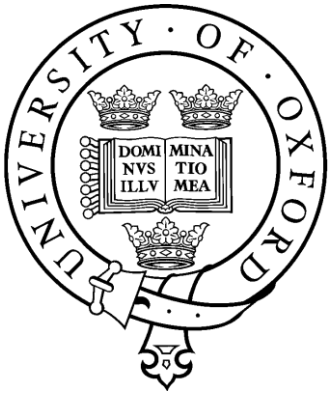
The Lives of Popular Literature in Words and Images: A Buddhist romance from early-modern Korea, *Kuunmong*



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Abstract

This research is a study of the reception of a popular narrative composed in seventeenth-century Korea. The novel *Kuunmong* 九雲夢, written in Chinese, or 구운몽, written in Korean, was produced in 1687-88 by Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637 - 1692). The presence of two different language editions of *Kuunmong* is not exceptional. It was a common practice in the composition of Korean popular novels before the twentieth century when the Korean readership was divided into two, often discrete but not necessarily exclusive, groups based on their ability to read either the Chinese or the Korean text. The three Chinese characters as well as Korean in the title mean nine, cloud, and dream. The story has been rewritten, painted, embroidered on silk, and illustrated, while it has appeared in fifteen languages.

The main question of the thesis is why and how certain forms and contents of the Kuunmong story have been adopted in the context of visual reception of the novel. The main sources for the investigation are thirty-six Kuunmong folding screens (Appendix 1) made in Korea mostly before the twentieth century. Although the main analysis focuses on the visual reception of *Kuunmong*, the textual reception of the novel is discussed in relation to episodes that would complement the analysis of the visual reception. The textual reception of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century accompanied the diminishment of religious episodes and influenced the scene arrangements on the Kuunmong screens.

Kim Manjung's original manuscript did not survive. All existing editions are anonymous re-compositions of the novel that demonstrate textual receptions of the story. For the purpose of linking text to visual image, seven significant texts will be evaluated: the oldest Korean edition at the Kyujanggak Royal Library, the most influential Chinese edition (1725) in the Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl private collection, the best lending library edition in

the Korean language preserved at Ewha University (1907), and the oldest English translation (1922) by James Scarth Gale, as well as the 1803 Chinese edition and two nineteenth-century popularised Korean versions from Seoul and Chŏnju.

Chapter One (*Kuunmong* in context) addresses the general literary and social context where *Kuunmong* was composed and enjoyed in late Chosŏn. Chapter Two (Textual reception of *Kuunmong*) considers the textual reception of the novel and then goes on to evaluate the encounter scene at the beginning of the Kuunmong story and the poetry featured in three rendezvous scenes. The shift in the theme of the narrative is also discussed with popularised editions. Chapter Three (Popular illustrated literature) discusses the popular illustrated literature that influenced the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* before the thesis turns to the main concern, which is the visual reception of *Kuunmong.*

Chapter Four (Visual reception – Kuunmong folding screens) examines and analyses the visual reception of the novel by investigating thirty-six Kuunmong folding screens made in Korea in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. A general explanation of folding-screen culture in Korea sets the context for a close reading of an image of the first encounter scene between the hero and the heroines. A close comparison of text with image reveals media differences in forming the narrative. Additionally, influences from contemporaneous book illustrations appear in the composition of domestic scenes, in particular, garden culture scenes.

Moving on from a consideration of composition to a consideration of content, Chapter Four also discusses Kuunmong folding screens as polychrome narrative paintings, because Kuunmong screens share symbolic commonalities with other, similar polychrome folding screens. Hunting and depictions of contests of the arts offer examples of symbolic messages that convey festive emotions. Likewise, religious emotions in the scene of

awakening are discussed in relation to similar symbolic imagery found in the tradition of Buddhist art. Animal-themed elements in the depiction of animals associated with the South Sea Prince scenes are also visualised in a complex dynamic of narrative and symbolism.

Finally, Chapter Five (Intermedial considerations in the visual reception of *Kuunmong*) focuses on ways in which intermedial relations feature in the visual reception of *Kuunmong*. Intermedial relations refer to the relations the literary text *Kuunmong* makes with the visual medium of screens. Whereas text and visual media were closely linked, they diverged as popularisation proceeded. The Kuunmong imagery was produced for the royal household but later spread outside of the palace. The popularisation of Kuunmong folding screens was often accompanied by changes in the style and addition of elements of the composition, such as calligraphy. Popularised versions of Kuunmong screens tend to lose details in general, while the background of the story is domesticated. Calligraphy is examined as one example of intermedial relations that is made between the novel and the screen.

Chapter One: *Kuunmong* in context

Take a short rest from daily, hard life and
have a good laugh with cherished stories.[1]
−Crown Prince Sado, 1762

1.1. The Novel *Kuunmong*

This research is a study of the reception of a popular narrative composed in seventeenth-century Korea. The novel,[2] a Buddhist romance, *Kuunmong* 九雲夢 or 구운몽 was written in 1687-88[3] by Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637 ~ 1692). The language of its first appearance (Korean or Chinese) is still debated. The title means nine, cloud, and dream. There are at least three different ways of translating the title into English: *The*

[1] This phrase is from the preface by Crown Prince Sado 思悼世子 (1735 ~ 1762) to Kim Tŏksŏng 金德成 (1729-1797)'s *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon: pu: Han'guk sogyŏn Chungguk t'ongsok sosŏl sŏmok* 中國小說繪模本: 附: 韓國所見中國通俗小說書目. The book, a collection of templates of Chinese fiction, was commissioned by Prince Sado and published in 1762.

[2] Here, the term "novel" is not used to refer to a literary genre that first came into being in the early eighteenth century as Ian Watt suggests in his *The Rise of the Novel* (1957). It refers to a type of long narrative work that has "a continuous and comprehensive history of about two thousand years," as Margaret Anne Doody argues in her *The True Story of the Novel* (1996). Thus "novel" is not opposed to the genre of romance but instead includes it.

[3] The year of production was confirmed with the discovery of *Sŏp'o yŏnbo* 西浦年譜 (Kim Manjung's chronology) at Tenri University in 1988. Kim's pen name is Sŏp'o. This manuscript was written by Kim's elder brother Kim Man'gi 金萬基's grandson Kim Yangt'aek 金陽澤 or Kim's great grandson Kim Minjae 金敏材 between 1756 and 1776 and was based on *Sŏp'o haengjang* 西浦行狀 (A Biography of Kim Manjung, 1708) by Kim's nephew Kim Chinkyu 金鎭圭.

Cloud Dream of the Nine (1922),[4] "A Nine Cloud Dream" (1974),[5] and *The Nine Cloud Dream* (2019).[6] These different translations showcase various interpretations of the story. Popular novels, particularly novels like *Kuunmong*, are heterogeneous compositions, i.e., a mixture of various forms of writings, including epistolary writing in the form of poetry. The story has been rewritten, painted, embroidered on silk, and illustrated, as well as orally performed and dramatised,[7] while it has appeared in fifteen languages.[8] This research examines textual renditions and visual presentations in the context of the reception of *Kuunmong*.

As the manuscript by the attested author Kim Manjung is not extant, the script of the original (Chinese or Korean) is debatable. Although most scholars, including Susanna Fessler, think that the Chinese version of *Kuunmong* was written first and then translated into Korean later (Fessler 2003, v), this is not certain.[9] Therefore, it serves little purpose here to debate the significance of the story having been produced first in Korean as

[4] *The Cloud Dream of the Nine, a Korean Novel: a Story of the Times of the Tangs of China about 840 A.D* translated by James Scarth Gale in 1922.

[5] "A Nine Cloud Dream" in *Virtuous Women: Three Classic Korean Novels* translated by Richard Rutt and Kim Chong-un in 1974.

[6] *The Nine Cloud Dream* translated by Heinz Insu Fenkl in 2019.

[7] Three editions of *Kuunmong* that were orally performed, in a way similar to *p'ansori*, have been identified (Sŏ Insŏk 2000, 211). Articles in *Maeil sinbo* 매일신보 (Daily Newspaper) confirmed that *Kuunmong* was one of dramas that was put on stage. Staged performance of *Kuunmong* was reported on 2 December, 1917. The characteristics of dramatised *Kuunmong* were described on 4 December,1917; and *Kuunmong* was mentioned, along with *Ch'unhyangga*, as a theatre piece on 20 May, 1922. For more detail, see Sa Sŏnggu (2001). The current research focuses on the visual representation of *Kuunmong*.

[8] The fifteen languages include Korean, Chinese, Japanese, English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Polish, Czech, Romanian, Norwegian, Arabic, and Vietnamese.

[9] The shift in the scholarly view of the original language in which *Kuunmong* was composed will be discussed later in "Summary of scholarship on *Kuunmong*."

opposed to Chinese or the other way around. A popular novel written before the twentieth-century in Korea often existed both in Korean and Chinese, because the majority of extant traditional novels were translated and re-rewritten back and forth by the original author as well as anonymous writers. Additionally, numerous handcopies of both Korean and Chinese versions were produced. In traditional Korea, handcopying was the main way of producing a personal copy as well as circulating popular novels. A copyist was not necessarily producing an exact copy of the source but was usually engaged in a bit of creative writing by enlarging some parts and reducing others. For this reason, copyists as well comprised anonymous writers. *Kuunmong* is not an exceptional case in this regard.

Although the main analysis is on the visual reception of *Kuunmong*, textual reception of the novel will be discussed in relation to episodes that would complement the analysis of the visual reception. All existing editions are an anonymous re-composition of the novel, as explained above, and they demonstrate textual reception of the story to a certain extent. For our purpose here, seven representative texts will be evaluated. Two early versions are the oldest Korean edition at the Kyujanggak Library[10] and the most influential Chinese edition (1725) in the Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl private collection.[11] Two recent versions are the lending library edition in the Korean language, preserved at Ewha University (1907)[12] and the oldest English translation (1922) by James Scarth Gale. Three

[10] Hereafter Kyujanggak edition. Catalogue number: ko 古 3350-91. The Kyujanggak Libary was originally founded by King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776-1800) as a royal institute for scholars (1776) and its holdings are currently located in Seoul National University.

[11] Hereafter is the 1725 edition. This edition was discovered by Chŏng Kyubok in 1972, and now is in the Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl private collection. The most of extant editions of *Kuunmong*, notably the 1803 edition, originated from the 1725 edition (Chŏng Kyubok [1974] 2010, 147-180).

[12] Catalogue number: 811.31 김 41 ㄱ D. The Ewha edition is in the library of Ewha

additional versions,[13] which are interposed between the early editions and the recent ones, have been selected to illustrate the significant change that occurred in the composition of the narrative in the nineteenth century. Chapter Two (Textual reception of *Kuunmong*) evaluates these seven editions.

Two early versions will be compared with two recent versions to examine the encounter scene, which is described at the beginning of the Kuunmong story, as well as the poetry featured in three rendezvous scenes. These scenes exemplify what has been kept, what has been shifted, and what has been revisited at large in the narrative over time. Three interposed versions will be discussed with a focus on religiosity of the narrative. Religiosity has been chosen because a distinctive rendering of religious episodes that marked the nineteenth century reception of *Kuunmong* serves as the linkage of the early editions and the recent ones.[14] The major change noted in these texts in turn was integrated into the production of Kuunmong screens, in particular, with regard to the arrangement of scenes, as a majority of them have been made since the nineteenth century.

Woman's University in Seoul. Hereafter Ewha edition.

[13] The 1803 edition at the National Library (no. han kojo 한古朝 48-4); *Kyŏngp'an-pon 32 chang-pon* 경판본 32 장본; and *Wanp'an-pon 105 chang-pon* 완판 105 장본

The last two editions were consulted from *Kyŏng'in kososŏl p'angak-pon chŏnjip I* (Kim Tong'uk 1973): *Kyŏngpan-pon 32 chang-pon* (85-100) and *Wanp'an-pon 105 chang-pon* (101-254).

Kyŏngp'an-pon 32 chang-pon 경판본 32 장본. Hereafter Seoul Korean edition.

Kyŏngp'an-pon 32 chang-pon 경판본 32 장본. Hereafter Chŏnju Korean edition

[14] A distinctive rendering of religious episodes may seem to indicate a breakage between the early editions and the recent ones. However, as long as all of these are regarded to constitute an entirety of *Kuunmong*, it is appropriate to see it as a linkage. It is more so, considering the fact that various versions of *Kuunmong* were available at a given time because old editions often survived to be read by later generations while new versions continued to be produced.

Chapter Three (Popular illustrated literature) discusses the popular illustrated literature that influenced the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* before the thesis turns to the main concern, which is the visual reception of *Kuunmong.* Illustrations from Chinese novels will be mainly examined as they gained popularity in the late Chosŏn. Some illustrations, notably those from *Sanguo yanyi*, were even adapted onto folding screens. The investigation of the visual presentation of *Kuunmong* (Chapter Four) targets thirty-six folding screens in different styles (Table 1, Appendix 1) made in Korea mostly before the twentieth century. The main question of the thesis is why and how certain forms and contents of the Kuunmong story have been adopted in the context of visual reception of the novel. The thesis will identify motifs and themes and analyse visual presentations of the Kuunmong story in folding screens. A general explanation of folding-screen culture in Korea sets the context for a close reading of an image of the first encounter scene between the hero and the heroines. A close comparison of text with image reveals media differences in forming the narrative. Additionally, influences from contemporaneous book illustrations appear in the composition of domestic scenes, in particular, garden culture scenes.

Moving on from a consideration of composition to a consideration of content, Chapter Four discusses Kuunmong folding screens as polychrome narrative paintings, because Kuunmong screens also share symbolic commonalities with other, similar polychrome folding screens. Hunting and depictions of contests of the arts offer examples of symbolic messages that convey festive emotions. Religiosity features in the scene of awakening, although often diminished and toned-down, will be discussed in relation to similar symbolic imagery found in the tradition of Buddhist art. The relevant change in the textual reception of *Kuunmong* is reflected in the rendering of the religious scenes.

Animal-themed elements in the depiction of animals associated with the South Sea Prince scenes are also visualised in a complex dynamic of narrative and symbolism. The Kuunmong narrative is thus negotiated in the context of screen culture.

In the final analysis (Chapter Five), intermedial relations featured in the visual reception of *Kuunmong* will be brought to the fore. Intermedial relations refer to various medial engagements that demonstrate the tension between a literary text *Kuunmong* and a visual medium of folding screens. These disparate media aspire to establish a connection but also intend to be divergent. The alienation of image from the textual description is prominent in the popularised versions of Kuunmong screens. Calligraphy is examined as one example of intermedial relations that is made between the novel and the screen.

Prior to these chapters examining the textual and visual reception of a popular narrative composed in seventeenth-century Korea, *Kuunmong*, Chapter One (*Kuunmong* in context) addresses the general literary and social context where *Kuunmong* was composed and enjoyed in late Chosŏn (ca. 1598-1910), and goes on to summarise scholarship on *Kuunmong* that is relevant to the current research.

