

# Contested Meaning: The Concept of *Pungsok* and its Ambivalence in Modern Korean Representation<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

This article examines the shifts in the conceptualization of *pungsok* and the disparate implications of *pungsokhwa* during Korea's modernization process. The term *pungsok* has often been translated into "customs" and *pungsokhwa* into "the painting of everyday life and customs of ordinary people." By contrast, this article argues that the concept of *pungsok* is neither monolithic nor neutral, and thus its representation *pungsokhwa* continued to be reused and reframed to accommodate the heterogeneous desires of different historical conditions. *Pungsokhwa* came to be grown as a genre classification out of the specific condition in the late eighteenth century and evolved into the industry terminology as an art commodity. Remarkably, the advancement of modernity in Korea was deeply in conjunction with the relationship with western powers and Imperial Japan. This article illuminates the multiplicities of *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa* came to function as an ideological mechanism for the imperialistic and nationalist discourses in the complex international encounters from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s. This study foregrounds the procedure that the nomenclature *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa* gained currency in line with the intelligible political, social, and economic forces and imperatives, along with increasing transnational interaction as a consequence of imperialistic interventionism and globally disseminated modernization process. This study also provides the platform to reconsider the relationship between modernity and tradition. By way of the mutability of *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa*, this article draws attention to the fact that the tradition prevails in visual representation as an ongoing presence, not as a confrontational existence in modern art practices.

본 연구는 한국의 근대화 과정 속에서 풍속과 그 재현의 산물인 풍속화가 어떻게 개념화하고 그 의미의 체계가 변용할 수 있었는지를 살펴본다. 일반적으로 풍속화는 18세기 이후의 김홍도와 신윤복 등을 통해 발전되어온 회화라고 인식하는 것이 일반적이다. 따라서 현실에 관심을 갖고 직접적인 관찰에 기반하여 일반 서민들의 노동과 여가 등 일상생활을 반영하는 회화를 말하는 것으로 이해되어 왔다. 그러나 풍속의 개념은 비단 18세기 후반이 아니라 역사 속에서 끊임없이 그 중요성을 획득하여 왔다. 본고는 풍속의 개념을 고정되어 있으며 단일화된 중립적인 개념으로 보지 않는다. 역사적으로 변화하는 다양한 정치, 사회, 문화, 철학적 담론 하에서 끊임없이 그 의미의 변용을 거쳐 온 비정형적 개념으로 풍속을 이해하고 그에 따른 풍속화가 획득하고 있는 각각의 다른 가치와 의미의 변용 과정을 살펴보고자 한다. 주목할 것은, 한국에서의 근대화 과정은 서양과 일본과의 관계

를 고려하지 않고는 충분한 이해가 이루어질 수 없다. 그러므로 풍속화가 문화 상품으로서의 주목을 받게 되는 과정을 비롯하여 복잡한 국제 관계 즉, 식민지 문화 정책과 민족주의 담론 하에서 풍속과 풍속화가 어떻게 이데올로기적 메커니즘으로 작용하게 되는지를 고찰한다. 또한, 본 연구는 '전통'과 '근대성'이 대립되는 개념이 아니라 '전통'이 한국 근현대 예술 속에서 어떻게 지속적으로 그 의미의 중요성을 획득하고 견지해 나가는지 그 논점에 관하여 고려해 볼 수 있는 토대를 제공한다는 데에 그 의의가 있다.

### Key words

*pungsok*, *pungsokhwa*, custom, everyday life, genre painting, export painting, art photography, Kim Jungeun, Kim Hongdo, Nakamura Kinjō, Jeong Haechang, imperialism, modernity, colonialism.

## Introduction: The Multiplicities of the Concept of *Pungsok*

This article examines the shifts of the concept of *pungsok* (風俗) and the disparate implications of *pungsokhwa* (風俗畫) during Korea's modernization process. The term *pungsok* has often been translated into "customs." The term *pungsokhwa* is the composite term of *pungsok* and the character *hwa*, which means "painting." Thus, *pungsokhwa* refers to the "painting of everyday life and customs of commoners" and demonstrates such scenes of work, leisure, ceremony, and religious rituals. *Pungsokhwa* is often conceived as the counterpart to "genre painting" in English without further comparison. However, this article seeks to illuminate that the concept of *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa* should not be taken as *such* but as a historical concept that reflected different discursive systems embedded with modernization and the changing international relationship from the 1880s to the 1930s. This article intends to use the terms *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa* instead of the generally used translated terms to examine the specificities of its divergent meaning and value in different historical contexts.

The recent scholarship began to attend to the multiplicities of the concept of *pungsok* and to delineate its historical transformations in *pungsokhwa* in different eras. Chung Byungmo, a Korean art historian, supposed that the term *pungsokhwa* began to circulate in Korean historiography during the colonial era (Chung 2000, 17). For example, Ayugai Husanosin wrote an article titled "Seohwa of Joseon" (Korean Calligraphy and Painting) in 1918 for the *Maeil sinbo* (Korean Daily News) in which Husanosin first used the term when he remarked that "Kim Hongdo was outstanding in portraying figures and *pungsokhwa*" (Chung 2000, 17).<sup>2</sup> Besides, a Korean art historian Ko Yuseop (1905-1944) also adopted the term *pungsokhwa* when he referred to the paintings of Kim Hongdo (1745-?) and Sin Yunbok (1758-?) (Chung 2000, 17). Chung also noted that the concept and historical develop-

ment of East Asian *pungsokhwa* was not the same as those of western genre painting and he argued that it was hard to see Korean *pungsokhwa* as a counterpart to “genre painting” as a western cultural construction (Chung 2000, 16).

This article examines what historical conditions gave significance to the concept of *pungsok*, and consequently, *pungsokhwa* continued to be reframed to accommodate the heterogeneous desires and thoughts of different discursive spaces during the process of modernization of Korea from the 1880s to the 1930s. In particular, the late nineteenth century coincided with the abandonment of the national seclusion policy. The advancement of modernity in Korea cannot be thoroughly comprehended without considering its relationship with western powers and Imperial Japan. Korea opened its door by signing the treaty with Japan (1876), the USA (1882), the United Kingdom (1883), Germany (1883), and France (1886) (Shin 2006, 107). Korea was forced to wrestle with imperialistic encroachment from the West and Japan. Under expanding international relationships, *pungsokhwa* gained popularity as export merchandise, which created high demand for its production. The dissemination of *pungsokhwa* as export painting occupied as a notable cultural and economic phenomenon commonly found in East Asia, including China, Japan, and Korea (Clunas 1984; Kim 2009, 87-116). As print technology developed, similar images of *pungsok* continued to be reproduced and incorporated in the format of postcards, travel guides, ethnographic studies, and art products during the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century (Busan Modern History of Museum 2010; Seoul National University Museum 2004).

