” self-consciousness regarding Korean art history. When, in 1928, the manuscript was typeset and republished by the Kyemyŏng kurakpu 啓明俱樂部 (Enlightenment Club) and widely distributed by Ch'oe Namsŏn 崔南善 (1890–1957) under the new title *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* 權域書畫徵 (*Biographical records of Korean painters and calligraphers*), it became the foundation for all future Korean art historical scholarship.¹ This article aims to illuminate the art historical significance of this event through an investigation of the motivation for compiling *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* and for publishing *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*.²

Background

During the scholarly and cultural flourishing of King Sŏnjo's reign 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608), connoisseurs began to develop a love of antique paintings and calligraphy. During the reign of King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724–1776), appreciation and study developed further; then the study of ancient documents and antiquities began in the nineteenth century.³ However, Korean historical remains began to be researched as “art objects” only as late as the 1890s.⁴ Art history as a field of modern study was introduced by the Japanese through the office of the Residency-General 統監府 (T'onggambu) during the late Enlightenment period 開化後期 (Kaehwa hugi, 1905–10).⁵

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Japanese Residency-General and Government-General 總督府 (Ch'ongdokpu) promoted research on historical places and the study of government manufacturing in Korea in an attempt to fundamentally recast traditional culture as a colonial culture and consolidate imperial Japanese rule. Research and debate over colonial Chosŏn's (1910–45) traditional art history and theory proliferated in this context.⁶ Together with an upsurge in the study of

Chosŏn antiquities, the Korean nationalist camp stimulated interest in traditional art with the intention of reviving research into indigenous culture. The project of constructing “art” and “beauty” was instigated at the national level, and the art of the past gained historical significance. The Yi Royal Family Museum (Iwangga pangmulgwan 李王家博物館) opened in May of 1909, and in June of that same year, Ōka Chikara 大岡力 (1863–1913), the head of the *Kyŏngsŏng ilbo* 京城日報 (*Seoul Daily*) newspaper, attempted to survey traditional Korean paintings according to a historical outlook that maintained a continuity between Korea's past and the then-current colonial situation. Ayugai Husanosin of Han'guk yŏn'guhoe 韓國研究會 (Society for Researching Korea) further supplemented this endeavor by publishing, beginning in 1911, several introductory articles in catalogues such as *Iwangga pangmulgwan sajinch'ŏp* 李王家博物館寫真帖 (*Photo album of Royal Yi Family Museum*).⁷

Encouraged by methods in historical scholarship practiced by Japanese researchers from government circles, An Hwak 安廓 (1886–1946) became the first scholar to undertake research from a nationalistic Korean perspective.⁸ In 1915, he published the essay “Chosŏn ūi misul (Chosŏn art)” in *Hakchigwang* 學之光 5 (May 1915), in which he laments the current state of Korean art history: “We have many creative artworks from the past, but nothing has been studied. As the inheritors of Chosŏn culture, it is so shameful and pitiful that only the Japanese are concerned with research and scholarship.” He further goads his readers into action: “Scholars, let's summon the strength of our research abilities and make a great impact.” O Sech'ang would be one of the first scholars to respond to An's call to arms.

O Sech'ang's Biography and the Political Background of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*

O Sech'ang (Fig. 1) was born on August 16, 1864, into the Haeju O 海州吳 clan, a family of interpreters who had accumulated a great amount of wealth in private



FIG. 1. Chŏng Chongyŏ (Korea, 1914–1984), *Portrait of O Sech'ang*, 1941. Fan painting, ink and light colors on paper, 23 × 52.5 cm. Private collection.

trading.⁹ His father, O Kyŏngsŏk 吳慶錫 (1831–1879), was an active pioneer of Enlightenment ideology and a famous collector and connoisseur of painting and calligraphy. He visited Beijing thirteen times, and it was there that he associated with members of the progressive *Yangwu* 洋務 group, including Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909), who pursued prosperity and military power through the introduction of Western science and technology at the end of Qing period.¹⁰

Preparing to inherit the family business, O Sech'ang passed the interpreting service examination in 1879. His subsequent work as a journalist at the newspaper *Hansŏng chubo* 漢城週報 (*Hansŏng Weekly*) and as secretary to the governor at the Chamber of Affairs for the State Militant (軍國機務處) brought him into the progressive government as an active proponent of the Enlightenment policy. After King Kojong 高宗 (r. 1863–1907) moved to the Russian Legation in 1896 and the Enlightenment party collapsed, O was recommended the next year to the foreign language school at Tokyo Commercial School as a Korean language teacher by the Japanese minister to Chosŏn. After a stay of only one year, O returned to Korea and began a course of concerted political activity as an assistant administrator of the Tongnip hyŏphoe 獨立協會 (Independence Club). In 1902, he returned to Japan when his association with *Ilshimhoe* 一心會, an organization of Korean officers from the Japanese military academy under Yu Kiljun who planned to overthrow the Kwangmu regime, was ex-