Writing stories in Chinese or Korean

Chinese had long been a tool for educated, mostly male Koreans' writing activities in their political, social, and cultural engagements. "Chinese" in this case is not modern Chinese but Classical Chinese or literary Chinese. Like Latin in Europe, literary Chinese was a means of communicating and distributing knowledge among educated people in East Asia. In Korea, literary Chinese did not lose its role as the language for academic pursuit and political life until the very late nineteenth century when Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392-1910), the

last kingdom of Korea, was exposed to Western influence brought mainly via Japan. Until then it was thought that right and proper texts should be composed only in Chinese.

The vernacular Korean script, *ŏnmun* 諺文, was dismissed as inferior to Chinese. *Ŏn* 諺 means the vernacular script itself, which was invented by King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) in 1443. The name *hunmin chŏngŭm* 訓民正音, which literally means "correct sounds to instruct the people," was initially assigned to the new script by the king, but in later days was shortened to *ŏnmun* to belittle its capacity to carry serious content. Another term for vernacular Korean was *amk'ŭl* 암클 to signal that the script was used only by women. *Am* refers to female animals and plants whereas *k'ŭl* means a script. The Korean vernacular script, however, was used by male writers as well and was also taken as a medium to inform the public in very serious matters, for instance, when posting an important public notice, particularly when the audience was assumed to be literate only in the vernacular script. Kim Sŭrong argues that *ŏnmun* was used in official documents along with Chinese, on the basis of his analysis of 947 cases gathered from *Chosŏn wanggjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty 1410-1865) (Kim 2005).

For instance, there is a record of the 19th day of the eighth month in 1592 in *Chosŏn wanggjo sillok* that King Sŏnjo 宣祖 (r. 1567~1608) distributed a public notice in *ŏnmun* that was to reassure and encourage commoners to fight against the invading Japanese. After Japanese armies landed in Pusan on the 13th day of the fourth month that year, the regular armies were vastly smashed, but guerrilla warfare was successful. The king may have hoped that more commoners would join defensive military action against invaders. This is one piece of evidence that *ŏnmun* was used by the ruler to communicate with the ruled, in particular, with commoners. This record also shows that, in 1592, more

than one hundred and fifty years after the invention of *hunmin chŏngŭm*, commoners understood the *ŏnmun* text. The king also translated into vernacular Korean the Wanli emperor 萬曆帝 (1573-1620)'s edict that he promised Chinese full engagement in the war when the edict was distributed among people in the northern part of Korea, Hamgyŏng province. During the peace talks between China and Japan, it is notable that the royal edicts and official missives by the Chosŏn court were composed only in Korean (Haboush 2016, 114-117).

Intellectuals usually composed in *ŏnmun* when they wrote to females or when they wanted to express their feelings in vernacular verse, which is less restrained by the intricate formalities required for Chinese poetry. Chinese may have been cumbersome when it came to expressing everyday experience in real life. Particularly, a lengthy story about commoners and their lives was probably more easily written in *ŏnmun*. Korean indigenous words, which are necessary for those stories, are difficult either to be replaced with Chinese counterparts or to be transliterated using Chinese characters.[15]

Nevertheless, *ŏnmun* was not always a first choice for writing a story. Stories that were less local and less based on real life, but with more supernatural content, tended to be written in Chinese. These stories were usually composed by authors who read Chinese fiction,[16] and they naturally chose Chinese as their familiar tool for writing. Stories in

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[15] Replacement may be done with a few transliterated words in a Chinese poem. Yi Ok 李鈺 (1760-1815), for example, accommodated Korean words in sixty-six linked poems entitled *Yiŏn* 俚諺 (Folk Speech). The *yiŏn,* as a style, Yi Ok states, is a sort of *yuefu* 樂府, a Chinese poetic style developed from folk songs to reflect local culture and the lives of common people. Yi strived to depict ordinary Koreans' lives in his linked poems and included Korean words like *agassi* 阿哥氏 (girl) through transliteration with Chinese characters, rather than using Chinese logographs (小姐) to render meaning.

[16] Wilkinson, in *Chinese History: A manual* (2000), uses "fiction" to refer to literary writings of popular literature in Ming and Qing, and he uses "fiction" and "novel"

ŏnmun[17] text had to await authors who were ready to recognize *ŏnmun* as their medium of writing and who wished to compose a lengthy story about ordinary Koreans and their lives.

Prior to the advent of *ŏnmun* stories, Chinese-language stories[18] were composed by Korean authors. For example, *Kŭmo sinhwa* 金鰲新話 (New Tales of Kŭmo 1465-1470)[19] by Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (1435-1493) is the earliest we know, which was followed by Ch'ae Su 蔡壽 (1449-1515)'s *Sŏl Kongch'an chŏn* 薛公瓚傳 (The Story of Sŏl Kongch'an, 1511). These stories deal with the paranormal phenomena of ghosts and the world of the dead, reflecting the authors' reading experience of Chinese stories such as Qu You 瞿佑 (1347-1472)'s *Jiandeng xinhua* 剪燈新話 (New Tales Told by Lamplight) [20] and five hundred volumes of the extensive *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Tales from Records of the Taiping Era).[21] *Jiandeng xinhua* was mentioned by Kim Sisŭp in a poem entitled

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interchangeably in his most recent revision of *Chinese History: A New Manual* (2018).

[17] Hereafter "*ŏnmun* stories" refers to stories that are mostly lengthy and written in the vernacular.

[18] Here these refer to types of stories that were written for the purpose of entertainment.

[19] The entire *Kŭmo sinhwa* was discovered by Ch'oe Namsŏn, and he published the text in *Kyemyŏng* 啓明 (Enlightenment) volume 19, 1927. However, rencently earlier printed edition was discovered at Dalian 大連 University library in China by Ch'oe Yongch'ŏl in 1999 (Ch'oe 1999, 362). This is the earliest surviving woodblock printed editon of *Kŭmo sinhwa*, which was edited by Yun Ch'unnyŏn 尹春年 (1514-1567).

[20] The preface is dated 1378. *Jiandeng xinhua*, the only Ming Chinese novel written in literary Chinese, was modelled after Tang Chinese novels that contain wondrous and bizarre stories of strange and mysterious places, people, and things.

[21] During the reign of King Taizong 太宗 in Northern Song China, *Taiping guangji* was compiled by Li Fang 李昉, Xu Xuan 徐鉉, Hu Meng 扈蒙, and another nine scholars at the Daxue 大學 from 977 to 978 and submitted to the king in 981. Named after the reign period Taiping Xingguo 太平興國 (976-983), the title means "Extensive records of the

"Che Chŏndŭng sinhwa hu 題剪燈新話後 (After reading *Jiandeng xinhua*)" in the late fifteenth century.[22] Kim highly appreciated *Jiandeng xinhua* that the novel seemed to merely present a variety of strange meaningless stories, but reading those stories helped him be liberated from a lump of resentments that was accumulated all his life 蕩我平生磊塊臆. *Taiping guangji* appeared much earlier in the thirteenth century, as described in *Hallim pyŏlgok* 翰林別曲 (estimated between 1216–1230), composed by Confucian scholars under King Kojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259) in the Koryŏ period.[23] These two Chinese novels were popular. The concise fifty-volume version of *Taiping guangji* was published in 1462 (eighth year of King Sejo 世祖, r. 1417-1468). In 1506, when King Yŏnsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1494-1506) gave his courtiers *Jiandeng xinhua*, he expressed disagreement with the preface,[24] and ordered his envoys to China to purchase Chinese novels including *Jiandeng xinhua*.[25] The newly purchased copy of *Jiandeng xinhua* was ordered to be printed.[26] An annotated version of *Jiandeng xinhua* was edited and published by Yun Ch'unnyŏn 尹春年 (1514-1567) in 1559 during the reign of King Myŏngjong 明宗 (1545-1567). In the middle of the sixteenth century, when *Sŏl Kongch'an chŏn* was being read, *Jiandeng xinhua* and *Taiping guangji* were in circulation.

Taiping [*xingguo*] reign," but the book actually talks about strange persons and events from the Han 漢 dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) to the early Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279).

[22] *Maewŏltang sijip* 梅月堂詩集 (Poetry Collection by Maewŏltang, Mawŏltang being Kim Sisŭp's pen name) Volume 4.

[23] Akchi 樂志 (Music) 2 in *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 (History of Koryŏ Dynasty, 1449-1451) Volume 71.

[24] 12th day of fourth month in 1506 of Yŏnsan'gun Ilgi 燕山君日記 in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok.*

[25] 13th day of fourth month in 1506 of Yŏnsan'gun Ilgi in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok.*

[26] 13th day of fourth month in 1506 of Yŏnsan'gun Ilgi in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok.*

Unlike other similar stories, *Sŏl Kongch'an chŏn* was accused of carrying paranormal elements in its narrative and proscribed. In the ninth month of 1511 (sixth year of King Chungjong 中宗 r. 1506-1544), Ch'ae Su's *Sŏl Kongch'an chŏn* was banned, and the novel was ordered burnt three days later (fifth day of ninth month).[27] The proscription may have resulted from its alarming popularity because *Sŏl Kongch'an chŏn* was translated into vernacular Korean. The vernacular translation of *Sŏl Kongch'an chŏn* was renamed as *Sŏl Kongch'ani* 설공찬이. *Sŏl Kongch'ani* is the first known vernacular translation of a Korean novel that was initially written in Chinese (Yi Pokkyu 1997).

The vernacular Korean translation of *Sŏl Kongch'an chŏn* preceded the so-called first full-fledged vernacular novel, *Hong Kiltong chŏn* 洪吉童傳 by Hŏ Kyun 許筠 (1569-1618). In fact, scholars, including William Skillend, doubt the authorship of *Hong Kiltong chŏn* due to the lack of supporting textual evidence (Skillend, 1968, 242). For instance, the Korean script used in *Hong Kiltong chŏn* is hard to date back to the lifetime of Hŏ Kyun. Kan Hoyun has recently argued that *Oryunjŏn chŏn* 伍倫全傳 (1531) was the first novel written in vernacular Korean. *Oryunjŏn chŏn* is an abridged rewriting of *Wu lunquanbei ji* 五倫全備記, a play script in Ming China by Qiu Jun 丘睿 (1421-1495). *Wu lunquanbei ji* was translated into vernacular Korean to be used as a textbook for learning spoken Chinese (Kan 2010, 612-615).

1.1.2. Readership of Chinese popular novels and the rise of Korean popular novels

[27] *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*.

From the mid-sixteenth century, Chinese novels were extensively imported and translated into Korean. For example, *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* notes that *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) by Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (c. 1300-c. 1400)—a Chinese historical novel based on the history of the three kingdoms, Wei 魏, Shu 蜀, and Wu 吳, but mingled with related folk tales—was in circulation in 1569.[28] Pak Chaeyŏn asserts that the first publication of *Sanguo yanyi* was done some time between 1552 and 1569 by using copper types called *pyŏngjaja* 丙子字 (Pak 2012, 245–274).[29] The type called *pyŏngjaja* was invented in the eleventh year of King Chungjong 中宗 (1516). *Sanguo yanyi* was thus first published not long before 1569 (third year of King Sŏnjo 宣祖 r. 1567~1608) and then in 1627 (the fifth year of King Injo 仁祖 r. 1595–1649) and again during the reign of King Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1661–1720) (Kan 2010, 491). Around 1700, there were translated versions of the Chinese novel, *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 (The Investiture of the Gods, between 1569 and 1619) by Xu Zhonglin 許仲琳, an imaginative narrative of King Mu 武 of the Zhou 周 State (1046–256 BCE)'s conquest of King Zhou 紂 of the Yin 殷 State (a.k.a. Shang 商 c. 1600-1046 BCE) —but translated with the different title *Xizhou yanyi* 西周演義 (The Romance of Xizhou).[30] For instance, in "Ŏnsŏ

[28] Twentieth day of the sixth month in the second year of King Sŏnjo.

[29] The oldest Korean publication of *Sanguo yanyi* was discovered by Pak Chaeyŏn in 2010. Kim Yun'gu. "Kungnae ch'oech'o kanhaeng 'Samguk chi yŏnyi' palgyŏn 국내 최초 간행 '삼국지연의' 발견." *Yonhap News*. 18 January 2010. https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20100118193100005

[30] See Owen (1996, 771-806) for a brief introduction.

Sŏju yŏnŭi pal 諺書西周演義跋 (Epilogue to Korean-translated *Xizhou yanyi*)" of *Kyŏmchaejip* 謙齋集, Cho T'aeŏk 趙泰億 (1675-1728) related that his mother lent out her hand-copied *Fengshen yanyi* to a neighbour. One volume was lost by the neighbour, but eventually, after two years, the missing volume was found by an acquaintance. Translation of Chinese novels was actively engaged. One research shows that approximately four hundred and forty Chinese novels were transmitted into the Chosŏn society, and seventy two of those novels were translated into vernacular Korean (Min and Chŏng 2012, 160-165). The act of translating into the vernacular passages from Chinese novels, in particular, contributed to the enrichment of Korean vernacular narratives (Yi Yunsŏk 2015, 10).

The development of novels is said to have accompanied economic development. The economy of Chosŏn rapidly grew in the late seventeenth century, reaching a plateau in the early eighteenth century and declined from the early to mid-nineteenth century, particularly after the 1830's (Jun et al. 2008). From the late seventeenth century, a new taxation system called *taedongbŏp* 大同法 stimulated the growth of cities and commerce. With the new, unified taxation, tax was paid only in either rice or coins instead of various tribute commodities. Taxpayers had to sell their products to purchase rice or coins; governmental agencies, as well, needed to make transactions in the market to get necessary items. By 1708, *taedongbŏp* was in place nationally except for the two provinces that border China. The development of the market nurtured by the conditions created by the *taedongbŏp* greatly contributed to the distribution of novels.