Locating Kim Jungeun’s *pungsokhwa* as the departure, this essay maps out the conditions in which Kim’s painting, albeit it has been evaluated as export painting, continued Korean art historical tradition already established in the late eighteenth century. At the same time, this essay locates the significance of *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa* came to function as an ideological mechanism for the imperialistic and nationalist discourses in the complex international relationships during the colonial era. I see that the concept of *pungsok* and its representation *pungsokhwa* functioned as “a system of representation”(Burgin 1982, 5) invested by the changing international relationships in a broader context of imperialistic expansionism, colonial domination, the rise of modernity, and the process of national identity formation.<sup>3</sup>

This essay also provides the platform to reconsider the relationship between modernity and tradition. I would not see the relationship between tradition and modern as dichotomous and antithetical (Cohen 1984, 57-96). Going beyond the evolutionary idea on the modernization process, this article draws attention to the fact that the tradition prevails in visual representation as an “ongoing existence,” not as a confrontational existence during modernization (Cohen 1984, 80).

## The Historical Lineage of *Pungsok* in the Art of the Late Joseon Dynasty

A Korean artist Kim Jungeun produced *pungsokhwa* primarily in the port cities such as Wonsan, Busan, and Incheon from the 1880s to 1900s (Figure 1 and Figure 2). *Gisan pungso docheop* (Gisan is the pen name of Kim Jungeun; *Gisan's Painting Album of Pungsok*) currently preserved at the Seoul Museum of History consists of ninety-eight paintings (Figure 3). Art historians agreed that the artist was a specialist in *pungsokhwa* designed to export to foreign countries, and therefore his works have often been excluded in the conventional historical lineage of Korean art. Indeed, his name was rarely addressed in the historiography of Korean painting (Kim 2009, 87). Instead, Kim Jungeun's paintings has been classified as a counterpart of Chinese and Japanese export paintings at the port cities such as Ningbo, Hangzhou, Nagasaki, and Yokohama (Shin 2015, 7-32). However, instead of classifying Kim's work as the deviation from the norms of traditional Korean *pungsokhwa*, I believe that the familiar conventions and principles developed in traditional art were carried over into the underlying foundations of Kim's painting album. Kim's paintings in the late nineteenth century still embody the views and customs of traditional societies concerning labors, professions, pastimes, rituals, and ceremonies, as in Kim Hongdo's *Danwon pungso docheop* (Danwon is the pen name of Kim Hongdo; *Danwon's Painting Album of Pungsok*) (Figure 4 and Figure 5).<sup>4</sup> In a similar vein, an art historian, Shin Sunyoung paralleled *Gisan pungso docheop* with Kim Hongdo's *Danwon pungso docheop*



(Left) Figure 1. Kim Jungeun, *Spinning Yarn*, ca. late 19th century, 16.9x13cm, ink and color on paper, The National Folk Museum of Korea. (The original painting is preserved at the Musée Guimet in France)

(Right) Figure 2. Kim Jungeun, *Plowing*, ca. late 19th century, 13x16.9cm, ink and color on paper, The National Folk Museum of Korea.



(Top left) Figure 3. Kim Jungeun, *Gisan pungso docheop* (*Gisan's Painting Album of Pungso*), The Seoul Museum of History, 26.9x19.4 cm, ca. late 19th century.

(Top right) Figure 4. Kim Jungeun, *Laundry*, ca. late 19<sup>th</sup> century, 16.9x13cm, ink and color on paper, The National Folk Museum of Korea.

(Bottom left) Figure 5. Kim Hongdo, *Laundry* from *Danwon pungso docheop*, ca. late 18<sup>th</sup> century, 28x23.9cm, ink and color on paper, The National Museum of Korea.

(Bottom right) Figure 6. Kim Jungeun, *Punishment*, ca. late 19th century, 16.3x13cm, ink and color on paper, The National Folk Museum of Korea.

and scrutinized the commonalities and dissimilarities. Shin underlined the two artists' shared interests in the subject matters of everyday life of commoners and the formalistic elements such as basic outline and lack of background details. Shin, simultaneously, observed the two artists' different approaches in portraying the subjects. Kim Hongdo's paintings demonstrate the narrativity of a scene, which conveys a sense of humor and satire through the lively expression of figures. By contrast, Kim Jungeun's paintings tend to be descriptive to inform the patrons/viewers of the features of customs and traditional aspects of Korea

and cover more extensive themes such as criminal punishments (Figure 6) and mendicants. Nevertheless, Kim Jungeun's paintings were still indebted to the traditional *pungsokhwa* of Kim Hongdo, Sin Yunbok, and Kim Deuksin (1754-1822) (Shin 2015, 21-27). In this respect, I see that Kim Jungeun's paintings can be conceived as an extension of "inculcation" and "habituation" (Snyder 1980, 503) through which he repeated the mode of the already established convention of *pungsokhwa* and esteemed the core value of antecedents to his painting practices. Kim's paintings offered visual confirmation about a normal lifestyle and customs wrapped in visual tradition for local people.

However, it is worth considering the two distinct historical circumstances in which the production and circulation of *pungsokhwa* was facilitated to understand the specificities of *pungsokhwa* and its mutability over time. It was not until the late eighteenth century that the portrayal of the general population's everyday life and customs became a common theme as one of the main streams of Korean painting. It does not mean that there had been no precedents of the picture of the ordinary people. Previously, there had been a currency of a Chinese origin *Binpungchilwoldo* (幽風七月圖), or "Illustrations of Seven Months from the Classic of Poetry *Sijing*" in Korean painting, and it included the depiction of the general population as a part of the painting, not as a principal theme. Founded upon the poems chronicling the annual cycle of agriculture, *Binpungchilwoldo* depicted the quotidian life and customs. The underlying significance resided in its didactic function so that the rulers could contemplate the labor and effort of the people as the subjects of a benevolent king (Figure 7) (Chung 2000, 19-24).<sup>5</sup> Under the aristocracy of the Joseon Dynasty, the banality of ordinary people was hardly adopted as the primary subject matter in traditional painting practices. Instead, banality was confined to depicting the ordinariness of the aristocratic class known as *yangban* (Gang 2021, 40-41). As an alternative for *pungsokhwa*, *sokhwa* (俗畫) was used as the term for the paintings of the ordinary life and activities of common folks with derogatory nuance by *yangban* (Kim 2013, 136; Gang 2000). The character *sok* (俗) connoted the lack of refinement or high taste. *Sokhwa* referred to the painting which failed to satiate the standards established by the principles of the literati painting. According to the literati precepts, the learning from the books (書卷氣, seogwongi) should be the prerequisite to creating art, and calligraphy and painting can be elevated to the status of art only if those function as the vehicles of the refined self-expression. Thus, the disparaging connotation in the term *sokhwa* manifested the perspective of the upper class who had constituted a central cultural force in pre-modern Korean society (Yi 1995, 10-14).