posed. While living by “selling ink” in Japan, O Sech'ang met Son Pyŏnghŭi 孫秉熙 (1861–1922) the leader of Ch'ŏndogyo 天道教 (Religion of the Heavenly Way), and became a trusted member of his staff. Japan, fresh from victory in the Russo-Japanese War, established a Residency-General in Korea, and O Sech'ang returned there in 1906. After serving as a vice-assistant secretary at Chungch'uwŏn 中樞院 (Central Council) and in other roles, he became president of *Mansebo* 萬歲報 (*Everlasting Newspaper*) and *Taehan minbo* 大韓民報 (*Korean People's Newspaper*) and vice president of the political party Taehan hyŏphoe 大韓協會 (Korean Association).¹¹ O used his influential positions to garner political power under the Residency-General, advocating Enlightenment values based on the organization of Ch'ŏndogyo.¹²

O Sech'ang's political ambition came to an end when Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910. He signed the Declaration of Independence as a national representative of the March First Independence Movement, but this attempt at a political comeback failed. He then focused his attention on the study of painting and calligraphy and earned renown as a connoisseur. He distinguished himself by his passion for the arts and by employing a document-centered archaeological approach (the study of epigraphy and the antique) that he learned from his father, O Kyŏngsŏk, who, in turn, followed the scholarship of Kim Chŏnghŭi 金正喜 (1786–1856) and Yi Sangjŏk 李尙迪 (1804–1865). Perhaps his greatest contribution is to the field of cultural art theory that



FIG. 2. O Sech'ang (Korea, 1864–1953), *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*, vols. 1, 2, 3 & supplement, 1917. Manuscript, 24.8 × 16.5 cm each. Private collection.

emerged during the 1910s, which considered the development of painting and calligraphy as a driving force in the development of civilized society.¹³

The Conception of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* and Its Structure

Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa (Fig. 2) is O Sech'ang's most representative achievement during the Japanese occupation of Korea. At that time, historical documents relating to painting and calligraphy had not been properly compiled, and it must have been a considerable feat for him to arrange them comprehensively in chronological order. Cho Hŭiryong 趙熙龍 (1789–1866), one of the great literati artist/collectors of the nineteenth century, attempted to compile a book of biographies of painters and calligraphers similar to the Qing-period *Biographical records of court painters* 朝畫徵錄 (*Guo chao hua zheng lu*) by Zhang Geng 張庚 (1685–1750). However, Cho was eventually forced to give up because he found it difficult to verify the small amount of data that he was able to collect.¹⁴

O Sech'ang seems to have begun collecting the data for compiling *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* around 1910. O told Han Yongun 韓龍雲 (1879–1944)—who visited O's house in Tonŭidong, Seoul, in order to present his collection of paintings and calligraphy—in November of 1916 that he had been ardently collecting artworks for about seven years.¹⁵ According to O's own memory, it seems to have been in the mid-1890s that he developed an interest in collecting painting and calligraphy following in the footsteps of his father, O Kyŏngsŏk.¹⁶ This timing corresponds to the difficult period after he stepped down from his official position during the collapse of the progressive party when King Kojong moved to the Russian Legation in 1896. It seems that his serious

collecting efforts around this time were related to the compilation of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*. This was a more focused undertaking than his earlier leisurely collecting following literati models like that of his father, who embraced the late-Chosŏn style of connoisseurship. As he stated in his introductory remarks, O Sech'ang “collected and compiled” various data “due to his deep regret at seeing their dispersion and disappearance.” It is clear, therefore, that he intended to gather and preserve historical facts and materials related to Korean heritage that might have disappeared during the country's assimilation under the Japanese colonialism. This purpose seems to reflect a continuation of the patriotic historical consciousness of the late Enlightenment period, in which collecting and preserving the country's historical inheritance were considered the foundation of national superiority and strength.¹⁷

O Sech'ang's intention to this effect is made clear in his introduction: “The reason for compiling this book is to collect materials, not for discussing their merits and demerits.” Ch'oe Namsŏn also stressed this significant fact in his review of the book, stating that it “strove to search out buried materials, which prove the artistic worth of Chosŏn but have been concealed, preserving the artistic foundation of Chosŏn.”¹⁸

However, O Sech'ang did not consider *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* simply a sourcebook for collecting and preserving documents related to painting and calligraphy. As he stated in the very first line of his introductory remarks: “This book was compiled as a genealogy, recording the names and achievements of Korean painters and calligraphers.”¹⁹ A genealogy, with its emphasis on lineage, presupposes that information regarding a person's family line and their activities in traditional society, in which personal lineage is more important than any external references, is the basis of all other knowledge.

Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa was compiled with similar consciousness of a Korean family of artists. This genealogical consciousness is projected in the contents of O's preface, with a title translated as “Earnest Will,” written in the spring of 1917.²⁰

Every painting and calligraphy invaluable counts toward the complete technical creation of all things, the revelation of the secret of original vitality, the promotion of civilization, and all last eternally. Such examples of painting and calligraphy have continued for generations and eventually evolved into a single realm in which they share similar characteristics. Our earlier painters and calligraphers in Korea developed in such close interconnectivity and familiarity with each other that they can be considered as members of one family.²¹



FIG. 3. O Sech'ang, "O Kyŏngsŏk," *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*, vol. 2, 1917. Manuscript, 24.8 × 16.5 cm. Private collection.