An expansion of the commercial economy stimulated a commercial market for books and brought about a change in the mode of circulation of novels in late Chosŏn. Previously, a few Korean novels had been available for readers via individual borrowings. Lending libraries and commercial publishing appeared to meet the increased demand for

novels from customers. The owner of a lending library commissioned hand-copied novels and rented them out for a fee. Seoul was the only city that could support lending libraries in Chosŏn.[31] The first mention of a lending library appears in "Yŏsasŏsŏ 女四書序 (Preface to Four Books for Women, 1791)" by Ch'ae Chegong 蔡濟公 (1720-99). "Yŏsasŏsŏ" can be found in Ch'ae's collection of verse and prose, *Pŏnamjip* 樊巖集 (The Collected Writings of Pŏnam)[32] volume 33. Ch'ae Chaegong wrote that the number of novels available from commercial book lenders increased daily to number over one thousand. Ch'ae stated that his deceased young wife did not read any novels, while many thoughtless women were eager to read novels and neglect their house work (Yi and Chŏng 2003, 49-50). Lending libraries may have proliferated from the 1740s. *Yi puin haengnok* 李夫人行錄 (A Biography of Lady Yi)[33] by Min Iksu 閔翼洙 (1690-1742), for instance, notes that a considerable number of novels were in circulation. Yi Tŏkmu 李德懋 (1741-1793), in his *Sasojŏl* 士小節 (Ethics and Conduct, 1775), condemned the phenomenon that women, not attending to their work, read many vernacular novels and paid so much for them that they squandered their family's wealth (Yi and Chŏng 2003, 50). These records indicate that there were many lending libraries in Seoul, and many women constituted a passionate readership of popular novels in eighteenth-century Chosŏn society. Chŏng Myŏnggi, on the basis of lending library registries from about 1905, however, suggests

[31] By the late Qing (1616-1911) period in China, lending libraries were established in Beijing; In Japan, lending libraries appeared in the eighteenth century, and extremely long vernacular novels bought from the publishers were lent out (Ōtani 1996).

[32] Pŏnam was Ch'ae's pen name. *Pŏnamjip* was commissioned by King Chŏngjo in 1791, but the year of publication is not known.

[33] Lady Yi married Min Chinhu 閔鎭厚 1659-1720), eldest brother of Inhyŏn wanghu 仁顯王后, wife of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720). Min Iksu was her son.

that readership of lending library novels was society-wide but not necessarily confined to women (Chŏng Myŏnggi 2003).

Reading novels was in fact not exclusively a female pastime. Hong Chikp'il 洪直弼 (1776-1852) noted, in his *Maesan chapchi* 梅山雜識 (Miscellaneous Writings by Maesan[34]), that in 1656 (seventh year of King Hyojong), Im Yŏng 林泳 (1649-1696) asked his sisters to read him vernacular novels whenever he was bored of reading Confucian classics. Tired of frequent requests, his sisters scolded him for not being able to read vernacular texts. He then learned how to read them by himself (Kan 2010, 138). As the eldest son of renowned scholar and painter Yun Tusŏ 尹斗緖 (1668-1715), Yun Tŏkhŭi 尹德熙 (1685-1776), who supervised portrait productions of King Sukchong (1748), disclosed a keen interest in novels and betrayed that he would be an avid reader of novels. In his "Sosŏl kyŏngnamja 小說經覽者 (Browsers of Novels)" within *Subaljip* 溲勃集 (Collected Writings of No Value), one hundred and twenty-seven different novels are listed (Pak Chaeyŏn 2002). Image 1 (Appendix 2)[35] is his painting that depicts a woman reading a book, probably a vernacular Korean novel.

The import and translation of Chinese stories, the extensive reading of Chinese novels, the composition of stories in Chinese by Koreans, and the development of a market for distribution created an environment favourable to the rise of Korean novels. Below the publication of *Kuunmong* will be discussed in relation to the production and development of Korean novels.

[34] Maesan is Hong Chikp'il's pen name.

[35] All images are provided in Appendix 2.

1.1.3. *Kuunmong*'s publication in context

As discussed earlier, Chinese-style stories, such as *Kŭmo sinhwa*, *Jiandeng xinhua*, and *Oryunjŏn chŏn,* were published in the sixteenth century. Publishing revived after devastating invasions by Japan (Imjin waeran 壬辰倭亂 or the East Asian War, 1592-1598) and then by the Manchus[36] (Chŏngmyo horan 丁卯胡亂, 1627, and Pyŏngja horan 丙子胡亂, 1636-1637). From the late sixteenth through the early eighteenth century, *Sanguo yianyi*[37] was published in Korea, as discussed above, and was followed by a Chinese language version of *Kuunmong* (1725). *Kuunmong* was one of the early published native novels. The time was the 1720s, and the place was Naju, a city close to Chŏnju, in the southwest. Naju was where most rice produced in the south-western part of Korea was transhipped and also a place known for active wood art and publishing, or, in other words, a place skilled in the production of woodblock printing. Chŏnju, a city not far from Naju, was second to Seoul in its commercial publishing activity in late Chosŏn. It is no surprise, then, that Naju was the place where the Chinese edition of *Kuunmong* was first published in 1725. This 1725 edition is the earliest datable *Kuunmong* edition.

Publication of novels written in vernacular Korean followed, and major publishing places were Hanyang 漢陽 (present day Seoul), Chŏnju 全州, and Ansŏng 安城. It was from early nineteenth century in Hanyang; from mid nineteenth century in Chŏnju; and from late nineteenth century in Ansŏng (Yi Yunsŏk 2016, 95). *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn* 林慶業傳 (The Story of Im Kyŏngŏp), a vernacular Korean novel, for instance, was published in

[36] The Manchu established Qing China (1636~1912).

[37] *Sanguo Yanyi* will be further discussed in detail in 3.2. "Folding screens in Korea that depict *Sanguo yanyi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms)."

1780 in Hanyang.[38] Most of the extant Korean novels published in Chŏnju are difficult to date or are dated only to the twentieth century with the exception of a few books such as *Pyŏrwŏlponggi* 별월봉기 (Another Record of Mountain Wŏlpong) of 1823,[39] *Cho Ung chŏn* 조웅전 (The Story of Cho Ung) of 1857, and *Kuunmong* of 1862.[40] Sometimes novels were printed elsewhere than these centres. In his *Ŏnp'ae* 諺稗 (Vernacular Korean Stories), Yi Ok 李鈺 (1760-1815) mentions another vernacular Korean novel *So Taesŏng chŏn* 소대성전 (The Story of So Taesŏng) published in Hapch'ŏn 陜川 in 1800 (Yi Ok 2001, 82).

The debate surrounding the place of publication for *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn* (1780)[41] gives us a glimpse of the publishing environment in Chosŏn, particularly about the woodblock printing that required a skilful cutter's work. As publishing was mostly woodblock printing, hiring a skilled cutter was essential. Movable metal type had been developed and used to print *Kogŭm yemun* 古今禮文 (Writings of Ritual from Past and Present) in 1234 and *Paegun hwasang ch'orok puljo chikchi simch'e yojŏl* 白雲和尙抄錄佛祖直指心體要節 (Anthology of Great Buddhist Priests' Zen Teachings) in 1377, earlier

[38] Whether this 1780 *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn* was published in Seoul or Chŏnju is still debated. This will be discussed in the following paragraph.

[39] *Pyŏrwŏlponggi* is the oldest, attested Chŏnju-published vernacular novel. Only forty-eight chapters of the second volume out of two volumes are extant. *Pyŏrwŏlponggi* is an adaptation of the eleventh episode *Su Zhixian luoshan zaihe* 蘇知縣羅衫再合 (Su Zhixian Recognizing Silk Robes of his Parents) of *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言 (Stories to Caution the World) by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1575-1645).

[40] The 1862 edition of *Kuunmong* will be examined along with other editions including the 1725 edition in the following Chapter Two: Textual reception of *Kuunmong*.

[41] This version of *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn* is at the Yonsei University Library in Seoul.

than the Gutenberg Bible of 1455, but in Korea movable type was rarely used except for government printing. Whether this 1780 *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn* was published in Seoul or Chŏnju is still debated. While its form and content are similar to those of Chŏnju publications, the Kyŏnggi[42] area was mentioned in the publishing details. Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl argues that even if it was published in Seoul, it was made by a Chŏnju-based publisher with an itinerant woodblock cutter (Chŏng 2008, 158).

The possibility of travelling woodblock cutters was suggested by Chŏng in reference to the cutter, Sŏ Pong'un 徐鳳雲. Sŏ is the only woodblock cutter whose name is known; his name was written in a Chŏnju-published *Cho Ung chŏn* (1857). This woodblock cutter is the one who also made *Yukcho taesabŏp podan-kyŏng* 六祖大師法寶壇經 (The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch) by Haenin Temple in Hapchŏn (Kim Sangho 1990). Sŏ may have travelled from Hapchŏn to Chŏnju for publishing. Nevertheless, Sŏ may not be the one who cut the woodblocks for *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn*. However, Chŏng's suggestion for the existence of travelling woodblock cutters is noteworthy. Skilled craftsmen in the Chosŏn era, for example, ironsmiths, often travelled from one region to another to find customers, rather than maintained a shop in one place (Yi Yŏnghun 2016, 436-437).

The growth of such a publishing environment, in conjunction with market demand, made possible the publication of a Chinese version of *Kuunmong* in 1725. The 1725 edition of *Kuunmong* was a harbinger that foreshadowed the coming of more publications of popular novels that entertained a wide range of audiences in late Chosŏn society.

[42] Kyŏnggi refers to the province which includes the city of Seoul.

1.1.4. Enjoyment of popular novels in multiple ways

The enjoyment of popular novels in traditional Korea was not just for reading but also for producing the reader's own version of the text. As discussed, hand-copying was the main method of making a personal copy; thus it was often the case that numerous varied versions of one popular novel were in circulation. The engagement of hand-copying may have been part of performing calligraphy practice or learning Korean vernacular scripts. The oldest Korean edition of the Kuunmong text at the Kyujanggak Library may be a good example of someone performing calligraphy practice, as it seems to display the elegant hand of a royal court lady. Hand-copying practice further extended to creative activity. A copyist usually changed the narrative to a certain degree for reasons. Sometimes it may have been done to increase the amusing elements in the narrative, but sometimes changes were orchestrated for educational purposes. When women from *yangban* Confucian families, for instance, were copying popular novels such as *Kuunmong* and *Sukhyang chŏn* 淑香傳, success as a Confucian scholar and conflicts involved in the marriage were proportionally re-adjusted to make the protagonist, Soyu or Sukhyang, an exemplary figure in upholding Confucian ideals (Kim Chaeung 2018, 329-333)

In the Chosŏn era, more importantly, reading written texts aloud was a common practice,[43] and it was even when texts were read personally.The text needed to be understood verbally. Popular novels, such as *Kuunmong*, were probably read out by a

[43] This phenomenon was not exclusive to the Chosŏn readership. For instance, in eighteenth-century England, various texts were read aloud in social gatherings at the homes of middle-class families. For more details, see *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-century Home* (2018) by Abigail Williams.

reader; we know this from various sources. For instance, Yi Manbu 李萬敷 (1664-1732), in his *Siksan sŏnsaeng sokchip* 息山先生續集 (A Sequel to Collected Writings by Siksan[44]), told an episode related to his great grandfather. Sometime between 1632 and 1634, his sister-in-law was scolded for reading out a vernacular novel during the mourning period for her mother-in-law.[45] Elderly parents often enjoyed hearing their sons and daughters reading stories aloud. King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1694-1776) often ordered one of his attendants to read vernacular novels to comfort himself when he was ill.[46] The king also knew of *Kuunmong* and expressed his highly positive evaluation of the novel to his courtiers,[47] although he was oblivious of the authorship of the narrative.[48] Until the early twentieth century, recitation of popular stories was performed as a night-time leisure activity at large. It was common that people gathered at their neighbourhood reciter's house to listen to traditional popular novels. More importantly, popular novels were often performed by *chŏn'gisu* 傳奇叟, a professional reciter to illiterate commoners, in the market for a small fee. The *chŏngisu* could recite from his own memory, as described in

[44] Sicksan is Yi Manbu's pen name.

[45] This episode is described in the entry entitled "高祖考觀察使贈吏曹判書府君遺事" in the volume 8 of the *Siksan sŏnsaeng sokchip*.

[46] *Sŭjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 (The Daily Records of Royal Secretariat of Chosŏn Dynasty, 1623-1910) for 27th day of the sixth month in 1746.

[47] *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* for 25th day of the twelfth month in 1763.

[48] *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* for 15th day of the third month in 1751 and also for 11th day of the seventh month in 1761.

Cho Susam 趙秀三 (1762-1849)'s *Ch'ujaejip* 秋齋集 (Collected Writings by Ch'ujae[49]), but also dramatise from books.[50]

The place for a performance was often at the local tobacco store. Yi Ok noted *So Taesŏng chŏn* as discussed above. He then stated, "Isn't the novel what a person, usually waving a fan, read to people at the tobacco store?" Image 2 by Kim Hongdo 金弘道 (1745 ~ 1806?) depicts a performance at the tobacco store. A man at the bottom left in the image, holding a fan in his right hand, dramatizes a story from a book. A man leaning toward the performer at the top right is most attentively listening to the story. This was the way in which popular novels became widely known to audiences regardless of their social standing and literacy.

Popular novels were heterogeneous compositions, i.e., a mixture of various forms of verse and prose. When being read out by a professional performer, poetry and prose were probably rendered in different styles to create theatrical effects for a performance. The professional performer often stopped reciting at important moments to increase suspense and asked for money to continue the story as Cho Susam mentions.[51] Ma Sŏngrin 馬聖麟 (1727-1798), in his *P'yŏngsaeng urak ch'onnok* 平生憂樂總錄 (Complete Record of Worries and Joys in my Whole Life),[52] commented that listening to the story was more

[49] Ch'ujae is Cho Susam's pen name.

[50] "傳奇叟" from "Sigii 詩紀異 (Verse of telling strange episodes)" in the volume 7 of *Ch'ujaejip*.

[51] 忽默而無聲 人欲聽其下回 爭以錢投之曰 此乃邀錢法云 from "傳奇叟" from "Sigii 詩紀異 (Verse of telling strange episodes)" in the volume 7 of *Ch'ujaejip*.

[52] In the year of ŭlhae chapter of *P'yŏngsaeng urak ch'onnok.* Ma Sŏngrin's chronology of his life *P'yŏngsaeng urak ch'onnok* was attached as a supplement to *Anhwadang sajip* 安和堂私集 (Personal Collection of Anhwadang, Anhwadang being Ma's pen name).

enjoyable than female entertainers' performances 誦而言之 其滋味猶勝於妓樂. When a story was so dramatically presented, the audience would sometimes fail to realise its fictionality. Sim Nosung 沈魯崇 (1762~1837), in his *Namchŏn Illok* 南遷日錄, wrote that a listener became so upset when he heard that the protagonist Im Kyŏngŏp was framed wrongly that he killed the performer with his tobacco-cutting knife (Kan 2010, 119). A similar mishap was recorded in the entry for the 10th day of the eighth month in 1790 (fourteenth year of King Chŏngjo) in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok.*[53]

For this reason, "readers" and "audience" may be interchangeably used to mean roughly the same thing. This interchangeability should be kept in mind, because Koreans before the twentieth century were exposed to a particular media ecology where multimodality of cultural activities was strong. Theatrical delivery of written text just showcases a media ecology where cultural activities were performed in the late Chosŏn. In conveying a cultural work, different modes of communications were deployed to express an intended message to the audience. Audiences were thus accustomed to seeing poetry and calligraphy mixed into painting, various modes of writing in one piece of work, and a performance of music, sound, and literature combined.