However, the aristocratic class's consciousness and attitude began to be changed, and the literati artists such as Yun Duseo (1668-1715) and Jo Yeongseok (1686-1761) initiated *sokhwa*. A contemporary scholar Sim Je (1722-1784) mentioned that "Jo Yeongseok was adept at *sokhwa*



(Left) Figure 7. Yi Bangun, *Binpungchilwoldo*, ca. late 18th century, 34.8x25.6 cm, ink and color on silk, The National Museum of Korea.

(Right) Figure 8. Jo Yeongseok, *A Woman Working with Mortar and Pestle*, ca. 18th century, 23.5x24.4cm, ink and color on paper, Kangsong Art Museum.

and the painting of figures.”<sup>6</sup> The brief remarks of the painting of a scholar painter Jo made it evident that *sokhwa* was no longer used to make the value judgment statement but was used as a genre classification *pungsokhwa*, shedding the negative connotation of the term *sokhwa* (Figure 8). Another scholar Yi Gysang (1727-1784) stated that Kim Hongdo “developed his career as a court painter at Dohwaseo (Royal Bureau of Painting)” and “gained prominence in painting, especially in portraying horses and the ordinary life of the people. It is called as *sokhwa*.”<sup>7</sup> In the same vein, a contemporary artist and art critic Kang Sehwang (1713-1791) intimated the central theme and its features of the painting when he annotated the painting of Kim Hongdo as follows:

In particular, [Kim] excelled in portraying the views of mundane life. Once Kim painted the stories from everyday life, behaviors, streets, ferry, shop, market, testing ground, or stage, the spectators clapped their hands and were amazed at his marvelous paintings. Such Kim Hongdo’s *sokhwa* would not be possible without his truly astonishing insight and knowledge to appreciate the world.<sup>8</sup>

In the late eighteenth century, *pungsokhwa* established itself as a prominent branch of painting and gained importance (Figure. 9). The quotidian events and their banality, such as the accustomed scenes of customs, works, leisure activities, ceremonies, and religious rituals of ordinary people, became the focus of *pungsokhwa*. The historical importance of *pungsokhwa* was also manifested in a Royal court document



(Left) Figure 9. Kim Hongdo, *Street Vendor* from *Danwon pungsok docheop*, ca. late 18<sup>th</sup> century, 27.7x23.7cm, ink and color on paper, The National Museum of Korea.  
 (Right) Figure 10. Jeong Seon, *Geumgang jeondo* (The View of Mount Geumgang), 1734, ink and light color on paper, 130.7 cm x 59 cm, Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art.

*Naegak illyeok* (內閣日曆) at the time of the reign of King Jeongjo (r. 1776-1800) and King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834).<sup>9</sup> The record states that the national examination to recruit court painters includes the eight subjects of painting. *Sokhwa* was one of the subjects, along with the painting of figures, buildings, landscapes, animals, plants/insects, plum blossoms/bamboos, and the treasures of the study.<sup>10</sup>

The insight of contemporaneity was one of the crucial imperatives to fulfill *pungsokhwa*. Yi Gysang commented on Jo Youngseok's painting that Jo "portrayed the common subjects and the paintings resemble the actual objects," and continued "in portraying the contemporary figures and clothing he never fail to demonstrate the true appearance."<sup>11</sup> Yi's annotation suggested that the fulfillment of *pungsokhwa* hinged upon the direct observation and insights of actual objects. Such characteristics of *pungsokhwa* were inextricably linked with the discursive frames shaped by the political, economic, cultural, intellectual constraints, and intercultural relationships between Korea and China.

The development of *pungsokhwa* coincided with the spread of *jin-gyeong sansu* (眞景山水 true-view landscape) (Figure 10). Kim Hongdo was active as a leading artist of true-view landscape, not only *pungsokhwa*. He produced a set of five albums entitled *The Complete Views of Mount Geumgang*, each album consisting of twelve leaves, the accomplishment of which was followed by several sketches of the mountain during his trip in 1788, and his landscape embodied the candid and realistic representational style based on the direct observation of



(Left) Figure 11. Yun Duseo, *Breaking the Stone*, ink on linen, 22.9 x 17.7 cm, Private collection.

(Right) Figure 12. Kwon Yongjeong, *Bobusang*, ink and color on silk, 20.5x18.6 cm.

nature, as in the crucial characteristics of his *pungsokhwa* (O 1998, 149-216). Korean art historians such as An Hwijun (Hwi-joon Ahn), Yi Seongmi (Sōng-mi Yi), and Yi Taeho investigated several historical factors concerning the emergence of the two new pictorial trends.<sup>12</sup> Yi Seongmi contended that the emergence of the new painting trends to depict Korean indigenous topography and the everyday life of ordinary people was in conjunction with a prominent intellectual force known as the School of Practical Learning (實學 *silhak*) from the late seventeenth century. The School of Practical Learning paid attention to the reality of Joseon society so as to further the rapid social, political, and cultural reform. The concern for reality ultimately gave rise to a new understanding of Korean history, literature, language, geography, and customs of ordinary people. The intellectual background provided a foundation for the emergence of *pungsokhwa* and *jingyeong sansu*, which were promoted as the representation of the “ethos of Korea,” as Yi Seongmi suggested (Yi 1998, 331).

As a scholar of the School of Practical Learning, Yun Duseo painted *pungsokhwa*, such subjects as workers and women collecting fresh edible wild greens in the field (Figure 11). Even though the paintings were in basic outlines and form, Yun emphasized the importance of the direct observation of the subject matter as a prerequisite to accomplish the faithful form in the painting. Jo Yeongseok also prioritized the experiential methodology and painted *pungsokhwa*, focusing on ordinary people's everyday activities and pastimes such as sewing, playing traditional Korean chess, fitting horseshoe, and laboring in agriculture (Yi 1996, 176). The attempts of the scholar artists gave prom-

inence to *pungsokhwa*. Later, it culminated in the candid and faithful portrayal of labor and pastimes of ordinary folks by the middle class (中人 *jungin*) artists Kim Hongdo, Kim Deuksin, and Sin Yunbok from the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

Besides, the popularity of *pungsokhwa* was in conjunction with one of the new cultural and economic phenomena in that art became a popular consumer commodity. As an art historian Kim Sunglim (Sunglim Kim) mentioned, art objects previously were enjoyed by the aristocratic class, not by common people. However, in the shifting socio-economic circumstances under which the hierarchical class system broke apart, and commercialism gained prominence, pictorial commodities began to be displayed in the market, and anyone with economic wealth could collect and appreciate art (Kim 2018, 3).