O Sech'ang continued, "Therefore, I compiled a record of artists from Solgŏ to close companions in the current time to enable historical investigation without evaluating their quality and grade."²² By stating, "without evaluating their quality and grade," O emphasized that he compiled his history from a perspective different from those of other painting books that judged artists' merits and demerits. That is, he followed a genealogical model, recording the pedigree and achievement of Korean painters and calligraphers from Solgŏ, the progenitor, to the contemporary.

A genealogy ultimately supports the solidarity and prosperity of a family by promoting its long history and the achievements of its ancestors and by reinforcing a genealogical consciousness. O Sech'ang compiled his history with just such an intention so that it would function as a genealogical record for looking up the origin and the great inheritance of Korean painters and calligraphers. He seemed to think that the continued success

of painting and calligraphy depended on this practice of uniting past artists in a kinship, as if in a family. Moreover, his intention to illuminate the lineage of the painters and calligraphers of his own country, just as the country was itself being converted into a Japanese colony, is similar in spirit to the act of restoring the ruined nation and recuperating its severed family lineage.

The compilation of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* in the early 1910s was linked to promoting the training of contemporary painters and calligraphers through the *Sŏhwa misulhoe* 書畫美術會 (Arts Society of Painting and Calligraphy), of which O was a member. O had not joined the preceding organization, *Kyŏngsŏng sŏhwa misulwŏn* 京城書畫美術院 (Seoul Arts Institute of Painting and Calligraphy), when it was established on March 22, 1911, as a club for members who shared a similar taste in painting and calligraphy. However, he joined the board when it was reorganized for training young painters and calligraphers under the name *Sŏhwa misulhoe* on June 1, 1912, by An Chungsik 安中植 (1861–1919), Cho Sŏkchin 趙錫晉 (1853–1920), and Kim Ŭngwŏn 金應元 (1855–1921). O also presented his own works of painting and calligraphy as well as his collection of old paintings and calligraphy at the First Anniversary Exhibition of the group's reorganization on June 1, 1913.²³ In addition, he was one of the founding members of *Sŏhwa hyŏphoe* 書畫協會 (Society of Painting and Calligraphy), which was inaugurated on June 18, 1918, as the first independent organization of Korean painters and calligraphers without the support of the colonial government.

Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa was compiled and arranged into three manuscript volumes in the spring of 1917.²⁴ It included a total of 1117 persons: 392 calligraphers, 576 painters, and 149 painter-calligraphers dating from Solgŏ 率居 of the Silla period (57 BCE–935 CE) to Na Suyŏn 羅壽淵 (1861–1926) of the early modern era (Fig. 3). The tradition of beginning a history of painters and calligraphers with Solgŏ was started by Yi Kŭngik 李肯翊 (1736–1806) in *Munyejŏn'go hwaga* 文藝典故 畫家 (*Models of cultural production and artists*), the special volume of *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* 練藝室記述 (*Description by Yŏllyŏsil*), and was followed by scholars like Cho Hŭiryong in his *Sŏgu mangnyŏnlok* 石友忘年錄 (*Year-End record by Sŏgu*) written in the first half of the 1860s. Similarly, the practice of compiling biographies and documents telling of the achievements, specialties, and evaluations of artists corresponds to the system found in historical records of paintings and calligraphies. The use of the secondary name *Kŭnyŏk* instead of Chosŏn, in particular, is reminiscent of the titles of historical records associated with specific regions such as *Liang Qi shu hua zheng* 梁谿書畫徵 (*Biographical*

record of the painters and calligraphers of Liang Qi), *Wulin shu hua xiao zhuan* 武林書畫小傳 (Collection of the painters and calligraphers of Wulin), or *Lingnan hua zheng lue* 嶺南畫徵錄 (Biographical record of Lingnan painters) of the Qing period and *Fusō Gajinden* 扶桑畫人傳 (Biographies of Japanese painters), or *Fusō meigaden* 扶桑名畫傳 (Collection of famous Japanese paintings) of Japan.