One example of multimodal cultural work is a painting with a poem entitled *Masang ch'ŏngaeng* 馬上聽鶯 (Listening to Nightingales While on Horseback) (Image 3) by Kim Hongdo 金弘道 (1745-1806?). The message of the poem resounds through what is

[53] The tradition of *chŏgisu* is still alive in Korea. Chŏng Kyuhyŏn is designated as Intangible Cultural Property no. 39 of Ch'ungnam Province as a professional story performer.

depicted in the painting. The poem may reflect the thoughts of the man on horseback looking at willow trees:

佳人花底簧千舌

Like a beautiful woman beneath the blossoms blowing a thousand melodious pipes,

韻士樽前柑一雙

Like a tasteful scholar placing a brace of mandarin oranges in front of a wine jar,

歷亂金梭楊柳崖

The disorderly golden loom of the riverbank willow

惹烟和雨織春江

takes the mist and rain and weaves a spring river.

The relation that the novel *Kuunmong* held with a good number of visual presentations reflected this prevailing way in which traditional Korean cultural activities were performed. That is, stories were often vocalized to groups, and paintings often contained poetry and calligraphy, while art forms were integrated to create images and stories.

1.1.5. Kim Manjung's *Kuunmong*

Kim Manjung's Family

Kim's *pon'gwan* 本貫 (the origin of his Kim's clan) is Kwangsan 光山; his *ho* 號 (pen name) is Sŏp'o 西浦; and his *cha* 子 (courtesy name) is Chungsuk 重叔. The Kwangsan Kim clan was one of the big three families of the *noron* 老論 (Old Doctrine) faction along with Min Yŏhŭng 閔驪興 and Kim Chŏngp'ung 金淸風. The *noron* faction

was one of the four factions active in late Chosŏn. As Neo-Confucian ideology penetrated society and political conflict emerged over staffing, the different schools initially caused by discrepancies in interpretations of key Confucian ideas such as *li* and *ki*, intensified. Strong relations of disciples with their masters and teachers in the various academies that appeared from the early sixteenth century led to different groups forming oppositional factions for political gain, i.e., competition over jobs that broke into open factional conflict from 1575 onwards.

Factional divisions began from interpretive differences over metaphysical questions between influential scholars such as Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570), Ki Taesŭng 奇大升 (1527-1572), Sŏng Hon 成渾 (1535-1598), and Yi I 李珥 (1536-1584). These scholars engaged in the Four-Seven Debate that contributed to the formulation of Chosŏn Neo-Confucianism. They inherited a fundamental assumption from Chinese philosophy that linked the mind of Heaven with the mind of humans, and they elaborated the nature of the human mind in an innovative fashion. The first debate (1559-1566) was between Yi Hwang and Ki Taesŭng; the second debate (1572-1578) between Sŏng Hon and Yi I. The "Four" referred to the Four Beginnings that had been identified by Mencius as commiseration, modesty and deference, shame and dislike, and approving and disapproving; the "Seven" referred to the Seven Emotions as addressed in *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites):[54] desire, hate, love, fear, grief, anger, and joy (Kalton 1994). Yi Hwang's position, advocated later by Sŏng Hon, argued that the Four Beginnings arose

[54] In *Liji*, rituals of Zhou (1046-256 BCE)—an ancient Chinese dynasty that was revered as the ideal era initially by Confucius—were elaborated. The mastermind of Chosŏn state-craft, Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 (1342-1398), consulted what was written in *Liji* in his admiration of that classical age of China.

from *li* (principle), whereas the Seven Emotions from *ki* (material force). This argument creates a dualism between *li* and *ki* or between rationality and emotions. Ki Taesŭng, followed by Yi I, contested Yi Hwang's argument and asserted that the relation of *li* with *ki* is mutual dependence rather than *li* taking precedence over *ki* in human nature (Kŭm 1999, 95-101). This argument insists on a unified field that encompasses rationality and emotions, without clear distinctions. The different positions put different relative emphases on thought and action. The followers of Yi Hwang, known as *tongin* 東人 (Easterners), split further into *pugin* 北人 (Northerners) and *namin* 南人 (Southerners). Disciples of Yi I formed the *sŏin* 西人 (Westerners) that later was split into the *noron* 老論 (Old Doctrine) and *soron* 小論 (Young Doctrine) factions.

The factions competed for political power from 1575 onwards, and the failure by any faction led to its members' withdrawal from the cabinet. Since the factions rarely diverged greatly on government policy issues, their competition ran towards the finer points of ritual practice. Rituals were not trivial matters, as they indicated the relative statuses of in-law clans and royal sibling groups, and generally governed symbolic power configurations at the court. Finally, the proper practice of rituals was considered a sign of civilization in the eyes of the wider world, as Korean affairs were reported to the Chinese throne. But, the debates could be vicious and uncompromising.

For example, the First and Second Rite Debates between the *namin* faction and the *sŏin* faction determined their respective political fortunes and exemplifies how Neo-Confucian rituals were significant as a signal confirming one's status in relation to the king. The *sŏin* faction won in the First Rites Debate in 1659 (the first year of King Hyŏnjong 顯宗). The debate was over the question of setting the mourning period for

Queen Changryŏl 莊烈王后 (King Injo 仁祖, r. 1623-1649's wife) for King Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649-1659), King Injo's successor. The debate was over how long the Queen should wear funeral garments for King Hyojong. According to Zhu Xi's *Chuja karye* (Zhu Xi's Domestic Rituals), a mother wears mourning clothes for three years on her eldest son's death; for one year for other children. King Hyojong was not the eldest son, but he had succeeded to the throne. The *sŏin*, following Zhu Xi, argued that the queen should wear mourning for one year, whereas the *namin* proposed three years in consideration of the status of King Hyojong: the king should be mourned differently from others. The *sŏin* were victorious, because King Hyŏnjong settled the question by agreeing to one year as stipulated in *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典 (Great Code of National Governance, 1475) that every son's death is mourned for one year. However, the *sŏin* were defeated in the Second Rites Debate in 1674 (the 15th year of the reign of King Hyŏnjong) again on a decision about the length of a mourning period. This time, it was how long one queen should wear mourning for another queen. On this occasion, King Hyŏnjong decided against the *sŏin* faction and in favour of the *namin* faction. The Kim Manjung family dominated the *sŏin* faction and suffered as a result. These sorts of factional struggles and factional struggle against kings shaped the political scene in which Kim Manjung lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century and wrote *Kuunmong*.

Kim Manjung's family was known for scholarly achievements and loyalty to the king. Kim's great grandfather taught Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607-1689), the head of the *sŏin* faction. Kim Manjung's father fought to the death to secure the safety of King Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623~1649) during a Manchu invasion before Kim was born. Kim's mother's family was related by marriage to King Injo, and her great grandfather had served as *Yŏngŭijŏng* 領議政 (Chief State Councillor). Kim Manjung's childhood teacher was his mother, who

taught him *Xiaoxue* 小學 (Elementary Learning, a Confucian primer aimed mainly at children) by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), *Shilüe* 史略 (Concise History)[55] by Ceng Xianzhi 曾先之,[56] and a collection of Tang poetry 唐詩.[57] She was strict in disciplining her children. Kim was uncle of the first queen to King Sukjong (r. 1674-1720), since a daughter of Kim's elder brother Kim Man'gi 金萬基 became the queen.

Kim passed the *munkwa* 文科 (higher civil service examination) in 1665 and began his political career of ups and downs that culminated with appointments as *Taesahŏn* 大司憲 (Inspector-General) in 1683 and *Taejehak* 大提學 (Director) of both Yemungwan 藝文館 (Office of Royal Decrees) and Hongmungwan 弘文館 (Office of Special Counsellors) in 1686. However, from 1687, Kim became a victim in the political turmoil brought about by King Sukchong's scandalous love affair toward his concubine Lady Chang 禧嬪張氏. King Sukchong divorced Queen Inhyŏn 仁顯王后 and married Lady Chang in 1689 after Lady Chang gave birth to a long-awaited son in 1688. The king was condemned for his breach of Confucian ethics, because the much-respected Queen Inhyŏn was removed from the royal family and the lowly Lady Chang, who was not considered socially exalted enough to be a queen was elevated, which meant that her son,

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[55] Its full name is *Shiba shilüe* 十八史略 that summarise eighteen different Chinese historical writings including *Shiji* 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-87BCE).

[56] He is a scholar between late Southern Song dynasty 南宋 and early Yuan dynasty 元

[57] Children in late Chosŏn usually began their learning by reading *Xiaoxue* and *Shilüe*. When Hong Taeyong 洪大容 (1731-1783) went to Beijing and met Yan Cheng 嚴誠 in 1765, for example, replying to his question of what children in Chosŏn read, said that they read *Qianziwen* 千字文 (a beginner's Chinese textbook containing thousand Chinese characters by Zhou Xingxi 周興嗣, a scholar from Liang dynasty 梁 (502–557)) followed by *Shilüe*, *Xiaoxue*, and then Chinese Classics (Sipp'alsaryak, Han'guk minjok taebaekkwa sajŏn; *Yŏn'gi* 燕記 (Travelogue to Beijing) by Hong Taeyong).

the child of a low-class woman, would become the Crown Prince.[58] Until the king's remarriage to Queen Inhyŏn and the demotion of Lady Chang in 1694 when the *sŏin* faction was restored to political power, a significant number of *sŏin* politicians, including Kim Manjung were exiled, if not executed. Kim was exiled to Sŏnch'ŏn from 1687 to 1688 and again to Namhae from 1689 until he died in 1692. His *Sassi namjŏnggi* 謝氏南征記 (Record of Lady Sa's Southward Journey, 1692) relates a story of the moral corruption of the Yu family set in Ming China that alludes to King Sukchong's love affairs. Kim's *Kuunmong* was written during his exile in Sŏnch'ŏn.

The Story of *Kuunmong* in Kim Manjung's life

The life of Kim Manjung exemplifies the life of a leading Confucian scholar in the seventeenth century, some several centuries after the beginning of the state, when Neo-Confucian ideology and politics were well entrenched, but Buddhism was still a living religion. It was not rare that educated people read non-Confucian texts, but Kim's reading materials were broad: Buddhism, Daoism, mathematics, music, astrology, geology, medicine, and divination (Chŏng Kyubok 2015, 11). He had knowledge of Buddhist texts, such as the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Platform Sutra*, and the *Vimalakiritinirdesa Sutra* (Bantly 1996, viii). He also associated with Buddhist monks in his exile in Sŏnch'ŏn, P'yŏng'an province (present-day North Korea).

Kim composed *Kuunmong* in Sŏnch'ŏn sometime after the 25th day of the ninth month of 1687, when he wrote a Chinese seven-character quatrain about missing his

[58] Lady Chang was from a non-aristocratic family where wealth was achieved from the foreign trade. Her clan sought political power through marriage with the royal family (Hwang 2017, 82-83).

mother on her birthday. This is attested to in *Sŏp'o yŏnbo* 西浦年譜 (Kim Manjung's Chronology). After quoting the poem to his mother, he states,

> It is sad to think that my mother would miss her dead son (Kim's brother Man'gi, who died in the third month of 1687) and her alive but banished son (Kim Manjung). I sent her a book to alleviate her sadness. The book relates that all glorious life is nothing but a dream. I made my pen name Sŏp'o, named after my place of exile (Kim, Ch'oe, and Chŏng 1992, 227).

Kuunmong may reflect Kim's personal frustration with Neo-Confucian success and hold out consolation through Buddhism. A successful scholar-official, Kim Manjung, ended up being a victim of the king's whim and factional rivalry. Kim may have been contemplating Neo-Confucian values of proper behaviour designed to create social harmony, became dejected at his exile, and then leaned toward the teachings of Buddhism, where he thought he would be liberated from the turmoil of human life. In contrast to Chinese poetry, which functioned as a means for public engagement as well as for expressing personal feeling, a novel was a form of writing that allowed the author to be less bound to the social norm in the choice of subject and in the range of story. For this reason, a novel was fitting to depict Kim's agony and question his pursuit of a statesman's career that had resulted in banishment. The Confucian scholar Soyu may be a character who vicariously fulfills Kim's unattainable goal of achieving the utmost success in his political career in addition to making his family happy. The basic Neo-Confucian view was that a human being disciplines himself; then maintains the stability and happiness of his family; then achieves a well-governed state. Finally, the world comes under control. Soyu's life represents all the possible accomplishments of a Confucian scholar.

However, considering that Kim was knowledgeable of Buddhist teachings, rather than simply opposing Confucian ideals to Buddhism, Kim's *Kuunmong* demonstrates, through Soyu as a reincarnation of the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin, the "awakening" of Mahayana religion: there is no essence in anything and thus there is no essential difference between the life of Sŏngjin the monk and that of Soyu the Confucian statesman. In other words, the awakening to emptiness, that everything is illusion, is the most important wisdom, and thus both lives are acknowledged.

Beside teachings from Buddhism, the value juxtaposition of a dream world and a real world was commonly known to the educated Koreans. One of the most significant interpreters of Daoism, Zhuangzi 莊子 or Zhuang Zou 莊周 (369-286 BCE) had long ago posed this juxtaposition. Zhuangzi's teachings greatly influenced the development of Chinese Buddhism. For example, there is a famous short episode in *Zhuangzi*, one of the definitive texts of Daoism. In the last chapter of the miscellany (chapters 23-33) that followed the inner books (chapters 1-7) and the outer books (chapters 8-22), Zhuangzi has a dream that he is a butterfly and happy about himself not knowing that he is a man. Awakened, he sees that he is a man, but then he wonders whether it was the man who dreamt that he became a butterfly or was it the butterfly that dreamt that it became a man. Here, Zhuangzi plays with the relativity of perspective. Life is just a constant stream of the transformations of the Dao 道 (Way): is anything better or worse than any other thing? Whether or not it was a dream or real life ceases to have any significance.

Nackgrounds and motifs of *Kuunmong*

The story of *Kuunmong* is set in ninth-century Tang China (618–907). Tang developed a successful form of government and administration. Emperor Taizong 太宗

(626-649) expanded the regularized civil service examination system that was used in the preceding Sui dynasty (581-618). Officials were selected for their achievements in the examinations, which were designed to test applicants' knowledge of classics and writing skills. Literature, most importantly poetry, and other arts flourished. For instance, regulated verse (*lüshi* 律詩, composed of eight lines) and an abbreviated, truncated verse (*jueju* 絶句, quatrain) were introduced and became widely popular. The peak of Tang was in the early eighth century before the An Lushan Rebellion (known in Chinese historiography as the An-Shi Rebellion 安史之亂, 755-763). By the late ninth century, the Tang government became weak, and rebellions occurred that finally brought the dynasty down in 907.