An art historian Yi Taeho evaluated that the new eighteenth-century art founded upon the new political, social, and economic systems established the underpinning to proceed modernity in Korean art. According to Yi, the development of *pungsokhwa* was contingent on a radical attitude against the dominant Confucian society and the socio-economic shift from agrarianism to commercialism, and the rise of new thoughts that privileged the potential value of human beings. Yi, however, criticized that *pungsokhwa* was not fully developed as a modern art form since *pungsokhwa* repeated its stylistic examples of the previous masters and achieved no innovation in its style in the late nineteenth century (Yi 1996, 260-267).

However, *pungsokhwa* in the late nineteenth century was not a disruption in the historical development of art. Rather than failing to sustain the historical legacy, the production of *pungsokhwa* continued and increased quantitatively in the late nineteenth century, as seen in the examples of *bobusang* (street vendor) of Kwon Yongjeong (1801-1861) (Figure 12) and *Hyeongjeong docheop* (The Painting Album of Punishment for Crimes) of Kim Yunbo (1865-1938) (Yi 1996, 277-286). In addition, folk art and paintings of agriculture and sericulture (*gyeongjikdo*) became broadly circulated in large numbers. Compared to the expertise of eighteenth-century artists, some critics evaluated that Kim Jungeun failed to convey the liveliness and artistic dimension of his subjects. However, I assume that the stylistic faults in the paintings of Kim Jungeun pointed out by some critics were rather a response to the constraints of complicated historical and social conditions in conjunction with the dissemination of commercialism and the impacts of imperialism. Due to the increased number of visitors from foreign countries as a consequence of imperialist expansionism, the demand for pictorial representation of Korean customs became unprecedented.

## The Circulation of Kim Jungeun's *Pungsok* Paintings

Kim Jungeun responded to the changing international circumstances and the growing new market demands and produced a massive number of *pungsokhwa* by founding its visual styles on the precedents of *pungsokhwa*. Kim Jungeun's paintings are currently preserved in Korean institutions, such as The Korean Christian Museum of The Soongsil University, The National Folk Museum of Korea, and The Seoul Museum of History. Besides, Kim's paintings are conserved abroad in several institutions such as The Hamburg Museum, The Guimet Museum of Asian Art (Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet), The British Library, The British Museum, The National Copenhagen Museum, The Smithsonian Museum, and many more. The number of Kim's paintings amounts to approximately one thousand and five hundred pieces (Kim 2008). Given the substantial number extant in the world, *pungsokhwa* reached a broader audience among foreign visitors. Such issues as to who views images and under what context images materialized tend to generate different interpretations (Albers and James 1990, 344). To the local folks, *pungsok* can function as an embodiment of their historical and familiar lived experience. Meanwhile, to the westerners, the Korean *pungsok* was perceived as 'otherness' in the imperialist imagination, not something inherently ontological or authentic about Korea. As a politically constructed complexion, *pungsokhwa* served as a confirmation of their stereotype about the exotic culture as a form of 'otherness' constituted by orientalist perspective (Picard and Di Giovine 2014). From their perspective and aspirations, the westerners sought to connect their history and non-western history, whose customs are strikingly distinct from theirs, interweaving all the differences into a perceptive and psychological whole for their ideological justification. In this estimation, *pungsokhwa* functioned no mere reflection of everyday life that the original significance of *pungsokhwa* in Korea suggested, but a fabricated representation of quotidian life to accommodate the ideological dispositions of the viewers/ consumers. Henceforth, the social category and classification on ethnicity, race, and cultural identity could be mobilized (Olsen 1993, 151-159).

Kim Jungeun's paintings often appeared in foreign publications. The book titled *Korea and the Sacred White Mountain* of A. E. Cavendish published in 1894 includes Kim's twenty paintings, such as the pictures of agriculture, traditional wedding ceremony, and traditional mask (Jeong 2008, 179-224). The *Gisan pungsok docheop* (*Gisan's Painting Album of Pungsok*) presents an extensive collection of Gernot Prunner that encompasses the paintings of traditional business such as the production of the male hat, *gisaeng*, or professional female entertainer, criminal punishment, musical performance, government officials, and religious rituals (Jeong 2008, 179-224). Likewise, a German P.G. von

Mölnendorff gathered Joseon objects from 1848 to 1901 and his collection also contained Kim's paintings such as traditional pastime, agriculture, craft business, criminal punishment, funerary ritual, beggar, and hunting scene (Junker 2004, 119-143).

The circulation of *pungsokhwa* among foreigners became prevalent consistent with the practices of modern travel.<sup>13</sup> Kim's paintings were often reprinted in private albums where travelers added their personal experiences. In the travelogues, the foreign authors often paralleled their description of Korean customs with the *pungsokhwa* to substantiate their experience and the impression they received from the exotic land. Most of the western travelers and anthropologists tended to demonstrate the Korean society and customs from the western-centric ethnographic perspectives since they already internalized and assimilated the western mode of thinking about other parts of the world (Pratt 1992; Hitchcock and Teague 2000). A French traveler Charles Varat (1842/43-1893) visited Korea as an explorer in charge of ethnographic studies mandated under the auspices of the French Ministry of Education. Varat published his travelogue titled *Deux voyages en Corée*, in which he enclosed Kim's paintings and took account of the physiognomy of people, geographic features, and folk customs in Korea.<sup>14</sup> Varat remarked that;

I must hasten my departure, although I am delighted that my stay in Seoul, where I was able to study so agreeably the topography, architecture, customs and various productions, while putting together a large ethnographic collection. From all this it appears to us that the Korean by his physical appearance, manners, habits, characteristic products of all kinds, etc...is absolutely different from his neighbors, to the point that if one of them is placed in a crowd of Chinese or Japanese, he will be immediately recognized. Similarly, a Chinese or Japanese in Seoul is immediately recognizable by his costume, his facial expression, language, etc. This very clear difference, together with the diversity of types that we encounter here, increases the difficulty of determining to which branch of the human family we should attach the Korean. But we will try to do so by crossing the country and collecting all the documents related to this topic (Varat and Long 1888).