O Sech'ang collected and verified a wide range of materials from more than 270 kinds of books and documents in and outside of Korea, including various genealogies and ancient documents, epitaphs, titles, signatures and seals on paintings and calligraphies, and interviews in order to compile *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*. Through his own experience of collecting and appreciating the artworks of earlier generations, he discovered and recorded eighty-six artists who had not been otherwise documented, and, in the case of thirty-four artists, he made brief annotations to supplement the historical records. In principle, however, he cited the sources of the data he collected and reproduced the original writing as it was. This method follows in the spirit of *suribujak* (述而不作) in the *Analects* of Confucius, that is, to transcribe an inherited story rather than create a narrative oneself; and the *mujingbulsin* (無徵不信) approach of not trusting sources without evidence, as stressed in the positivist historical studies of antiquity from the late Chosŏn period. It is closely related to the approach of Yi Kŭngik, one of three famous late-Chosŏn historians who argued for the assembling of historical data in order to avoid subjective explanations. This also corresponds to the spirit of *suribujak*, meaning to record as previously recorded in order to transmit historical facts correctly and pass them down without creating new content.²⁵

Although it refers back to the biographical records of painters and calligraphers as well as historical records of China and Japan, *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* organizes artists by period rather than categories of faction, class, or region. The chronology is divided into five parts: Unified Silla, Koryŏ, Early Chosŏn, Middle Chosŏn, and Late Chosŏn. Of particular interest is the division of the Chosŏn period into three parts, the first attempt by an art historian to undertake such a system of periodization. O Sech'ang identifies 221 artists born between the reigns of King T'aejo 太祖 (r. 1392–1398) and King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1544–1545) as being from the Early Chosŏn period, 279 artists from the Middle Chosŏn period (King Myŏngjong 明宗 [r. 1545–1567] to King Hyŏnjong 顯宗 [r. 1659–1674]), and 371 artists from the Late Chosŏn period (King Sukchong 肅宗 [r. 1674–1720] to King Chŏlchong 哲宗 [r. 1849–1863]). The unequal number of artists in each period indicates that

the division was not merely for convenience. While he does not mention the criteria he used to undertake the periodization, it is highly likely that he formulated the periods according to stylistic variations he identified while examining the artworks and documents. The system of dividing Chosŏn painting into three periods, marked by the reigns of King Myŏngjong in the mid-sixteenth century and King Sukchong in the late seventeenth century, is still employed today, as in Yi Tongju's 1972 *Han'guk hoehwa sosa* 韓國繪畫小史 (Short history of Korean painting), the first introductory book on painting history in Korea.²⁶

Moreover, O Sech'ang's book also articulated the idea of a national aspect to painting and calligraphy. In his article on Chŏng Sŏn, he states that "[Chŏng] excelled in landscape, particularly in his true-scenery (or 'true-view,' *chin'gyŏng* 眞景)²⁷ paintings, which became a distinct school within Korean landscape painting." This emphasis on Chŏng Sŏn's true-scenery landscapes as the origin of Korean landscape painting is different from the evaluation by Chŏng's contemporary Yi Hagon 李夏坤 (1677–1724), who praises Chŏng's autodidactic training and his ability to create "a new world by cleansing the bad customs" of painting in imitation of ancient styles that had plagued Chosŏn art. The early-twentieth-century artist Ko Hŭidong 高義東 (1886–1965) likewise celebrated Chong's true-scenery painting, but as the origin of "landscape sketching" that led to a new kind of objective realism in modern art, without ascribing a national character to Chong's work.²⁸ O Sech'ang's desire to revive painting and calligraphy as a national art reflects a broader trend in this period toward patriotic enlightenment and the spiritual awakening of Korea. In 1908 in the magazine *Taehan hyŏphoe hoebo* (大韓協會會報), O praised the calligrapher Han Ho together with Chŏng Sŏn as two historical figures who saved the country from crisis and enhanced national culture, and so should be regarded as role models for youth of the time.²⁹

In relation to his own painting, O says in the *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*'s preface, "It is deplorable that [now] we cannot follow the way that earlier painters and calligraphers paved."³⁰ This indicates it is likely that O compiled *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* in the hope that traditional painting and calligraphy would continue to flourish among a new generation of practitioners. As opposed to Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, which formed the basis for the study of European modern art history and urged modern artists to achieve renown by overcoming the anonymity of medieval artists, O's *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* sought solidarity with past artists and the revival of painting and calligraphy as a national art. This attitude emerged from a

genealogical consciousness that urged modern painters and calligraphers to carry on the legacy of a lineage of painters and calligraphers dating back to the ancient period.³¹

O's desire to promote the continuity with the past and restore this spirit to national art is linked to the emergence of a new sense of heritage and traditionalism that sought out past sources in order to recreate a modern, national art. This trend is significant in that it regarded old paintings and calligraphy not as remnants of a feudal elitist culture to be passed over but as a valuable inheritance necessary to the success of a contemporary national culture. As O wrote at the end of the preface, he endeavored to compose the book like a "scripture which lists the names of the thousand buddhas."³² At the very beginning he announces his intention that the book will be as useful as a Buddhist scripture that comprehensively includes all the names of the buddhas of the past, the present, and the future, and his hope that it should be as pervasive as the idea of the thousand buddhas.

The Publication of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*

Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa, which was completed in the spring of 1917, was produced as twin serials, entitled "Sŏjing" 書徵 (Biographical records of calligraphers) and "Hwajing" 畫徵 (Biographical records of painters), in the first issue of *Sŏhwa hyŏphoebo* 書畫協會報 (*Journal of the Society of Painting and Calligraphy*), published in October 1921. However, the journal was discontinued after the second issue and O's work was not widely distributed. It was Ch'oe Namsŏn who suggested that O publish *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*, which still was in manuscript form, as a printed book.