Kuunmong is not an actual representation of Tang society, but generally reflects Tang society and its literary culture, in particular, the use of civil service examinations to select officials and the wide-spread practice of poetry composition on various occasions. The reason why Tang was chosen for the narrative of *Kuunmong* among other Chinese dynasties may be the fact that Tang was known as an open society that allowed more relative intellectual and religious freedom. Compared to the succeeding Song dynasty (960–1279), during which Neo-Confucian ideology was developed, Tang society embraced a more classical form of Confucianism that was much less ideologically exclusive and did not yet dismiss other schools and scholarship, including Buddhism and Daoism. The Tang royal court patronised Buddhism and Daoism. In the Kuunmong narrative, similarly to Tang society, Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism exist side by side: we see good relations among the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin 性眞 and his Master Yukkwan 六觀大師, with the Daoist immortal Lady Wi 魏夫人 and her eight fairies, and

the Confucian scholar Soyu 少游.[59] Tang society was welcoming to foreigners and foreign culture as well. Koreans and Japanese, as well as Turks, Persians, Sogdians, and Christians travelled to Chang'an 長安, the capital of Tang, and studied there. Tang culture inspired the first states in Korea and Japan. The revered progenitor of Chinese studies in Korea, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (857 ~-?) studied and worked as an official in Tang China.

Kuunmong is in the tradition of the dream narrative that first emerged in Six Dynasties China (220–589), notably in *Soushenji* 搜神記 (In Search of the Supernatural), a collection of strange happenings compiled by Gan Bao 干寶 in the fourth century. Dream narratives were more popular in the Tang era than at other times (Cho 2003, xiv). In Korea, many dream stories were written before *Kuunmong*. After the East Asian War, when Japan invaded Korea in 1592-1598 in its effort to conquer China, several vivid dream stories about war experiences appeared that seemed to be an attempt to cope with trauma (Haboush 2003). However, *Kuunmong* is the full-fledged lengthy fictional narrative and ushered in a group of novel with the title ending in *mong* 夢 (dream), i.e., *mongtcharyu sosŏl* 夢字類 小說. The role of dream motif noted in *Kuunmong* is, nevertheless, unmatched while its sophisticated use was rarely activated in other

[59] Here, just for convenience, names are presented in Chinese characters because the Korean transliteration of Chinese names in vernacular versions of *Kuunmong* varies, sometimes even in the same edition. In addition, the pronunciation of names does not follow what it would be in Mandarin Chinese. This is because Koreans have kept an archaic style of Chinese pronunciation that diverges from the contemporaneous Chinese pronunciation. *Kuunmong* as a fictional narrative was written originally for the Korean audience. In the vernacular version of *Kuunmong*, thus, proper names, including those of characters, were transliterated into Korean pronunciations of Chinese logographs, for instance, Sŏngjin 性眞 as 셩진, Master Yukkwan 六觀大師 as 뉵관대 ᄉᆞ, Lady Wi 魏夫人 as 위부인, and Soyu 少游 as 쇼유.

mongtcharyu sosŏl (Sŏng 1971). The dream motif in *Kuunmong* serves more than just as a literary device of setting the narrative in a dream. As discussed above, Soyu's life, which unfolds in a dream, is not just contrasted with Sŏngjin's world but also embraces it to convey Mahayana Buddhist principles.

Criticisms of *Kuunmong* have been both traditional and contemporary. The hero Soyu (楊)少游 has been criticized as an unfilial son, who abandoned Confucian ethics to wed without the approval of his parents (Yŏ 1995). In more contemporary terms, the hero has been attacked for his womanizing. Soyu married eight women, including two princesses. The eight women's social statuses and their expertise are all different. Princess Nanyang 蘭陽公主, otherwise known as Yi Sohwa 李簫和, is a younger sister of the Emperor. Chin Ch'aebong 秦彩鳳, who composes poetry well, is from a local aristocratic family, whereas Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae 鄭瓊貝, a model woman in every aspect, is the daughter of a prestigious aristocrat in the capital Changan (Ch. Chang'an) and later becomes Princess Yŏngyang 英陽公主. Kye Sŏmwŏl 桂蟾月 is a female entertainer with a cultivated taste in poetry, who lives in Nagyang (present day Luoyang), the second biggest city next to the capital. Chŏk Kyŏnghong 狄驚鴻, famous for her beauty, one of three best female entertainers along with Kye Sŏmwŏl, grew up in a northern remote village. Sim Yoyŏn 沈梟煙, who is good at swordsmanship, is from a border village. Ka Ch'unun 賈春雲 is Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae's maid, and Paek Nŭngp'a 白凌波 is a daughter of the Dragon King of the Sea.

From our current gender-equality point of view, accusations of womanizing and polygamy are easy to make. In some editions of *Kuunmong* that were circulated in southern areas, compared to those in the capital, heroic aspects of the protagonist Soyu

were highlighted, whereas the roles of women characters who engaged in the development of the narrative were played down (Ŏm T'aeung 2014, 158). More recently, however, positive interpretations of the women characters in *Kuunmong* have increased. On the one hand, considering the general poverty among women in seventeenth-century Korea, the well-to-do lifestyles enjoyed by the eight women in *Kuunmong* was probably attractive to most audiences at the time, including aristocrats. The depictions of luxury were beyond the dreams of most people. On the other hand, the eight women were, by no means, weak characters. The Buddhist monk Sŏngjin and, more often, the Confucian minister, Soyu, one in the same person, was the target for their ridicule, and the hero almost always lost to them in the game of wits. Women in *Kuunmong* are depicted as wise characters who know how to maximize the benefits of their situation (Kim Munhŭi, 2005).

1.2. Summary of scholarship on *Kuunmong*

Kuunmong has been one of the few major works, next to *Ch'unhyang chŏn* 春香傳 (Tale of Ch'unhyang), which attracted scholarly interest from early on. Kim T'aejun, an early pioneer of modern scholarship on Korean literature, recognizes *Kuunmong* as an important work to address in his *Chosŏn sosŏlsa* 조선소설사 (1933) (History of the Korean novel), the first book in modern times on the history of Korean novels. Kim changed his view on *Kuunmong* in his revised *Chosŏn sosŏlsa* in 1939 and presented positive comments on *Kuunmong* by discarding the diatribe he wrote in his 1933 edition on the backward, medieval elements in *Kuunmong*. Kim's revised *Chosŏn sosŏlsa* has been a foundational work that defined the scope of research on Korean novels ever since the 1930's, his view on *Kuunmong* included.

In 1955, Yi Kawŏn edited and annotated *Kuunmong*, and his critique on *Kuunmong* also paved the way for later research. The first modern study of *Kuunmong* was published by Chŏng Kyubok in 1974, followed by *Kuunmong wŏnjŏn yŏn'gu* in 1977. Kim Yŏlkyu's *Kim Manjung yŏn'gu* was published in 1983 as a collection of biographical research on the author and offers literary criticism on *Kuunmong* (Kim 1983). Starting with biographical and philological approaches to the text, researchers have debated Kim Manjung's motivation to compose *Kuunmong*, the year of writing, and have discussed whether Kim's first manuscript of *Kuunmong* was written in Chinese or in vernacular Korean.

Kuunmong had been prized as a classical novel written in vernacular Korean since Kim T'aejun's studies in the 1930s. Over the twentieth century, thus, proofreading and annotation were done on the Kyujanggak manuscript, which is regarded as the oldest handwritten version in vernacular Korean. This undated Kyujanggak edition has been regarded as the most complete version of *Kuunmong*. Korean scholars of the early and mid-twentieth century, such as Sin Ch'aeho, Ch'oe Namsŏn, Cho Yunje, and Kim T'aejun, used this edition to promote national literature written in vernacular Korean rather than in Chinese as part of their nation-building movement beginning from the early twentieth century.

Challenging the consensus, however, Chŏng Kyubok asserted that *Kuunmong* was written first in Chinese. Among existing Chinese editions of *Kuunmong*, the *kyehae* 癸亥 (*kyehae* is the sexagenary name for the year 1803) edition[60] had been the oldest known Chinese edition. With the discovery of the *ŭlsa* 乙巳 (*ŭlsa* is the sexagenary name for the

[60] Abbreviated as the 1803 edition

year 1725) Chinese edition,[61] Chŏng argues that the Chinese editions developed from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries or from *ŭlsa* (1725) to *kyehae* (1803). Recently, the importance of the 1725 Chinese edition has been recognized, because among extant editions of *Kuunmong*, it is now considered the oldest and most complete edition and possibly one of the most widely read editions (Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl 2015).

Various other scholars have argued over potential influences from Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism (Chŏng Kyubok 1967; Kim Ilryŏl 1981; Cho Tongil 1983; Bantly 1996). The meaning of the narrative structure was also investigated by applying Karl Jung's psychoanalysis (Kim Pyŏngguk 1968). Comparative approaches to *Kuunmong* have examined the influence of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or other texts on *Kuunmong*. *Xiyuji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West)[62] has been compared with *Kuunmong* (Ch'oe Yuhak 2013). *Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* 好色一代男 (The Life of an Amorous Man, 1682)[63] is concerned with the pleasure quarters and relates the erotic adventures of its hero Yonosuke 世之介, who has also been compared with Soyu in *Kuunmong* (Someya 2004). Other texts influenced by Kuunmong—such as adaptations and rewritings—were made through the transmission and circulation of the text. *Kuullu* 九雲樓 (A Pavilion of Nine Clouds, a Chinese novel in nineteenth-century Qing dynasty) and *Kuun'gi* 九雲記 (The Record of Nine Clouds, a revision of *Kuullu* by Koreans) exist as hypertexts in relation to *Kuunmong* and have been explored by Dennis Wuerthner. *Kuullu* and *Kuun'gi* are stories

[61] Abbreviated as the 1725 edition.
[62] It is a Chinese novel from the Ming dynasty based on the actual seventh-century pilgrimage of the Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664) to India in search of sacred texts, attributed to Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (c. 1500-c.1582).
[63] It is a Japanese novel of the Edo period and the first novel by Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693)

based on and developed from *Kuunmong*, while keeping some elements from *Kuunmong* (Wuerthner 2016). In relation to similarly popular love stories, such as *Ch'unhyang chŏn* 春香傳 (The Tale of Ch'unhyang) in particular, *Kuunmong* was a story set in the imagined time and space of Tang China, while the plot of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* could only have happened in real life in eighteenth or nineteenth-century Korea (Cho Kwangguk 2015, 165). The motif of the dream in *Kuunmong* has been discussed in the context of East Asia (Eggert 1995), and the genealogy of the phrase 'nine clouds' was examined by Yu Myung In (Yu Myung In 2016).

The most relevant scholarly works for this thesis are the re-evaluations of the themes in the novel. *Kuunmong* was, for a long time, thought to have been written by Kim to awaken readers about the Buddhist teaching that all phenomena are an illusion, which is demonstrated by the hero Sŏngjin, the Buddhist monk. However, recently, Sŏngjin's reincarnation as a son to the Yang family, with the name Soyu, has become the focus instead, because the narrative of *Kuunmong* is actually about the joyous life of Soyu, as described in extensive detail, rather than the ascetic life of Sŏngjin, which is briefly presented in regards to the moment of his sudden enlightenment (Sŏl 1992). In this line of research, *Kuunmong* is thought to be a part of popular culture, in which fun elements in the narrative were more appealing than religious thoughts and teachings (Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl 2015). Soyu's life, filled with joy and success, is a good fit for popular literature created to entertain, while Sŏngjin's story only serves as a device to open and close the narrative of *Kuunmong*.

Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl asserts that the popularity of *Kuunmong* was achieved by devoted audiences, who found themselves liberated from the suffocation of the morally strict and harsh everyday environment of Chosŏn society (Chŏng 2010, 173-4). Neo-Confucianism,

the ideology adopted by the founders of Chosŏn had well penetrated into society by the time *Kuunmong* was composed and circulated. Neo-Confucian ethics imposed strict and complicated rules on all members of Chosŏn society regardless of their social status. The royal household and the *yangban* aristocrats were exposed to more intricate regulations; often women were subject to even more severe discipline.

While Chŏng's argument is addressed, however, the religious message that the Kuunmong narrative conveys is not dismissed in the current research. After all, the story unfolds as the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin's romantic adventure, which constitutes his final stage of training and eventually leads to his achievement of full religious awakening. Compared to the textual description, visual narratives of *Kuunmong* presented on folding screens tend to be arranged with significance given to selective elements in the story. A comparative analysis of text and image of Kuunmong narrative in the context of reception is the main goal of the current research. Chapter One has addressed the general literary and social context where *Kuunmong* was composed and enjoyed in late Chosŏn. Before popular illustrated literature that influenced the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* is discussed, the textual reception of the novel will be examined in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two: Textual reception of *Kuunmong*

2.1. Chinese and Korean editions of *Kuunmong*

Kim Manjung's original manuscript of *Kuunmong* did not survive. All existing editions of *Kuunmong* are examples of textual reception of the novel. They were written by anonymous writers, who often added new content or removed some part of the narrative to create their own version of *Kuunmong*. The non-abridged edition of *Kuunmong* consists of sixteen chapters. Seven important editions were selected to examine

the textual reception of *Kuunmong*. Over time, transformation as well as consistency in the composition of text is noted as it reflects ways in which *Kuunmong* was received by various audiences. Two early versions and two recent ones will be examined for the first encounter scene that opens the central narrative, as well as for some significant poetry that appears in the narrative. The first encounter of the protagonist Sŏngjin with eight fairies is instrumental in setting up the narrative of *Kuunmong*. It is the event that leads to his banishment from the Buddhist monastery and his subsequent rebirth to the Yang 楊 family in the secular world, where Soyu's (reincarnation of Sŏngjin) life as the main narrative of *Kuunmong* unfolds. Poetry is substantial in forming the narrative of *Kuunmong* and especially played an important role in making Soyu connect with his eight women. Here, three decisive poems, featured in their rendezvous occasions, will be analysed to reveal how the literary taste of Kuunmong audiences has shifted over time. Additionally, three different versions that were composed between early and recent editions will be discussed to observe a remarkable change that has occurred in the textual composition of *Kuunmong*. The reworked interpretation of religiosity marked commercially driven *Kuunmong* versions, which were mostly produced in the nineteenth century.

Among these seven editions, two early versions as well as two recent versions are as follows: the Kyujanggak library edition—an undated Korean language text (late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, handcopied mauscript)[64] and the Chinese-language 1725 edition (woodblock print),[65] as well as the Korean-language Ewha

[64] Catalogue number: ko 古 3350-91. Hereafter "Kyujanggak edition."

[65] Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl private collection. Hereafter "1725 edition."