Varat's interest was so extensive that he studied Korean customs, marriage, funerary rituals, clothing, and physical attributes. He sought to evaluate things he directly observed in Korea as the source of ethnographic knowledge. In his publication, the photographs of Seoul, Jemulpo, Busan, and Milyang, and Kim's *pungsokhwa* convinced the readers of its approach as natural and realistic. By aligning the text in parallel to the image, the ethnographic study is often regarded as an objective and matter-of-fact record through which the readers/viewers came to conceive it as a reliable foundation for knowledge about the

unknown cultural groups. However, the realistic representations often address the aspiration of their viewers/patrons and ultimately serve the ideologies of a particular race or a region. *Pungsokhwa* functioned as a visual resource to establish the exotic 'type' in ethnographic perspectives and the predominant imperialist discourse in the West. Incorporated as a visual testament in the text, *pungsokhwa* which represented the actual commonplaces, is disposed to "hide the artificiality or the contingency of their subject with a realistic mode" (Olsen 1993, 153; Johns 1991, xii). Their methodology and perspective seem to be perfectly impartial and objective. The knowledge of 'otherness' tends to be institutionalized and axiomatic by the imperialistic discourse regardless of the actual condition, and the experience of the groups (Maanen 1995). The authors of ethnography camouflaged their orientalist viewpoint by way of illustrating 'types,' or physical and cultural features of a particular group of people in a naturalistic manner, rather than reflecting the lived experience of Koreans. It is critical to note that the presentation of empathetic understanding of other cultural groups tends to be constrained by interpretive strategies of a society to which the author belongs, as emphasized by Edward Said, James Clifford, and James Boon (Boon 1982; Clifford 1988; Clifford 1983, 118-46; Said 1989, 205-25). The western authors stood in a subject position determined by the race, region, class, and institutional apparatuses that imparted their socio-cultural identity and ideological imagination. The Korean *pungsokhwa* functioned as 'types' to substantiate the discourse of imperialism and ascertain their stereotype about a non-western culture. Korean society was often described as stagnant and inert in a state of undeveloped civilization. The objective was also corroborated by Varat's collection and *pungsokhwa* he conveyed from Korea to France.

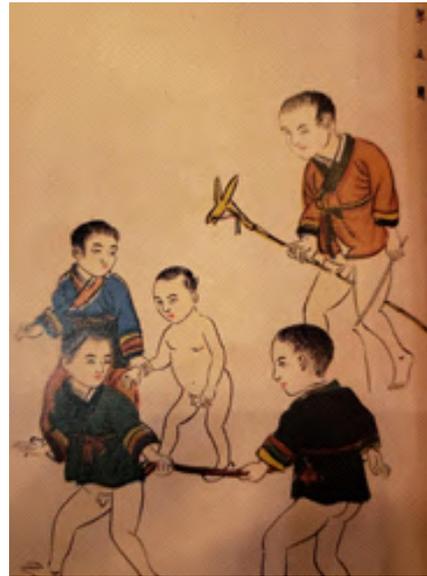
To present another instance, served as an officer at the Embassy of Germany in Japan, a German Hermann Sander, who dispatched the news about the Russian-Japanese War, visited Korea in September 1906 and March 1907. During his two short visits, Sander tried to collect some materials and information on Korean politics, economic condition, and geography.<sup>15</sup> Sander also took photographs of the Korean landscape, people, and everyday views of ordinary people. He gathered the souvenir photographs as well as several *pungsokhwa*. In a letter to his brother, Sander addressed the aim of his visit to Korea in a letter to his brother. He believed that his study on Korea would ultimately be advantageous to both Germany and Japan (Sander 2006). Sander's collection of photographs hinged upon the common visuality and lexicon to display cliché and stereotypes about Korea to approve that Korean society existed still in a pre-modern technological state. Westerners who internalized the view of Social Darwinism consider western civilization as the endpoint of social progress. The images of *pungsok* could have been read as an object to exhibit the specific ethnic features about 'Koreans' and 'Korean society' in a testimonial statement of darkness,

backwardness, pre-modern, and ‘before,’ in contrast to the contemporary western progress.<sup>16</sup> They tried to take advantage of cultural forms to attain the approval of the social groups they belonged to and to legitimize the intervention of imperialist force in the locals. The ideologies ingrained in the production and reception of image of *pungsok* were liable to reflect intercultural relationships in the changing global circumstances and enable us to consider multiple subject positions and identities. To consider the divergent values and demands in the different historical moments allows us not to sustain the homogeneous and identical significance of the cultural practice.

## Reception of *Pungsokhwa* by Japanese Colonial Authors

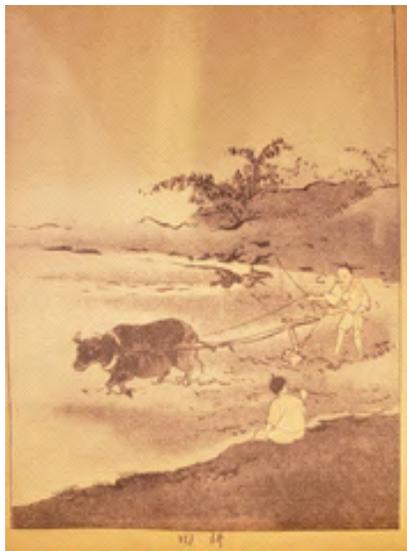
During the colonial era, *pungsok* still attracted interest both from the Japanese and the Koreans as the object of debates, and the *pungsokhwa* gained importance in a variety of media such as postcards, newspapers, travels guides, academic studies, and arts. As early as 1891, Ishii Kendō published *Joseon adong hwadam* (The Paintings of Korean Children) with the reproduction of Kim Jungeun’s *pungsokhwa* of children’s plays and customs<sup>17</sup> (Figure 13). The author revealed that “ten paintings were transcribed from Kim Jungeun’s works by the lithographic reproduction.” As the objective of his publication, Ishii continued to mention that “the knowledge of the geography and customs enabled the Japanese in Korea to contribute to enriching Japan” (Kendō 2015, 10). He placed the paintings in parallel with the description of Korean children’s unhygienic state, clothing, hairstyle, and education (Figure 14). Ishii exploited Kim’s painting as a visual illustration to validate Korean children’s uncivilized state, such as children’s early marriage or smoking. While describing the education the children received, he said that “the children who had an opportunity to learn Japanese would grow as an enlightened being” (Kendō 2015, 17).

In the same vein, a Japanese painter Nakamura Kinjō visited Korea several times and published a picture album titled *Joseon pungsook hwabo* (The Painting Album of *Joseon Pungsook*; Japanese: Chōsen Fūzoku Gafu) in 1910.<sup>18</sup> The paintings of Nakamura echo Kim Jungeun’s paintings (Figure 15). Given the similar paintings of the two painters, it is evident that Nakamura was conscious of the popularity of Kim’s *pungsokhwa* as commercial products and adopted Kim’s paintings for his painting models.<sup>19</sup> As Kwon Hyeokhee noticed, Nakamura’s *Joseon pungsook hwabo* and Kim’s *pungsokhwa* shared a lot of commonality in its rhetorical style and subject matter, to the extent that the two artists’ paintings look undistinguishable, or Nakamura’s works could be confused as the reproduction of Kim’s pictures (Kwon 2008, 5-19) (Figure 16). How could we understand the attention of Nakamura to the *pungksok*



(Left) Figure 13. Ishii Kendō, *Joseon adong hwadam*, 1891. No. 8. from Ishii Kendō, *Joseon adong hwadam*, trans. Kim Gwangsik (Seoul, Korea: Minsogwon, 2015)

(Right) Figure 14. Ishii Kendō, *Joseon adong hwadam*, 1891. No. 5. from Ishii Kendō, *Joseon adong hwadam*, trans. Kim Gwangsik (Seoul, Korea: Minsogwon, 2015)



(Left) Figure 15. Nakamura Kinjō, *Making Threads*, from *Joseon pungsook hwabo* (The Painting Album of Joseon Pungsook; Japanese: Chōsen Fūzoku Gafu), 1910, Geon 18. from *Joseon pungsook hwabo* (Seoul: Minsogwon, 2008.)