Ch'oe Namsŏn, who drew his historical awareness from the patriotic Enlightenment movement, established Chosŏn kwangmunhoe 朝鮮光文會 (Society of Korean Enlightenment Literature) in December 1912, right after the Japanese annexation of Korea, in order to preserve ancient writings and culture, and to publish books such as *Tongguk t'onggam* 東國通鑑 (*A comprehensive mirror of the Eastern Kingdom*) and *Yŏlha ilgi* 熱河日記 (*Jehol diary*).³³ This group of intellectuals, who attempted to organize a modern nation-state during the late Enlightenment period, lost their effectiveness when the country was made into a colony. As a result, they changed their mandate from attempting to affect material civilization to promoting cultural civilization. In line with this new direction that prioritized the mental faculties, they emphasized competence training and did their best to clarify ancient culture through *Sirhak* 實學 (Practical Learning) ideas related to the "modern" period. There-

fore, art, including painting and calligraphy, began to be recognized as an expression of "beauty" that was in itself valuable for the mental faculties and an essential aspect of culture.

Ch'oe Namsŏn founded Kyemyŏng kurakpu in 1918 with Pak Sŭngbin 朴勝彬 (1880–1943) and Yi Nŭnghwa 李能和 (1869–1943) on the ideals of the cultural Enlightenment, with a special emphasis on ethnic enlightenment and improvement through academic and cultural research. From around 1927, Ch'oe Namsŏn was a leading figure in this group that was variously known as Kyemyŏng kurakpu or Kyemyŏngsa 啓明社 (Enlightenment Company), and he stated his intention to publish *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* when he became in charge of the editorial board. Under the auspices of this club, *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* was renamed *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*, supplemented, typeset, and published on May 5, 1928. Twenty-six days later, on May 31, the newspaper *Tonga ilbo* 東亞日報 (*Tonga Daily*) published another edition of *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*, this time edited by Kyemyŏng kurakpu. This edition included a supplement to O Se'chang's edition of June 2 in the same newspaper, introducing the active publication, academic, and cultural research activities undertaken by Kyemyŏng kurakpu at that time.

Ch'oe discusses *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* in a three-part book review published in *Tonga ilbo* from December 17 to 19 in 1928.³⁴ He wrote from the perspective of the cultural arts: "As the apex of all culture, art is very significant in the development of a people, a society, and a history, and it is an accurate cultural barometer of the advancement of the people and the time." Ch'oe also claimed that aesthetic and historical illumination was essential in order to prove that Korea was a nation of enduring culture and art. For him, *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* was the very book that could "illuminate the artistic aspect of Korea" in accordance with his essential plea that "we must know Korea at this time." Ch'oe continued by insisting that O's book "has great significance to the whole realm of culture and history in Korea."

This review by Ch'oe Namsŏn reveals his great personal effort to publish *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* despite difficulties in editing, proofreading, and printing. In other words, while *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* was compiled to promote the thriving of painting and calligraphy traditions within a single genealogical record, *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching* was published to serve the decidedly nationalistic purpose of documenting and validating Korea's long cultural tradition during the period of Japanese occupation. The reason for the change in title from *sa* (history) to *ching* (biographical records) for the republication alludes to the contemporary idea that history follows an evolutionary path in consequential sequence. More than simply a collection of cultural records, *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*

represented a cultural history of the nation of Korea, at a time when the Japanese occupying forces were attempting to assimilate Korean history into their own.

In sum, while O Sech'ang's *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* was compiled within a genealogical tradition for the continued flourishing of painting and calligraphy as national arts, Ch'oe Namsŏn's publication in 1928 was intended as a sort of sourcebook or biographical dictionary, from a culturally traditionalist perspective, in the hope of establishing a modern national cultural history (art history) for studies on Korea. Ch'oe promoted Korean national art history not as a natural bloodline connected to the past but as the basis for a greater project of Korean studies. Such efforts, he hoped, would speak to an independent national cultural and historical identity, an internal consolidation and continuity that could be recognized within the greater history of world cultures. *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*, which was published because of Ch'oe's intention to investigate and define the identity of the cultural and historical community, provides an important record, invaluable to the study of Korean painting history even up to the present day.

Hong Sunpyo is Professor of Art History at Ewha Womans University Graduate School. His publications include Chosŏn sidae hŏehwasa ron (Traditional Korean painting, 1999), Kodae tongasia ūi malgŭrim (Ancient horse paintings of East Asia, 2001), Han'guk kŭndae misulsa (Korean modern art, 2009), Traditional Korean Painting (2011), and Chosŏn sidae hŏehwa yŏn'gu (A study of Chosŏn painting, 2013). He is currently writing on Korean portrait and figure statues, Kim Hongdo, and the documentation and style of early Chosŏn painting. [hong1204@ewha.ac.kr]

Translated by Jungsil Jenny Lee and Nathaniel Kingdon, and edited by Jungsil Jenny Lee.