University edition (1907, landing library copy)[66] and James Scarth Gale's English translation (1922, print). In addition, three interposed versions (woodblock prints) include these nineteenth-century texts: 1803 Chinese edition,[67] Seoul Korean edition (early nineteenth century),[68] and the Chŏnju Korean edition (1862).[69]

The Kyujanggak Korean text is regarded as the oldest surviving hand-copied manuscript, because it was written in an elegant aristocratic hand from at least the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries (Kim Pyŏngguk 2007), but we do not know whose hand. Chŏng Kyubok argues that it is earlier than any extant Chinese edition and is the manuscript that is temporally closest to the author Kim Manjung's life (Chŏng Kyubok [1974] 2010, 93). However, the oldest datable edition of the novel is the 1725 Chinese edition in a private collection. Because the language Kim Manjung used to write *Kuunmong* is still debated (Korean or Chinese), the oldest extant editions in Korean and Chinese are selected as two early versions for analysis here. Besides the difference in the languages, the way in which they were made was different. The Korean edition was made by hand copying, while the 1725 Chinese edition was printed by woodblock. Neither of them was circulated via commercial lending libraries.

Different from the Kyujanggak Korean edition and the 1725 Chinese edition, the Ewha edition was circulated through lending libraries. Until early 1900, *Kuunmong* was

[66] Catalogue number: 811.31 김 41 ㄱ D. Hereafter "Ewha edition."

[67] Catalogue number: no. han kojo 한古朝 48-4. Commonly known as the *kyehae* 癸亥 edition. The year of 1803 is called the *kyehae* in the sexagenary cycle. Hereafter "1803 edition."

[68] Commonly known as the *Kyŏngpan-pon 32 chang-pon* 경판본 32 장본.

[69] Commonly known as the *Wanp'an-pon 105 chang-pon* 완판본 105 장본.

popular among lending library customers, and at least four different versions were in circulation (Kim Yŏnghŭi 2003, 253). Korean lending libraries existed only in Seoul. In the Ewha edition (1907) that we have, volume one is from the lending library Kŭmho; volume two to four and six to ten are from the lending library Yuho. Volume five is missing. The Ewha edition is one of two extant lending library editions of *Kuunmong*. The other one is in the Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, founded in 1924, in Tokyo. The reason why the Ewha edition was selected here is because all volumes of the Tōyō Bunko, although they are from the same lending library Hangmoktong, are not dated the same year: volume one to two is from 1909 and volume four, six, and seven are from 1902. The Tōyō Bunko edition is also less complete than the Ewha edition, because volumes three and five are missing.

Along with the Ewha edition, an English translation of *Kuunmong* by James Scarth Gale (1922) was selected as one of the recent editions. Gale's translation was selected because it is the oldest foreign language edition of *Kuunmong*, and it was followed by a good number of foreign language translations, wherein two new English translations are included: Richard Rutt and Kim Chong-un (1974) and Heinz Insu Fenkl (2019). It is also important, in the context of textual reception of *kuunmong* in the early twentieth century, to examine Gale's translation for his decision to base his translation on certain versions of *Kuunmong* and for his discretion to consult which versions to complement the main version. Gale's attitude towards authorship of *Kuunmong* and hence his intention to reconstruct the original version by Kim Manjung by amassing extant versions echo what has been seen in canonization efforts of those who founded modern Korean scholarship on Korean literature.

Popularised versions were not considered in the process of canonization. However, they are the ones that were widely received by a range of audiences. These popular versions reveal how Kuunmong texts were subject to the taste of audiences in the nineteenth century and went through transformation accordingly. These versions are also temporally related to Kuunmong screens. The significance of this temporal proximity between textual and visual productions of *Kuunmong* noted in the nineteenth century will be discussed in Chapter Four. Three important versions from the nineteenth century were selected for examination: the 1803 Chinese edition,[70] the Seoul Korean version,[71] and the Chŏnju Korean version.[72]

The 1803 edition is based on the 1725 edition, the first commercial but unabridged edition of *Kuunmong*, but this early nineteenth-century version of *Kuunmong* shows what change emerged in the popular reception of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century. Remarkably, the religiously important moment where the protagonist is being led to awakening is left out of the 1803 edition. The influence of the 1803 edition is long-lasting, with this change in place (Wuerthner 2017, 46-47). It is evidenced by the fact that the 1803 edition was taken to translate into Korean as the first letterpress edition of *Kuunmong*, that is *Sinbŏn Kuunmong* 신번구운몽 (New Translation of *Kuunmong*, 1913) by Hyŏn Ŏk. This letterpress edition is regarded as the best Korean translation of the 1803 edition. Gale's translation is also evaluated as an amalgamation in which *Sinbŏn Kuunmong* was

[70] i.e., the *kyehae* 癸亥 edition.

[71] i.e., *Kyŏngpan-pon 32 chang-pon* 경판본 32 장본

[72] i.e., *Wanp'an-pon 105 chang-pon* 완판본 105 장본.

the primary text while the 1725 edition was used to complement what is missing in *Sinbŏn Kuunmong* (Yi Chinsuk 2019, 210).

In addition to the 1803 edition, two well-known popularised versions are the Seoul Korean version and the Chŏnju Korean version. Both were produced in woodblock print. Apart from Seoul, Chŏnju was the second biggest centre in the printing business in late Chosŏn. These two editions are frequently addressed as they respectively represent the trends in two major markets of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century. The Seoul Korean edition is dated approximately back to the early nineteenth century, and the Chŏnju Korean edition was printed in 1862. The Seoul woodblock print is an extensively contracted version of *Kuunmong* as it consists of only thirty two leaves with no division of chapters. The Chŏnju version is rather comprehensive as it consists of 105 leaves; the first volume containing fifty five leaves and the second volume fifty leaves. Nevertheless, in these two editions is noted that the religious theme of *Kuunmong* was similarly qualified, which is in line with what has been noted in the 1803 edition.

Below will discuss the first encounter scene and then the appearance of poetry in several rendezvous occasions for the early and recent versions to give the big picture of the reception of *Kuunmong* from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century. Further, three interposed versions of *Kuunmong* will be examined to evaluate the rendering of religiosity that affected the nature of *Kuunmong* as a popular narrative.

2.2. Encounter Scene in Chapter One from the Kuunmong story

A rather brief examination of textual reception of the novel as a counterpart to visual reception will be conducted, with a focus on the encounter scene in Chapter One. This is a signature episode of *Kuunmong* and shows consistency among different texts.

Followed by the synopsis of chapter one, several pertinent passages in four editions are discussed below. A full translation of the encounter scene in the Kyujanggak Korean edition, the 1725 Chinese edition, and the Ewha Korean edition is provided in my translations (Appendix 3), which are very literal and serve a comparative approach. The encounter scene from Gales's translation can be found, for instance, in the 1922 publication (Gale 1922, 7-10).

Chapter One

Synopsis:

Sŏngjin, aged twenty, is the best disciple at Master Yukkwan's Buddhist monastery, which is located on the Lotus Peak, in the western part of Mt. Hyŏngsan 衡山, one of the Five Sacred Mountains. The eastern part of the mountain is ruled by the Daoist immortal Lady Wi. One day, Yukkwan sends Sŏngjin to Tongjŏng Lake 洞庭湖 to pay his respects to the Dragon King, who often came to the monastery, disguised as an old man, to hear Yukkwan's sermon. Lady Wi, coincidently, on the same day, sends her eight fairies to greet the Master and give her gifts to him. At sunset, on their way back home, the fairies want to enjoy the beautiful scenery and climb the Lotus Peak. In the meantime, Sŏngjin, flushed with three cups of wine from the Dragon Palace, stops to wash his face and finds a fragrant scent coming from the upper stream. He goes up the valley with curiosity. Sŏngjin and the eight fairies meet on the bridge over the valley leading up to the Lotus Peak. They have a dispute over who should yield the way as the bridge is too narrow to allow them all to pass. The fairies insist that he take a different way to cross, because he must have some supernatural power, being a disciple of Master Yukkwan. Sŏngjin understands that they want him to pay a price to cross the bridge. With apologies for having no money as a poor

monk, he plucks a peach blossom branch and throws it toward the fairies. Four couplets of sepals turn into eight jewels. Each fairy picks up one jewel and soars up into the sky to disappear. Back at the monastery, Sŏngjin is disturbed with thoughts of beautiful fairies and begins to admire the Confucian ideal of worldly success.[73] While he is trying his best to concentrate on meditation, in the middle of the night, the Master summons him to punish him for his transgression. Sŏngjin is dismissed to the World of Shadow Spirits and meets eight fairies there. They are all sentenced to be born into the human world. Sŏngjin is born as Soyu (楊) 少游 to a poor hermit couple named Yang living in Tang China. In later chapters, Soyu goes on to meet the eight re-born fairies and becomes romantically involved with all of them.

[73] Any desire is unacceptable for a Buddhist monk. Thus, the Master summons Sŏngjin to punish him for his transgression.

Several elements in the first encounter scene for analysis from four texts will be discussed below. First, all four editions describe the five high peaks of Mt. Hyŏngsan, including the Lotus Peak, where Master Yukkwan's Buddhist monastery is located, as soaring and shrouded in clouds to the extent that they are rarely visible. Compared to Korean and Chinese editions, Gale tends to additionally insert in his translation of *Kuunmong* some elements that are related to divinity, reflecting his view as a Christian missionary. Here he describes the five peaks as being "charged with divine influences," but "divine" was not mentioned in any other edition.

Kyujanggak: When the day is other than clear, they are shrouded completely from human view.[74]
1725: These peaks are so high that clouds and mists obscure their true character. A glow of setting sunset covers half of them.[75]
Ewha: When the day is other than clear they are shrouded in an auspicious air, completely beyond human view (Volume 1, 1-2).
Gale: They are sky-tipped and majestic in appearance, with clouds on their faces and mists around their feet, and are charged with divine influences. When the day is other than clear they are shrouded completely from human view (Gale 1922, 3).

After eight fairies met the Master and gave Lady Wi's gifts to him, they decided to enjoy the beautiful scenery of the Lotus Peak rather than to go straight back home. They arrived at the stone bridge and were held up by the arresting beauty of the scenery there. The Kyujanggak and the 1725 editions as well as Gale's translation describe the springtime

[74] No page numbering.

[75] No page numbering.

scenery at the stone bridge as it exhibits a variety of flower blossoms blooming and birds singing like an orchestra in the valley with the setting sun in the background. The beautiful scenery causes people to stop and appreciate it for a while. In the Ewha edition, however, the springtime landscape is left out. Instead, the text mentions that the eight fairies come down from the peak and at the brook in the valley, they play a pebble-throwing game and float flower petals over the water. Gale renders the beauty of scenery as animated and alive with some sort of animistic power enough to hold them "spellbound." This strong adjective for the spring scenery was not used in any other editions, i.e., the Kyujanggak and the 1725 editions.

Kyujanggak: It is the third moon in the spring. The valleys were so full of all kinds of flowers that it looks like a red mist hung around there. A hundred species of birds sing like a reed instrument consisting of a number of pipes of different lengths. The spring air is relaxing.

1725: It is the third moon in the spring. All the flower buds on trees burst into bloom, and a glow of the setting sun is thickly hung all around there. It looks like a beautiful silken canopy spread around. Birds in the valley vie with one another in their singing. It is like an orchestra. The spring breeze is relaxing, and the beautiful landscape makes people linger for a while.

Ewha: (A description of the springtime landscape at the stone bridge is missing).

Gale: At last, on this happy day of the third moon they found themselves on the stone bridge that spanned the torrent.

All the flowers were in bloom; the streams beneath them sparkled with silvery brightness. There hung a tent-work of flowers and leaves like a silken canopy. The birds

vied with each other in the beautiful notes of their singing. The soft breezes awakened glad and happy memories, while the beauty of the scene held them spellbound (Gale 1922, 7).

The beautiful appearance of fairies enjoying the springtime scenery and admiring their reflections in the water at the stone bridge is described by drawing on Chinese references in older editions such as the Kyujanggak and the 1725 editions. The description of their beauty is similar, whether or not the language of the text is Chinese. Eight fairies are comparable to a beauty painted by Chu Pang (Ch. Zhou Fang) 周昉 (a Tang painter) in the Korean-language Kyujanggak edition, or a beauty by Yongmyŏn (Ch. Longmian) 龍眠 (Li Gonglin 李公麟, a Song painter) in the Chinese 1725 edition. The metonymic phrase "blue eyebrows 翠蛾," along with "red make-up 丹粧," was also adopted to refer to the beautiful appearances of fairies in both editions. In addition, the cleanness of water under the bridge that offers clear reflections of the beauties is described with another Chinese reference. The cleanliness is tantamount to that of a valuable mirror from Kwangnŭng (Ch. Guangling) 廣陵[76] that has been freshly polished. The Ewha edition provides a very brief description of their beauty with neither Chinese references nor the phrase "blue eyebrows," only mentioning that fairies liked their reflections in the water. Gale translated "blue eyebrows" into "delicate eyebrows" rather literally to describe the fairies' beauty. He additionally applies strong words such as "charmed" and "entranced" to describe how delightful it is for eight fairies to enjoy the scenery and play with their reflections in the water.

[76] A place famous for producing precious mirrors.

Kyujanggak: Eight people sat on the bridge looking down into the water. Streams from several valleys meet there to form a wide, clean pool under the bridge. It is cold and clear like a valuable mirror from Kwangnŭng (Ch. Guangling) 廣陵 that has been freshly polished. Their beautiful appearance is reflected in the water as if seen in a painting of a beauty by Chu Pang (Ch. Zhou Fang) 周昉 (a Tang painter). The eight fairies linger over their reflections with fascination. Reluctant of going, they do not realize that the sun in the mountain is about to set.

1725: Eight fairies sat in delight on the bridge looking down into the water. Streams from hundreds of valleys meet there to form a clean pool below. It is so clean and clear that it looks like a freshly polished mirror from Kwangnŭng 廣陵. Their beautiful appearance is reflected in the water as if seen in a painting of a beauty by Yongmyŏn (Ch. Longmian) 龍眠 (Li Gonglin 李公麟, a Song painter). They like their reflections, being reluctant to return home, not realizing that the sun is descending and the evening haze rises among the trees.

Ewha: They like their reflections so much that they forget to return home (Volume 1, 5).

Gale: Thus were the eight fairy messengers charmed as they sat in delight on the bridge looking down at the wonderful mirror of the streams that met and sparkled in a crystal pool below. Their delicate eyebrows and glowing bright faces shone forth, reflected in the water as if seen in a famous picture from a master's hand. They were so entranced that they had no thought of going till the sun began to descend toward the western hills and the day to darken (Gale 1922, 7).