(Right) Figure 16. Nakamura Kinjō, *Plowing*, from *Joseon pungsook hwabo* (The Painting Album of Joseon Pungsook; Japanese: Chōsen Fūzoku Gafu), 1910, Geon 51. from *Joseon pungsook hwabo* (Seoul: Minsogwon, 2008.)

of Korea and published the painting album? Nakamura maintained close relationships with Japanese officials stationed in Korea and pro-Japanese Korean politicians who collaborated with Imperial Japan during colonialism. His acquaintances celebrated the publication of Nakamura's book. In the preface of the publication, a Japanese high official Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), stated:

It is a great pleasure to see that Joseon was annexed to Japan as a colony of Japan. However, we should not forget our critical duty to achieve the assimilation of Joseon into Japan. There are three ways to achieve this goal: administration, education, and interpersonal relationship. There will be some limits in achieving the goal in terms of administration and education. However, the assimilation through interpersonal companionship is efficient and fast[...]. The key to the interpersonal relationship is mutual respect for the other part's *pungsok*. Since the traditional *pungsok* is rooted in history, social practices, and individuals' state of mind, paying respect and sympathy towards *pungsok* is essential to establishing a close relationship with Joseon. It is worthwhile to think about the study of *pungsok* to fulfill the assimilation of Joseon (Kwon 2008, 25).

Although *pungsok* refers to a broader meaning of the folk customs and habits in the text, Ōkuma alludes that the significance of Nakamura's paintings needs to be understood in conjunction with Japan's colonialist ambitions and ultimate goals. The year 1910 in which Nakamura's publication was issued coincided with Korea's annexation to Japan under Japanese colonialist domination. The political objective of Imperial Japan was conflated with the assimilation policies. Ōkuma was the leading figure of the Meiji Restoration and was later appointed Prime Minister of Japan twice from June 30, 1898, to November 8, 1898, and from April 16, 1914, to October 9, 1916. Given his professional background as a politician in Imperial Japan, Ōkuma's interest in connecting *pungsok* to the assimilation policy was not accidental but somewhat intentional in that Ōkuma's idea on *pungsok* reflected the political objective of the Japanese assimilation policy. The Korean images still in the pre-modern state legitimized Japan's colonial annexation of Korea and assimilation policy. Despite his euphemistic rhetoric of "respect for the other part's *pungsok*," Ōkuma, as a Japanese politician, revealed the imperialist ambition and insinuated that the 'savage' customs of Koreans need to be improved, which should be achieved by the mediation of Japanese (Kwon 2008, 25). *Pungsok* became the central object of study to implement the colonial policy of assimilation. Indeed, the ethnographic research on Korean traditional views and folklore of the colonial government was insistently upheld during the colonial period. The main direction of the Government-General of Korea (*Joseon chongdokbu*) was to support the official ideology by finding the homogeneous

origin between Japan and Korea. The administration forced the scholars to investigate old customs, manners, and social systems in Korea to achieve their colonialist goals. Ōkuma made the imperialist ambition evident in his remarks. He was aware that the pictures of the customs could contribute to implementing the Japanese imperialist aim. Besides, in the book's introduction, the contribution of Nakamura's work was praised on the ground that *pungsok* tended to change corresponding to the passage of time. As a part of the Empire of Japan, Joseon would transform, and ultimately, the contemporary *pungsok* would be forgotten and not be retrieved in several years or several decades. Thus, they appraised that it would be meaningful to collect the contemporary customs in Nakamura's picture book for posterity (Kwon 2008, 35-37). In their estimation, Korea was destined to pass through a rapid modernization with the intervention of Imperial Japan. Japanese colonialist authorities framed Imperial Japan as the mediator to mobilize Korea's modernization to legitimize the imperialist rule and assimilation policy in colonized Korea. At the same time, it tried to wrap Korean *pungsok* in the contemporary everyday life as frozen images of the 'past' and 'tradition' with no signs of modernity in contrast to the image of Japan as one that had already achieved modernity and progress. The bifurcated oppositional perspective on Japan and Korea operated as a prevailing ideological framework during the colonial era and was also manifested in the 1914 book by Imamura Tomo (1870-1943) titled *Joseon pungsokjip* (The Collection of Joseon *Pungsok*; Japanese: Chōsen fūzokushū).<sup>20</sup> By focusing on the connection between colonial culture and imperial domination, a legal scholar Akiyama Masanosuke (1866-1937) wrote in the preface of the book:

Manners and customs are the unwritten codes of society and maintain a close relationship with a variety of arrangements; they must be adapted to the work of administration and law (Henry 2005, 645).

Shortly after the establishment of the Government-General of Korea in 1910, Imamura was dispatched as a police chief in Seoul. During his stay in Korea, Imamura surveyed a wide range of aspects of Joseon society and customs, the knowledge he gained while in charge of intense police surveillance of Korean society. By focusing on the source of the knowledge of Imamura as a police chief, a historian, Todd Henry argued that Imamura Tomo's book on Korean customs in 1914 was inseparably linked to the operation of colonial power and administration (Henry 2005, 645). Under the direction of the Government-General of Korea, its advisory committee called as the *Jungchuwon* closely examined Korean customs. The word 'survey of *pungsok*' (*pungsok josa*) appeared in a speech delivered to the survey committee of old customs (*Gugwan josa wiwonhoe*) in November 1918. The range of research en-

compassed twenty-five categories including ‘occupation’—agriculture, commerce, manufacturing industry, public services; ‘educational system’—school, science; ‘general manners and customs’; ‘religion’—Buddhism, Confucianism; ‘architecture’—palace, temples, public shrines; and ‘art’ (Park 1998, 18). The *pungsok* from the past to contemporary time became the object of study. In such a way, Japan aimed at orientalizing and romanticizing the indigenous cultural tradition of colonized Korea in several disciplinary spaces such as academic studies, literature, mass media, expositions, travel guides, and art exhibitions (Caprio 2009; Kwon 2015; Duus 1996). The concept of *pungsok* and its application in these discursive spaces during the colonial era became more extensive under the complicated political systems and multifarious aspirations. It was distinct from the Korean indigenous notion of *pungsok* and the significance of *pungsokhwa* in which to portray the familiar people’s everyday life in conjunction with Korean indigenous cultural identity and ever-changing consciousness of reality and humankind (Yi 2004, 41-71).