Notes

1. Hong Sunpyo, "O Sech'ang kwa *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*" (O Sech'ang and *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*), in *Chosŏn sidae hŏehwasaron (Study of the history of painting in the Chosŏn period)* (Seoul: Munye ch'ulp'ansa, 1999): 109–16; "Han'guk misulshak ūi ch'osŏk—O Sech'ang ūi *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*" (The foundation of Korean art history—O Sech'ang's *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa ching*), in *Wich'ang O Sech'ang* (Seoul: Yesul ūi chŏndang, 2001).

2. This article was revised by the author, based on his publication in the Korean journal, *Inmul misulshak* 人物美術史學 4 (December 2008), translated by Jungsil Jenny Lee and Nathaniel Kingdon, and edited by Jungsil Jenny Lee.

3. Hong Sunpyo, "Komisul ch'wimi ūi t'ansaeng" 古美

術趣味의誕生 (The birth of taste in antiquities), in *Kŭrim ege murŭn sadaebu ūi saenghwal kwa p'ungnyu* 그림에 기울은 士大夫의生活과風流 (*Scholar-officials' life and taste in paintings*), ed. Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Tusan Tonga, 2007), 330–51.

4. The article "Kōrai no jinminshō te gani seisi" 高麗の人民嘗て畫に精し (Essence of the paintings of Koryŏ people) was published by an unknown author in June 1880 in volume 3 of *Gayū sekichin* 臥遊席珍, the first monthly journal of painting and calligraphy in Korea. However, the first article that was written on the concept of antique art and art history may well be "Summary of Chinese and Korean Ancient and Medieval Artworks," by Kosugi Sugimura 小衫樞邨, published in *Kokka* 國華 90·93·94 (March, June, July 1897). In 1900 and 1901, Yagi Shōzaburō 八木樊三郎, who was dispatched to Korea twice as a researcher in anthropology at the College of Science at Tokyo Imperial University, presented a study of Korean Buddhist pagodas in the format of correspondence, and published three articles entitled "Korean Art," in *Kōkokai* 考古界 (1–8·4–1) and *Kokka* 169 in 1904 and 1905. Hong Sunpyo, "Han'guk hŏehwasa yŏn'gu ūi kŭndaejŏk t'aedong" 韓國繪畫史研究の近代の胎動 (The modern formation of the study of Korean painting history), in *Sigak munhwa ūi chŏnt'ong kwa haesŏk: Kim Lena kyosu chŏngnyŏn kinyŏm nonmunjip* 視覺文化の傳統と解釋: 金理那教授停年紀念論文集 (*Tradition and the interpretation of visual art: Festschrift for retirement of Professor Kim Lena*) (Seoul: Yegyŏng, 2007), 469. In Europe, Korean painting and folk craft began to be introduced briefly through the collection catalogues of the Rijksmuseum Voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, Netherlands, in 1891 and of the world antique company Umlauff, in Hamburg, Germany in 1897. Kwŏn Yŏngp'il, "Andŭreasŭ Ekarūtŭ ūi misulgwān 안드레아스에카르트의美術觀" (Art perspective of Andreas Eckardt), *Michŏk sangsangnyŏk kwa misulshak* 美的想像力と美術史學 (*Artistic imagination and the study of art history*) (Seoul: Munye ch'ulp'ansa, 2000), 76–78.

5. The Enlightenment period of Korea refers to the initial period of social reforms from the 1890s to 1910, following the opening of a Korean port to the outside world in 1876. During this time, Korean society developed according to the lines of Western-style modernization, absorbing elements of Western culture and developing a capitalist system.

6. The name of the previous dynasty, Chosŏn (1392–1910), was retained for colonial Korea during the first half of the twentieth century in Korea and Japan.—Editor.

7. Hong Sunpyo, "Han'guk hŏehwasa yŏn'gu ūi kŭndaejŏk t'aedong," 495–502.

8. Hong Sunpyo, "Han'guk hŏehwasa yŏn'gu samsimnyŏn" 韓國繪畫史研究三十年 (A thirty-year study of the history of Korean painting), *Misulshak yŏn'gu* 美術史學研究 188 (1990): 25.