In the meantime, Sŏngjin, flushed with three cups of wine from the Dragon Palace, stops to wash his face and finds a fragrant scent coming from the upper stream. All four editions identify the scent as a non-human agent that leads Sŏngjin to encounter eight fairies at the

stone bridge. Only in the Ewha edition, Sŏngjin readily recognizes the origin of the strange fragrance that has carried to him on the breeze, that is, fairies that have come down nearby. The other three editions, i.e., Kyujanggak, 1725, and Gale's, provide a detailed description of Sŏngjin experiencing the scent, rather than jumping to that conclusion. The tactility of the scent is such that a strange fragrance tingles his nose. Sŏngjin is wondering about what kind of the scent it is. The scent is neither from an incense burner nor the scent of any special flower (Kyujanggak). It is neither the scent of orchid nor musk nor that of any special flower (1725). It is not the perfume of orchid or musk nor that of any special flower, but something wholly new and not experienced before (Gale's). In these three editions, until Sŏngjin goes up the stream and encounters eight fairies, he thinks that the fragrance comes from strange flowers blossoming upstream in the valley. The strength of the scent is also vividly described in these editions. The scent is affective to the extent that Sŏngjin loses his consciousness or his usual self. The Kyujanggak edition mentions that the strange fragrance enters so deeply into his human marrow that he is disturbed beyond words. In the 1725 edition, the power of the scent is most elaborated. Sŏngjin is naturally disturbed and any earthly trace vanishes instantly; he seems to float in the air. It is beyond words. Gale translates that the presence of the scent seems to dissipate the soul of passion and uncleanness, and thus a purity indescribable seemed to remain. The effect of the scent is described as a sort of purification. The scent purifies the soul by emptying passion and other unclean elements. "The soul" is not commonly used in any other editions. Gale also used "mysterious" to describe the strange fragrance. In the Kyujanggak edition, Sŏngjin goes to find eight fairies in the opposite direction, downstream rather than upstream. Going upstream makes more sense because eight fairies are up the valley, and Sŏngjin approaches them from downstream.

Kyujanggak: Suddenly, a strange fragrance tingles my (Sŏngjin's) nose. It is neither the scent from an incense burner nor the scent of any special flower but enters so deeply into human marrow that I am disturbed beyond words. Sŏngjin wonders, "what strange flower has bloomed upstream? The water gives out fragrance." He puts on the robe again, arranges it neatly, and walks downstream.

1725: Suddenly, a strange fragrance tingles his (Sŏngjin's) nose. It is neither the scent of orchid nor musk nor that of any special flower. He is naturally disturbed and any earthly trace vanishes instantly. He seems to float in the air. It is beyond words. He says to himself, "what strange flowers have bloomed upstream? Their strong scent has come floating down here. I should go and find what they are." He put on the robe again, arranges it neatly, and walks upstream.

Ewha: Suddenly a strange fragrance is carried to him on the breeze. He thinks that there must be fairies coming down over there. He walks upstream (Volume 1, 6).

Gale: Thus he sat bathing his hot face, when suddenly a strange and mysterious fragrance was borne toward him, not the perfume of orchid or musk nor that of any special flower, but something wholly new and not experienced before. The soul of passion and uncleanness seemed dissipated by its presence, and a purity indescribable seemed to remain. He said to himself: "What wonderful flowers are these by the side of this brook that such sweet perfume should come floating on its wavelets? I will go and see from whence it comes." He dressed carefully, followed the course of the stream upwards (Gale 1922, 9).

The moment when Sŏnjin meets fairies at the stone bridge is similarly rendered in *Kuunmong* editions of Kyujanggak, 1725, and Gale's. As Sŏngjin approaches eight fairies, he first offers a polite and formal greeting as a Buddhist monk to them. He lays

aside his staff and joins his hands to bow. He also addresses them as bodhisattvas and introduces himself as a disciple of the Master Yukkwan at the Lotus Peak Monastery. Then, he humbly asks for them to yield the way and allow him to pass because they are sitting in the narrow bridge. It is Sŏngjin who initiates the debate over who should yield the way in these three editions. In contrast, it is the fairies who begin a conversation with Sŏngjin in the Ewha edition. Prior to their conversation, no formal greetings among them is described. Instead, fairies are "flirting" in their excitement, and Sŏngjin is so overwhelmed by their behaviour, "almost entranced," that he only begs for them to allow him to pass through, but fairies pretend not to notice him there until they speak "shyly" to him. In the Ewha edition, the non-verbal communication of the protagonists, when they encounter each other, is thus elaborated, but the other editions lose the delicate description of their attitude. In Gale's translation, several Christian references are found; for instance, Sŏngjin's pilgrim's staff, Ladies of the Fairies' Paradise, a poor priest, as well as goddesses. Sŏngjin, a Buddhist monk, is described as a poor priest and carries his pilgrim's staff. Eight fairies are from the Fairies' Paradise and addressed as goddesses. Eight heroines in *Kuunmong* are commonly translated as fairies since they were first introduced by Gale to the English audience as such.[77] However, these eight maidens are attendants to the Daoist immortal Lady Wi and thus associated with Daoism. Their name sŏnnyŏ 仙女 literally means Daoist females rather than fairies.

Kyujanggak: Eight fairies are chatting on the stone bridge and that's when they meet Sŏngjin there. Sŏngjin lays aside his staff and joins his hands to bow, saying "women bodhisattvas, I, a poor monk, am a disciple of the Master Yukkwan at the Lotus Peak

[77] Gale's legacy in the translation of *sŏnnyŏ* 仙女 is kept in "A Nine Cloud Dream" by Richard Rutt and Kim Chong-un (1974) and *The Nine Cloud Dream* by Heinz Insu Fenkl (2019).

Monastery… This stone bridge is very narrow and you women bodhisattvas are sitting here…"

1725: Eight fairies are on the stone bridge and that's when they meet Sŏngjin there. Sŏngjin lays aside his staff and joins his hands to bow, saying "women bodhisattvas, hear what a poor monk has to say. I am a disciple of Master Yukkwan at the Lotus Peak Monastery… This stone bridge is very narrow and you women bodhisattvas are all sitting here…"

Ewha: Eight fairies are sitting at the stream under the stone bridge and are enjoying looking at their reflections in the water. In an excess of mirth, they are flirting. Sŏngjin is almost entranced and begs to be allowed to proceed. While being inattentive to Sŏngjin, the fairies turn to him and say shyly, "It is said that the Great Anan[78] came across the ocean on a leaf…" (Volume 1, 7).

Gale: [Sŏngjin] found the eight fairies seated on the stone bridge so that they met suddenly face to face, he and they.

Song-jin (Sŏngjin) laid aside his pilgrim's staff and made a deep, low bow, saying: "Ladies of the Fairies' Paradise, hear what a poor priest has to say. I am a disciple of the Master Yook-kwan (Yukkwan) and live on Lotus Peak…This stone bridge is very narrow, and you goddesses being seated upon it block the way…" (126-133).

While Sŏngjin is engaged in the negotiation with fairies over who should yield the way over the bridge, he understands that he needs to pay a price to cross the bridge. Then, he plucks a peach blossom branch and throws it toward the fairies. Flowers turn into eight

[78] The Great Anan 阿難尊者, also known as Ananda, is one of ten Great Disciples of Gautama Buddha. He was a cousin and personal attendant of the Buddha and known for his erudition.

jewels, and each fairy picks up one jewel and soars up into the sky to disappear. All four editions describe the peach blossoms turning into eight radiant jewels. The 1725 edition provides the most descriptive depiction of the peach blossom and jewels. Four couples of bright red sepals turn into eight radiant jewels. The jewels are like pearls that have been just been taken out of their shells. Unlike in the Kyujanggak and the Ehwa editions, here the effect of radiant jewels is described. Their auspicious radiant light fills the ground and brightens the sky. The effect of radiant jewels is also described in Gale's translation as "shooting up to heaven." He renders eight jewels most active, and again uses "heaven," a possible reference to Christianity.

Kyujanggak: (Sŏngjin) raises his hand, plucks a peach blossom branch, and throws it toward the fairies. Eight flowers fall onto the ground and turn into eight radiant jewels.
1725: (Sŏngjin) plucks a peach blossom branch and throws it toward the fairies. Four couples of bright red sepals fall onto the ground and immediately turn into eight radiant jewels. The jewels are like pearls that have just been taken out of their shells. Their auspicious radiant light fills the ground and brightens the sky.
Ewha: Eight flowers turn into eight radiant jewels (Volume 1, 7).
Gale: At this he threw the peach blossom that he carried in his hand before them and it became four couplets of red flowers, and these again were transformed into eight jewels that filled the place with sparkling light, shooting up to heaven (Gale 1922, 10).

Sŏngjin keeps watching fairies leaving the bridge until they are lost to sight and even their traces fade away. The complete disappearance of fairies is signaled by the shadow of clouds dissolving and the fragrant wind vanishing. Then, he turns to the monastery. Four editions provide similar descriptions of this moment. In the 1725 edition, Sŏngjin's

feelings about the sudden cessation of his courting the fairies are elaborated. He is left in a daze and saddened. In Gale's translation, "In loneliness, as though he had failed of his highest hopes," is Gale's added interpretation.

Kyujanggak: Sŏngjin stands on the bridge for a long time to watch them go. Then, the shadow of clouds disappears and the fragrant wind calms. Sŏngjin leaves the stone bridge.
1725: Sŏngjin vacantly stands at the foot of the bridge, raises his head, and watches them fly into the distance. After a long while, the shadow of clouds begins to disappear and the fragrant breeze dies away. He is left in a daze. Saddened, he returns to the monastery.
Ewha: Sŏngjin stands on the bridge for a long time to watch where they go. The shadow of clouds diminishes and the fragrant wind stops (Volume 1, 8).
Gale: Song-jin (Sŏngjin) stood at the head of the bridge and watched them for a long time till they were lost in the clouds and the sweet fragrance had melted away. In loneliness, as though he had failed his highest hopes, he came back to the temple and gave his message from the Dragon King to the Master (Gale 1922, 9).

Although minute discrepancies were discussed above, the descriptions in four different texts of Sŏngjin's encounter with eight fairies (Appendix 3) do not differ much. This means that, in general, consistency in the textual description of the first encounter scene has been fairly well maintained over time. The 1725 edition, nevertheless, is most descriptive with feelings of Sŏngjin about the fairies elaborated. The Ewha edition diverges the most from the other three. Details are often left out, notably, details of the fragrant scent that leads Sŏngjin to the eight fairies. This lack of illustrative details noted in the Ewha edition points to two important but contrary aspects of an early twentieth-century lending-library edition. One is that the Ewha edition conveys the first encounter

scene as the one that is quite faithful to what has been in early editions. The other is that the Ewha edition showcases what changes have been made among popularized versions of *Kuunmong*. The latter aspect of the Ewha edition is more evident in the rendering of poetry, which will be discussed in the following section.

Gale's translation (1922) postdates the Ewha edition (1907), but its content is rather closer to early versions of *Kuunmong*. Gale's translation is similar to the 1725 Chinese edition except for his references to Christianity and occasional personal interpretations in somewhat flowery language. This is not only because Gale had his translation based on *Sinbŏn Kuunmong* (1913), a good translation of the 1803 edition, but also because he further approached early versions of *Kuunmong* and incorporated Sŏngjin's awakening scene from the 1725 edition. The 1803 edition is already what has been largely copied from the 1725 edition. Gale's preference for *Kuunmong* versions shows that he desired to reconstruct *Kuunmong* and make it approximate the lost original manuscript authored by Kim Manjung. Gale disregarded numerous popularised versions of *Kuunmong* that had been prolific in the nineteenth century.

In contrast to the rather uniformity of the first encounter scene kept in place, the rendering of poetry featured in three rendezvous scenes exhibits much more difference among the four editions. Gale's translation, in particular, reflects his consideration of an early twentieth-century English-speaking audience and demonstrates poetic liberty. Consideration of the audience's interest is as well revealed to a certain extent in the other three editions. The following examines differences in poetry presentation as an indicator for the textual reception of the novel. The differences tell us about the audiences for the respective *Kuunmong* editions. However, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, differences in the poetry literacy featured in various editions was little translated into the visual

narrative of *Kuunmong* because the Kuunmong imagery is a type of painting that rarely considered poetry.

2.3. Poetry in three rendezvous scenes from the Kuunmong story

Poems appear on a range of occasions in the novel. Poetry composition was considered not just a personal literary activity but was also practiced as a means to communicate in various social, cultural, and political contexts in traditional East Asia. That function of poetry composition is reflected in *Kuunmong*. Different types of poetry thus engaged in the course of Soyu's life journey. For instance, social gatherings at court as well as those among the educated involved poetry compositions, sometimes in a form of competition. For example, in the novel these occasions occur in Chapter 3, 7 and 11. Poems also served as a medium through which Soyu and eight women are romantically engaged (see Chapter 2, 3, and 5 in the novel). The king would write a poem to send his courtier a congratulatory note on special occasions (see Chapter 14 in the novel). Among these instances of poetry composition, poems featured in the formation of romantic relationships of Soyu and three women will be discussed below. These are poems from three rendezvous scenes where Soyu meets with Ch'aebong, Sŏmwŏl, and Ch'unun, that is, three women among the eight fairies reincarnated as women.[79] Poems from the rendezvous with Ch'aebong and Sŏmwŏl were composed by Soyu. A short verse that leads Soyu to meet Ch'unun is her poem. My literal translation of the 1725 Chinese edition, the Kyujanggak Korean edition, and the Ewha Korean edition is below, and Gale's text is provided as well.

[79] The textual description of these rendezvous episodes, along with other episodes, is provided in Appendix 3.

2.3.1. The willow poem

First, Soyu's poems dedicated to a willow tree in the Ch'aebong episode are presented almost unchanged both in the 1725 edition (in Chinese) and the Kyujanggak edition (in vernacular Korean). In other words, these two poems describing willow trees in the 1725 editions are a faithful translation of those in the Kyujanggak edition. The Ewha Korean edition lacks the poem in the episode of Ch'aebong. Gale's translation of the willow poem by Soyu, however, is remarkably different. The content largely diverges from the 1725 Chinese and the Kyujanggak Korean editions, while the first line of the first poem and the first two lines of the second poem are kept unchanged from early editions.

Two willow tree poems by Soyu:

The 1725 Chinese text–

楊柳青如織

長條拂畵樓.

願君勤種意,

此樹最風流.

楊柳何青青,

長條拂綺檻.

願君莫漫折,

此樹最多情.

My translation –

Of a lush willow tree hanging over like fabric,

Their long branches touch a luxurious pavilion.

Please plant more of this willow diligently, as

This tree is the best for tasteful enjoyment of scenery.

How green a willow tree is!

Long branches touch brightly coloured pillars.

Please dare not cut them, as

This tree is the most lovable.