## ***Pungsokhwa* in Parallel with Art Photography**

The demand of the concept of *pungsok* and the established lexicons in its representation persisted in a variety of media and discursive spaces both for the colonialist aspiration and the national identity formation during the colonial era. The images of *pungsok* were mass-produced in the format of postcards, travel guides, ethnographic studies, and aesthetic creations with the development of printing technology and the photographic medium. Specifically, photography developed as a crucial constituent of mass culture in Korea.<sup>21</sup> In 1929, the first solo exhibition of photography in Korea was mounted by Jeong Haechang (1907-1968) under the title of art photography (*yesul sajin*) exhibition. *Joseon ilbo*, a Korean daily newspaper, featured the event:

Jeong Haechang, who has studied photographic techniques and produced art photography for several years devoid of profit-making intent, will hold an exhibition of fifty photographs. It is the first exhibition of art photography held by a Korean. It shows a series of magnificent landscapes and *pungsok* images (*Joseon ilbo*, 1929).

The colonial government-general bulletin and the Korean vernacular press, such as *Joseon ilbo*, *Donga ilbo*, and *Maeil sinbo*, hailed the exhibition as an unprecedented event in Korean photography (Yi 2010, 34-37). The press considered Jeong’s work as the prototype of Korean art photography. Landscape and *pungsok* became an essential motif of Korean photography, notably representing the scenes of the ordinary folks performing their daily routines in natural settings (Choe 1999,

230) (Figure 17). Remarkably, many scholars in Korea have praised Jeong's work for blending landscape well with Korean *pungsok* and evaluated it as the photographer's reinterpretation of Korean traditional *pungsokhwa* (Ju 2007, 74-79). They even compared Jeong's work to the eighteenth-century *pungsokhwa* by Kim Hongdo and Sin Yunbok (Pak 2002, 135-140; Yi 2007, 10-25). (Figure 5 and Figure 18)



(Left) Figure 17. Jeong Haechang, *Untitled*, ca.1920s-30s, gelatin silver print, 50.7x60.7cm, Jipyong collection.

(Right) Figure 18. Jeong Haechang, *Untitled*, ca.1920s-30s, gelatin silver print, Private collection.

Art photography became a significant photographic trend in Korea from the 1920s to the 1930s.<sup>22</sup> The period was characterized by the 'Cultural Rule' (Korean: *munhwa jeongchi*; Japanese: *bunka seiji*), the impact of which permeated every social and cultural practice. The Japanese colonial government enforced the oppressive and brutal assimilationist policy known as the 'Military Rule' (Korean: *mudan jeongchi*; Japanese: *budan seiji*) following the annexation of Korea. However, responding to the March First Independence Movement in 1919, the Government-General of Korea was urgently forced to change the path of its rule from the 'Military Rule' to the 'Cultural Rule' as a more conciliation policy. Even though it denoted a general relaxation of oppression in the colony, the Cultural Rule adopted by the newly appointed Governor-General Saitō Makoto (1858-1936) was intended to achieve efficiency of the control apparatuses. The Cultural Rule was espoused as a particular response to the strife between Japanese colonial rule and the national consciousness of the Korean population.

It is important to note that the Cultural Rule, as Michael Schneider argues, was not just an attempt to change the course of the rule in colonial Korea. Instead, the reform of colonial policies was also profoundly interlocked with the criticism of Japanese elite people in metropolitan Japan of Japanese repressive colonial policy (Schneider 1999, 98). The shift to the Cultural Rule was a reflection of the cultural and intellectual currents sweeping the Japanese archipelago at the time, the so-called culturalism (*bunkashugi*) advocated by Japanese intellectuals.

By prefixing the word 'culture' to virtually everything at that time, Japanese middle-class intellectuals emphasized the 'spirit,' while privileging the goal of self-formation through the practice of humanistic disciplines and the cultivation of absolute value (Harootunian 2000, 54). The Government-General of Korea applied the ideas of Culturalism into the colonial policies in order to resolve the aggravating strains in the colony. The concept of 'culture' endorsed the connotation of individualism, introspection, and spirituality. By employing the concept of 'culture,' the Government-General of Korea endeavored to establish a more substantial basis for hegemonic rule and complete the assimilation policy. Under the circumstances, I argue that the reframing of *pungsok* in artistic practices was suspended within the contrasting discourses of colonialism and nationalism. The prevalence of *pungsok* as a subject of art was partly because *pungsok* seemed to represent no radical political connotation, which allowed immunity from political surveillance. The wide circulation of the photographic images of *pungsok* was allowed in the colonial circumstances since *pungsok* was considered harmless to the Japanese colonial domination, in no way capable of becoming a trigger for significant social and political disturbances.

Meanwhile, the cultural policies of the Japanese colonial government opened up new potential for Koreans to negotiate cultural forms for their desires. The Korean traditional customs promoted by the Japanese colonial system reinforced Korean 'aesthetics,' as a specific regime for identifying and practicing arts for Koreans to establish their cultural and national identity. The longing for a 'Korean nation' that Japanese colonial power sought to repress was paradoxically confirmed in the concept of *pungsok* and its images, regardless of the kinds of art media, such as modern painting, illustrations in mass media, and photography.<sup>23</sup> In this context, Korean *pungsok* also became a significant cultural theme to several Korean scholars, intellectuals, and artists who participated in the cultural nationalist campaigns. Ironically, the effort to use Korean *pungsok* to achieve the aim of the colonial policy of assimilation became a significant stimulus to Korean nationalist studies such as history, customs, folklore, and religion. To Koreans, *pungsok* worked as the sign of unchanging, natural, eternal, and static accustomed everyday life. *Pungsok* images were often treated as nationalist icons, epitomizing the spirit of the nation and cultural identity. Many scholars searched for a national identity and paid attention to the indigenous customs. As the study of Song Seokha's (1904-1948) endorsed, *pungsok* became over-coded with the claims of cultural authenticity and eternity of Korea as a nation (Kim 2004). The country's customs typically reflect the sentiments and thoughts of the people. Photographers captured the *pungsok* as the critical theme of art photography to express individual sentiments and the nationalist consciousness in colonized Korea. The currency of *pungsok* as a critical subject of art photography was a cultural statement, responding to the

different connotations of *pungsok* embedded in the colonial cultural discourses and the communal consciousness of the Korean masses.