9. O Sech'ang was born on the fifteenth day of the seventh month in the lunar calendar (=August 16), 1864.

10. O Kyöngsök, in particular, inherited from his teacher, the interpreter Yi Sangjök, the notion (which originated in the seventeenth century) of collecting, critiquing, and creating painting and calligraphy. O was highly regarded in literati painting and calligraphy circles along with his younger brothers O Kyöngyun (吳慶潤), Kyönglim (慶林) and Kyöngyön (慶然), and was also renowned as a collector who amassed large numbers of paintings, calligraphies, and epigraphs from as early as China's Yuan and Ming dynasties. O probably honed his connoisseurship skills through exchanges with Chön Ki 田琦 (1825–1854) and late-Qing collectors of painting and calligraphy such as Cheng Zuqing 程祖慶 (fl. 1840–1851) and Pan Zuyin 潘祖蔭 (1830–1890). His extraordinary knowledge of painting and calligraphy earned him recognition as a demon of connoisseurship. In epigraphy as well he learned the study of ancient documents under his teacher Yi Sangjök, a disciple of Kim Chönghui, and completed *Samban kümsöngnok* 三韓金石錄 (*Record of epigraphy from the three countries of Korea*), in which he collected and annotated 146 kinds of epitaphs from the Three Kingdoms to the Koryö period. Sin Yongha, “O Kyöngsök üi kaehwa sasang kwa kaehwa hwaldong” 吳慶錫의開化思想과開化活動 (O Kyöngsök's Enlightenment ideology and activity), *Yoksa hakpo* 歷史學報 107 (1985): 107–87. See also Joohyun Lee, “Wu Changshuo and Modern Korean Painting,” in *Shifting Paradigms in East Asian Visual Culture: A Festschrift for Lothar Ledderose*, ed. Burglind Jungmann, Adele Schlombs, and Melanie Trede (Stuttgart: Reimer, 2012), 351–68.

11. *Mansebo* (1906–1907) was a newspaper affiliated with Ch'öndogyo. *Taehan hyöphoe* (1907–1910) was a political party during the Korean empire period that supported patriotic Enlightenment movements and published the daily newspaper *Taehan minbo* (1909–10).—Editor.

12. Kim Kyöngtaek, “Hanmal chungin ch'üng üi kaehwa hwaldong kwa ch'inil kaehwaron—O Sech'ang üi hwaldong üi chungsim üro” 韓末中人層의開化活動과親日開化論 (The Enlightenment activities and pro-Japanese Enlightenment theory among the middle people of the Greater Korean Empire—Focusing on O Sech'ang's activities), *Yöksa pip'yöng* 歷史批評 21 (Summer 1993): 254–62.

13. O Sech'ang (sobriquet Wich'ang) was renowned as a master calligrapher of seal script and clerical script in the style popular at the end of Chosön period. He participated in Söhwa hyöphoe, a leading painting and calligraphy circle. As one of the five masters of modern seal carving, O also carved seals for the most popular artists of the day, such as Chang Süngöp, and published *Künyök insu* 權域印藪 (*A collection of Korean seal imprints*), a compilation of seals from the Chosön period. Moreover, as the most sought after connoisseur during the Japanese colonial period, O Sech'ang helped Chön Hyöngp'il 全鏐弼 (1906–1962) develop his collection, as well as assembling his own considerable holdings. O compiled *Künmuk* 權墨 (*Korean letters*), a compendium of letters by eminent

scholars, *Künyök söhwi* 權域書彙 (*Collection of Korean calligraphies*), and *Künyök hwahwi* 權域畫彙 (*Collection of Korean paintings*), and also organized a genealogy of professional painters and calligraphers during the Chosön period in *Hwasayanggaborok* 畫寫兩家譜錄 (*Genealogy of painters and calligraphers*), in which he recorded the genealogy of court painters and scribes, consulting important references for investigating genealogies of the class of *chungin* 中人 (middle people). One such genealogy: *Söngwöllok* 姓源錄 (*Record of family origins*), was compiled by his uncle, Yi Ch'anghyön 李昌鉉 (1850–1921). Hong Sunpyo, “O Sech'ang kwa Künyök söhwa ching,” 111; Yi Tonggong, “Wich'ang üi hagye yönwön kwa söhwa yön'gu” 葦滄의學藝淵源과書畫史研究 (The source of Wich'ang's study and the history of painting and calligraphy), *Han'guk söyesa t'ükpyöljön—Wich'ang O Sech'ang* 韓國書藝史特別展—葦滄吳世昌 (*Special exhibition of the history of Korean calligraphy—Wich'ang O Sech'ang*) (Seoul: Yesul üi chöndang, 1996), 225–35.

14. Cho Hüiryong, *Sögu mangnyönlök*: “自羅麗至于本朝 畫家可記者 何限僧率居...至于近人 彙集之 當不下數十百人 但以畫名傳 而基人之鄉貫行蹟 無處可徵 竊欲方張庚 畫徵錄 著成一書 而未果者 而此故耳 可歎” (There are many notable painters from Unified Silla, Koryö, and Chosön. From the monk Solgö of the Silla dynasty... to modern painters, the number will reach more than several hundred people. However, there is no way to expand on the biographies and accomplishments of the painters who are known only by the titles of their works. This is the reason why I could not write a book, modeled after Zhang Geng's biographical records of artists, much earlier. It is lamentable.)

15. Han Yongun, “Kosöhwa üi samil” 古書畫의三日 (Three days with old paintings and calligraphies), *Maeil sinbo* 每日申報, December 7, 1916.

16. O Sech'ang once told a journalist who visited his house that he had collected paintings and calligraphies for ten years, “Pyölgön söhwa ch'ong” 瞥見書畫叢 (Painting and calligraphy collections I have seen), *Maeil sinbo*, January 13, 1915.