## **Conclusion: Ambivalence of *Pungsok* and its Potentialities**

Up to now, I have sought to demonstrate that the significance of *pungsok* is neither monolithic nor neutral, and thus its representation *pungsokhwa* continued to be reused and reframed to accommodate the heterogeneous desires of different historical conditions. Grown as a stream of painting tradition out of the changing historical moments in the late eighteenth century, the term *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa* as a painting classification evolved into the industry terminology as an art commodity and constituted a substantial component of the port's economy in the late nineteenth century. Besides, the concept of *pungsok* and *pungsokhwa* can be retrieved in the spheres such as foreign travelogues, ethnographic studies, art museums, mass media, postcards, and even other hitherto neglected archives during the colonial era. The wide range of discursive spaces in which *pungsok* can be positioned suggests the pluralism of their historical and institutional values and the operation of its production, circulation, and reception in more complicated ways.

## Notes

1. This article is an extended and revised version of Hye-ri Oh's article "Modernity and Authenticity in Korean Pictorialism from *Pungsok* Painting to Art Photography," in *Interpreting Modernism in Korean Art: Fluidity and Fragmentation*, edited by Pyun Kyunghye and Woo Jungah (Routledge, 2021). This article follows the Asian form for Korean and Japanese names with surname preceding given name. In this article, the Revised Romanization of Korean was used for transliterating the Korean language. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are those of the author. I wish to acknowledge Pyun, Woo, and three anonymous referees for their insightful feedback on this article.

2. Ayugai Husanosin's "Seohwa of Joseon" (Korean Calligraphy and Painting) appeared in *Maeil sinbo* as a serialized article on May 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26 in 1918.

3. For more details of colonialism, nationalism, and modernity in Korean history, see Gi-wook Shin and Michael Robinson (ed.) *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

4. Kim Hongdo's *Danwon pungsok docheop* has been designated as the National treasure no.527 and preserved at the National Museum of Korea.

5. Chung Byungmo categorized the three kinds of *pungsokhwa* from the ancient period to the modern depending on how the ritualistic and religious purposes, political causes, the changing consciousness of banality, and ordinariness affected the formation of different kinds *pungsokhwa* over time from the ancient period to the modern era.

6. Sim Je, *Songcheonpildam*, Jeongchek. Quoted in Chung, *Hangugui pungsokhwa*, 208.

7. Yi Gysang (1727-1799), "Kim Hongdo jo," in "Hwajurok," *Ilmonggo*. Cited in Yu Hongjun, "Yi Gysang Ilmonggo-ui hwaronsajeok uiui," *Misulsahak* 4 (December 1992): 45-46; Chung, *Hangugui pungsokhwa*, 211.

8. Kang Sehwang, "Danwon giu ilbon," *Pyoam yugo*. Quoted in Chung Byungmo and Jin Junhyun, "Joseon hugi pungsokhwa natanan ilsangui pyohyeongwa geu uimi," *Misulsahak* 25, (August 2011): 333.

9. *Naegak illyeok* was the daily record of Gyujanggak, the Royal Library of the Joseon Dynasty established in 1776 by the direction of King Jeongjo. The record spans from January 1779 to February 1883.

10. *Naegak illyeok*, je 42 chaek, Jeongjo 7nyeon November 27; Chung, *Hangugui pungsokhwa*, 208-209; Gang Gwansik, "Joseon hugi gyujanggakui chabidaer-yeonghwawonje," *Gansong munhwa* 47 (October 1994): 50-97.

11. Yi Gysang, "Jo Yeongseok jo," in "Hwajurok," *Ilmonggo*. Cited in Yu Hongjun, "Yi Gysang," 37-38; Chung, *Hangugui pungsokhwa*, 211.

12. Yi Taeho, *Joseon hugi hoehwa ui sasil jeongsin* (Seoul: Hakgojae, 1996), 186-286. As for the true-view landscape, see Ahn Hwi-joon, "Artistic Tradition and the Depiction of Reality: True-View Landscape Painting of the Chosŏn Dynasty" in *Arts of Korea*, ed. Judith G. Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 322-326; Yi Sŏng-mi, "Artistic Tradition and the Depiction of Reality: True View Landscape Painting of the Chosŏn Dynasty" in *Arts of Korea*, ed. Judith G. Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 330-365.

13. For the discussion of modern travel, ethnography, and commercial photography, see Luke Gartlan, "Types or Costumes? Refraining Early Yokohama Photography," *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* 22 (September 2006): 239-263.

14. Charles Varat and Chaillé-Long, *Deux Voyages en Deux Voyages en Paris*: Éditions Kailash, 1994). It was also published in Korea as *Joseon gihaeng: baek yeonyeon jeone Joseoneul dulleo bon du oegugin ui yeohaenggi* (Seoul: Nunbit, 2001).

15. The collection of Hermann Sander was donated to the National Folk Museum of Korea.

16. As to the question of how pictures constituted their meaning and function as the mechanism for communication, see W.J.T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures Really Want?" *October* 77 (Summer 1996): 71-82.

17. Ishii Kendo, *Joseon adong hwadam*, 1891. It was reprinted as Ishii Kendo, *Joseon adong hwadam*, trans. Kim Gwangsik (Seoul, Korea: Minsogwon, 2015). I referred to the reprinted book in 2015.

18. It was reprinted in *Joseon pungsok hwabo* (Seoul: Minsogwon, 2008).

19. As a Japanese artist, Nakamura must have been familiar with the popularity of the genre painting and prints such as ukiyo-e which were widely circulated in Japan, and his interest was extended into the Korean *pungsokhwa*. As for the ukiyo-e, see Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2005), 272-292.

20. Imamura Tomo, *Chōsen Fūzoku shūa*, 1914. Cited in Todd A. Henry, "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919," *The Journal of Asians Studies* 64, no.3 (August 2005): 645.

21. As for the history of photography in Korea, refer to Choe Injin, *Hanguk sa-jinsa 1631-1945* (Seoul: Nunbit, 1999); Hye-ri Oh, "Translating Photography: The Migration of the Concept of Sajin from Portraiture to Photography," *History of Photography* 39, no.4 (December 2015): 366-389.

22. For more details of Korean art photography from the 1920s to 1930s, see Hye-ri Oh, "The Concept of Photography in Korea: The Genealogy of the Korean Conception of Sajin From the Late Chosŏn Dynastic Period Through Japanese Colonialism" (PhD diss., Binghamton University, State University of New York, 2014), 195-202. The discussion on Korean art photography and *pungsok* in this section derives from the dissertation.

23. Joseon's local color became an important topic for art productions during the colonized era. For the details of Joseon local color (*hyangtosaek*), see Park Carey, "Iljesidae joseon hyangtosaek nonuiwa hoehwa jakpumui je gyeonghyang" (Master's thesis, Hongik University, 1995); Kim Youngna, "Yi Inseongui hyangtosaek: minjokjuuiwa singminjuui," in *Hanguk geundae misulgwa sigak munhwa* (Seoul: Johyeong gyoyuk, 2002), 291-318.

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