17. On the historical context of the late Enlightenment period, see Chöng Ch'angnyöl, “Isipsegi chönbang'i min-jokmunje wa yöksaüisik” 二十世紀前半期民族問題와歷史意識 (National issues and historical consciousness in the early twentieth century), in *Han'guksa insik kwa yöksa iron* 韓國史認識와歷史理論 (*Perception of Korean history and theories of history*), ed. Kim Yongsöp kyosu cho ngnyön nonch'ong kanhaeng wiwönhoe (Seoul: Chisik sanöpsa, 1997), 50–51.

18. Ch'oe Namsön, “O Sech'ang ssi Künyök söhwa ching—Yesul chungsim üi ilbu Chosön inmyöngsaö 吳世昌氏權域書畫徵—藝術中心의一部朝鮮人名辭書” (O Sech'ang's *Künyök söhwa ching*—Art-centered part of Chosön biographies), *Tonga ilbo*, December 17, 1928.

19. O Sech'ang, “Pömye 凡例 (Introductory remarks),” *Künyök söhwa sa*: “茲書之作為譜錄我邦書畫家名迹起見。”

20. The literal English translation of the title, “Kugujihoe” 區區之懷, is “Humble Thoughts.”—Editor.

21. O Sech’ang, “Kugujihoe,” *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*: “得天機之全 發神光之秘 著色人文 竝驅不朽 則書畫於兩處 洵為不可少者 梁翰大興 意不置人 性情所近 淵源所自 氣類之感 不以山河間之 況我邦諸先輩 磊落相望 若裝朝暮遇焉 雖謂之眷屬可也。”

22. *Ibid.*: “於是 錄率居氏以下 訖于交臂 而失者 概從可徵 而品第高下 姑舍是。”

23. Hong Sunpyo, “Han’guk kŭndae misulsa t’ŭkkang 8—Sŏhwagye ūi hujin yangsŏng kwa tanch’e kyŏlsŏng” 韓國近代美術史特講 8—書畫界의 後進養成 (Special lecture on Korean modern art history 8—Fostering the younger generation and organizing a group in the painting and calligraphy world), *Wŏlgan misul* 月刊美術 15, no. 4 (April 2003): 126–27.

24. *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa* was transcribed on stationery produced by the company Pungnae inhaeng 北內印行.

25. Yi Chonhŭi, “Wansan Yi Kŭngik ūi yŏksaŭisik” 完山李肯翊의 歷史意識 (Wansan Yi Kŭngik’s historical consciousness), *Sŏul sanŏptae nonmunjip* 서울産業大論文集 11 (1977): 39–53.

26. Yi Tongju, *Han’guk hoehwa sosa* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1972). A system of dividing Chosŏn painting into four periods, notably employed by Ahn Hwijun in *Han’guk hoehwasa* 韓國繪畫史 (*History of Korean painting*) (Seoul: Ilchija, 1980), also originated from O’s division of three periods, from which Ahn split the Late period into two parts.

27. *Chin’gyŏng* is also translated as “true view”; however, as Burglind Jungmann argues, the term “true view”

implies that the painter’s conception of the landscape is true to nature, whereas the term “true scenery” implies only that the landscape itself actually existed. See Burglind Jungmann, *Painters as Envoys* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 188.—Editor.

28. Hong Sunpyo, “Chosŏn hugi hoehwa ūi ch’angjak t’aedo wa p’yohyŏn pangbŏmlon” (Painting attitude and expression methodology of late-Chosŏn painting), in *Chosŏn sidae hoehwasaron*, 260–63; 504.

29. O Sech’ang, “Ko ch’ŏngnyŏn chegun” 告青年諸君 (To young gentlemen), *Taehan hyŏphoe hoebo* 4 (July 1908): 3.

30. O Sech’ang, “Kugujihoe,” *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*: “慨前修之不逮。”

31. Hong Sunpyo, “To hana ūi uri misulsa charyojip—Li Chaehyŏn ūi Chosŏn ryŏktae misulga p’yŏllam 또하 나의우리 美術史資料集—리재현의 朝鮮歷代美術家便覽” (Source book of another Korean art history—Li Chaehyŏn’s *Guide to Chosŏn artists in history*), *Ch’angjak kwa pip’yŏng* 創作과 批評 124 (June 2004): 437.

32. O Sech’ang, “Kugujihoe,” *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwa sa*: “千佛名經。”

33. Ko Chaesŏk, *Han’guk kŭndae munhak chisŏngsa* 韓國近代文學知性史 (*Intellectual history of Korean modern literature*) (Seoul: Kip’ŭn saem, 1991), 58–61.

34. This book review is documented in Koryŏdae Asea munje yŏn’guso, ed., *Yuktang Ch’oe Namsŏn chŏnjip 9* 六堂崔南善全集 (*Yuktang Ch’oe Namsŏn complete collection 9*) (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 1974), 619–22; and also in *Han’guk sŏyesa t’ŭkpyŏljŏn—Wich’ang O Sech’ang*, 249–52.