The Kyujanggak Korean text–

양뉴쳥여딕 버들이프ᄅᆞ러뵈ᄲᅳ눈딧ᄒᆞ니

댱됴블화루 긴가지그림그린누의썰첫도다

원군근ᄌᆡ식 원컨ᄃᆡ그ᄃᆡ눈브ᄌᆞ런이심으라

ᄎᆞ슈최풍뉴 이남기가쟝풍뉴로오니라

양뉴하쳥쳥 버들이ᄌᆞ못프ᄅᆞ고프ᄅᆞ니

댱됴불긔영 긴가지빗난기동의썰첫도다

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My translation –

Of a lush willow tree hanging over like fabric,

Their long branches touch a luxurious pavilion.

Please plant more of this willow diligently, as

This tree is the best for tasteful enjoyment of scenery.

How green a willow tree is!

Long branches touch brightly coloured pillars.

Please dare not cut them, as

This tree is the most lovable.

The Ewha Korean text –

(missing)

Gale's English text–

Willows hung like woven green,

Veiling all the view between,

Planted by some fairy free,

Sheltering her and calling me.

Willows, greenest of the green,

Brushing by her silken screen,

Speak by every waving wand,

Of an unseen fairy hand. (Gale 1922, 23)

This may be because it was inevitable for Gale to rework the content of Soyu's willow poems, as he was attempting to transfer rhythms and rhymes of *jueju* 絶句 (Chinese quatrain) into an English poem. *Jueju* is one of *jintishi* 近體詩 (Chinese modern style

poetry) along with *lüshi* 律詩 (a form of regulated Chinese verse with eight lines) that had been established in the Tang era. *Jueju*, a quatrain, is either of five characters or of seven characters for each line. *Jueju* is a form of significantly regulated verse. *Lüshi*, an octave, is as well either of five characters or of seven characters for each.[80]

In Gale's translations of willow poems by Soyu, his treatment of the sound portion of *jueju* is accentuated. Gale's rendering of *jueju*, thus, resulted in two English poems where each poem is made up of four trochaic tetrameters and is also elaborated with rhymes and other melodic arrangements. A metre is the rhythmical pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables in verse. The trochee, or the trochaic foot, is metre with two-syllable feet and is, as one of failing metre, made up of a stressed syllable followed by one unstressed syllable. A trochaic tetrameter consists of 4 trochees in 8 syllables. For instance, the first line of the first poem may not be an perfect example of a trochaic tetrameter at the first glance but when a long vowel ee [i:] of the last word "green" is elongated to sound like two syllables, it can be a trochaic tetrameter: **Will**ows **hung** like **wo**ven **gre**en. All of last word in each line has either a long vowel [i:] or diphthong, a sound formed by the combination of two vowels in a single syllable, for instance, [wɒ] of "wand." The word "hand" makes a rhyme with "wand," so the length of vowel [a] will be equally elongated.

In addition to the consideration of trochaic metres, the rhyme scheme in Gale's English translation is as follows. The first poem is composed of aa and bb as respective

[80] According to old Chinese pronunciation, the versification of *jintishi* is regulated in four different ways. It depends on whether a rhyme belongs to *pingsheng* or *zesheng* and also whether the second Chinese character belongs to either *pinsheng* or *zesheng*. However, the *jintishi* with *zesheng*-rhyme is rare. Rhyming is also required. A five-character quatrain features the rhyme at the end of the second and the fourth lines, whereas the rhyme of a seven-character quatrain is arranged at the ending character of the first, the second and the fourth lines.

perfect rhymes. The ending syllables of the first two lines in the first one are –een [iːn], which constitute a perfect rhyme "aa." The last syllables of the third and fourth, i.e., –ee and –e, are pronounced [iː], that constitutes a perfect rhyme "bb." The second poem is with a perfect rhyme of aa and an eye rhyme of cc. The perfect rhyme of the first two lines in the second poem is the same as that in the first poem. In other words, the ending syllables of the first two lines are –een [iːn], which constitutes a rhyme "aa." The last syllables of the third and fourth are –and, that constitutes an eye rhyme "cc." An eye rhyme refers to a rhyme that is made of the exact same spellings but of slightly different but similar enough pronunciations. The "–and" in the third line is the ending of "wand," pronounced as [-ɒnd] whereas "–and" is part of "hand," pronounced as [-and].

Furthermore, alliterations and other harmonic arrangements are at play. Both poems conform to an art of alliteration, which is fashioned from a repletion of words that begin with the same consonant. It is noted that "w" (w-illows and w-oven) in the first line, "v (v-eiling and v-iew)" in the second line, and "f (f-airy and f-ree)" in the third line of the first poem. Likewise, there is "g (gr-eenest and gr-een)" in the first line, "s (s-ilken and s-creen)" in the second line, and "w (w-aving and w-and)" in the third line of the second poem. Additional arrangements for the sonic harmony of the poetry are also noted. The "-ing (shelter-ing and call-ing)" in the fourth line of the first poem makes a harmony made of the same consonants and vowels.

Thus, Gale's English rendering of Soyu's willow poems contrasts with an almost identical content of these poems that appear in the two early *Kuunmong* editions despite their difference in the medium of writing, that is either Korean (the Kyujanggak edition) or Chinese (the 1725 edition). It is also notable that Gale's translation accommodates an extensive amount of poems including these willow poems that were kept in the early editions of *Kuunmong*, whereas the Ewha edition antecedes Gale's but fails to carry any

complete piece of Chinese poetry. The appearance of poetry in the early editions of *Kuunmong*, however, is not always alike. Another important set of poems by Soyu at a different rendezvous occasion with one of his women Sŏmwŏl illustrates how poems that engaged in the same rendezvous event are differently presented between the Kyujanggak and the 1725editions, let alone the recent editions. It is where Soyu competes in a poetry composition contest against local aristocrats to win a favour of Sŏmwŏl, who is a beauty best known for her poetic taste in the area.

2.3.2. Poems at the poetry competition

Winning poems by Soyu at the poetry contest appearing in the four different editions are much unrelated. Both the number of poems and their contents in the four respective editions of *Kuunmong* demonstrate diversity. The 1725 edition presents three poems in a style of quatrain that consists of seven characters in each line. Instead of three quatrains, in the Kyujanggak edition are presented four quatrains but in the same style of seven-character in each line. Here, two out of four poems are distinctive from those in the 1725 edition. Only one poem appearing in the Kyujanggak edition replicates one of three poems from the 1725 edition; the fourth piece in the Kyujanggak edition is the same as the first one in the 1725 edition.[81] In addition, almost identical two lines are also shared in a poem in the both of early *Kuunmong* editions. The first two lines of the second poem in the Kyujanggak edition are almost the same with the first two lines of the third poem in the 1725 edition. Only the "her mouth" in the 1725 edition is replaced with "her spirit" in the Kyujanggak edition. The remaining two poems in the Kyujanggak edition are entirely different from what is presented in the 1725 edition. Gale's translation is based on the

[81] This poem is the only one that appears in the poetry competition episode in the Chŏnju Korean edition (1862).

1725 edition. The Ewha edition again does not carry these poems by Soyu. Below is my literal translation of the 1725 edition that is presented in the order of their appearance:

楚客西遊路入秦

酒樓來醉洛陽春

月中丹桂誰先折

今代文章自有人

A guest from Ch'o (Ch. Chu) travels west to enter Chin (Ch. Qin),

And get drunk at the pavilion on a spring day in Nagyang (Ch. Luoyang).

Who would cut the branch of the red Cassia bark tree in the moon first?

That would be the best writer of our times.

天津橋上柳花飛

珠箔重重映夕暉

側耳要聽歌一曲

錦筵休負舞羅衣

Willow blossom fall upon the Chŏnjin bridge.

A beaded blind casts layers of shadow in the setting sun.

Keeping all my ears open, I wait for a song,

And hope to see a dancer's silk dress flutters at this beautiful party.

花枝羞殺玉人粧

未吐纖歌口已香

待得樑塵飛盡後

洞房花燭賀新郎

Flowers become embarrassed at the beautiful make-up of a woman.

Her mouth is already fragrant before her song in a slim voice begins.

Waiting until all dust on the bridge diminishes,

The bridegroom will be felicitated with candlelight in the room.

The four poems in the Kyujanggak edition are translated below that is presented in the order of their appearance:

향딘욕긔모운다 향긔로운 ᄉᆞᆺ글이닐고져ᄒᆞ고져믄구룸이만흐니

공ᄃᆡ묘희일곡가 ᄒᆞᆫ가지로고은계집의곡됴노ᄅᆡ를기ᄃᆞ리ᄂᆞᆫ도다

십이가두츈완만 열두거리우ᄒᆡ봄이느져시니

양화여셜내수하 버들ᄭᅩᆺ치눈ᄀᆞᆺᄐᆞ니근심을어이ᄒᆞ리오

Fragrant dust desires to arise while there are many clouds at sunset.

We all wait for a beautiful girl to sing a song.

As the spring is tardy in the big twelve streets,

And willow blossoms look like snow, how could we worry?

화지슈새옥인장 ᄭᅩᆺ가지옥인의단쟝을븟그려ᄒᆞ니

미발셤가긔이향 가ᄂᆞᆫ노ᄅᆡ를발티아냐셔임의긔운이향긔롭도다

하채양셩혼블관 하채와양셩은다시거리ᄭᅵ디아니ᄒᆞᄃᆡ

지수난득쳘위댱 다만쇠ᄒᆞᆫ애를엇기어려올가근심ᄒᆞ・노라

Flowers become embarrassed at the beautiful make-up of a woman.

Her spirit is already fragrant before her song in a slim voice begins.

I do not care about Hach'ae (Ch. Xiacai) and Yangsŏng (Ch. Yangcheng),

But do worry that it may be difficult to find entrails as hard as iron.

긔졍모셜안양쥐 긔졍져믄눈의양쥐ᄉᆞ를브ᄅᆞ니

최시왕낭득의츄 이가쟝왕낭의득의ᄒᆞᆫ째로다

쳔고ᄉᆞ문원일믹 쳔고ᄉᆞ문원일믹ᄒᆞ니

막교젼ᄇᆡ텬풍뉴 젼ᄇᆡ로ᄒᆞ야곰풍뉴를젼쥬ᄒᆞ디말나

At the pavilion with flags[82] Yangju sa (Ch. Liangzhou ci) was performed at a snowy evening.

This is the most winning moment for scholar Wang.

Since the old times, as this type of writing is shared by all,

Let its appreciation not be exclusive only to seniors to me.

쵸긱셔유노입진 초나라손이서로놀ᄆᆡ길히진에드러시니

쥬루ᄂᆡ취낙양츈 술다락의와낙양봄을취ᄒᆞ여도다

월듕단계슈션졀 ᄃᆞᆯ가온ᄃᆡ블근계슈를뉘몬져썻글고

금ᄃᆡ문쟝ᄌᆞ유인 금ᄃᆡ에문쟝이스ᄉᆞ로사ᄅᆞᆷ이이시리로다

A guest from Ch'o (Ch. Chu) travels west to enter Chin (Ch. Qin),

And get drunk at the pavilion on a spring day in Nagyang.

Who would cut the branch of red Cassia bark tree in the moon first?

That would be the best writer of our times.

[82] A commercial place for drinking was indicated with flags put up.

Chinese references in the early editions

Compared to the 1725 editions, despite the fact that it was written in vernacular Korean, more specific Chinese references are found in the poems: for instance, 십이가 (in the first poem), 하채양셩 and 쳘위댱 (in the second poem), 양쥐 and 왕낭 (in the third poem). The sip-i-ga 십이가 is Korean transliteration of the Twelve Streets in the capital.[83] The Ha-ch'e-yang-syŏng 하채양셩[84] is two towns famous for beautiful women in the Chu 楚 state.[85] The chyŏl-wi-dyang 쳘위댱 means "entrails as hard as iron" and refers to Song Guangping 宋廣平,[86] reputed as a man of integrity. The yang-jyui 양쥐 is the Liangzhou-ci 涼州詞, a song lyric written to musical tune patterns collected from Lianzhou 涼州.[87] The wang-nang 왕낭 is a great poet, Wang Zhihuan 王之渙 (688-742) of Tang dynasty.[88]

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[83] The Twelve Streets refers to twelve big streets near the imperial palace of Chang'an, the capital of Tang dynasty (618–907 CE). These are seven streets that run north-south and five streets that run east-west. In Chinese, the phrase is Chang'an shi'er qu 長安 十二衢.

[84] In Chinese, it is Xiacai 下蔡 and Yangcheng 陽城.

[85] Chu is one of the states during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BC) and the Warring States Period (475-221 BC) in China.

[86] Song Guangping (805–820) is a courtier of the Tang emperor Xianzong.

[87] Lianzhou is in the eastern part of Gansu Province 甘肅省 in China. The music from Lianzhou was collected during the reign of Emperor Xianzong (805–820) of Tang dynasty.

[88] Wang Zhihuan, along with Wang Changliang 王昌齡, and Gao Shi 高適, went to a drinking place *kwijŏng* 긔졍 旗亭 (Ch. qiting), and competed to have their poems sung by female entertainers. One point was scored for a winning poem, and it was marked on the wall. Wang Zhihuan achieved no mark until Gao Shi scored one and Wang Changliang scored two. Then, Wang Zhihuan pointed at the most beautiful entertainer and said that he would give up if she would not sing his poem. She selected his poem and, like Soyu here at the poetry competition, made him the winner. This episode is well known as *qiting huabi* 旗亭劃壁 (Mark the wall at a drinking place) from "Wang Zhihuan 王之渙" in the *Jiyiji* 集異記 (Collected Strange Stories, also called *Guyiji* 古異記 Ancient Stories of

He wrote a piece of Liangzhou-ci at the poetry competition, and his poem was sung by the most beautiful woman. Soyu is also engaged in the poetry competition, so he addressed the Tang poet Wang to identify himself with a winner.

Abundance of specific Chinese references may not necessarily indicate that readers of the Kyujanggak edition were equipped with more sophisticated literary taste than those of the 1725 edition. In general, however, that may be the case because the Kyujanggak edition was supposedly circulated among a rather limited audience, which was mainly among women at the royal court. The 1725 edition, nevertheless, seems to as well reflect a high level of Chinese literary expertise in readership in other episodes. The description of tunes played on *kŭm* by Soyu at Kyŏngp'ae family's residence, for instance, is more complex while drawing on ample Chinese references compared to that section in the Kyujanggak edition. It is also true, however, when a narrative became popularised, it often encompassed a significant amount of stock Chinese literary references at the superficial level as eamplified in *p'ansori* (a Korean traditional narrative musical performance that may be equivalent to an opera). The 1725 edition, as discussed earlier, is known as the edition widely circulated and was influential to later popular versions of *Kuunmong*.

Gale's rendering of seven-character Chinese quatrains

Three Chinese poems by Soyu at the poetry contest in the 1725 edition are of a form of regulated verse that is composed of four lines with seven characters in each line. Gale again attempted to translate the versification of seven-character quatrains into a form of English poetry. Gale's translation is based on three poems from the 1725 edition above.

Strange Affairs), a collection of novellas compiled between the Southern Dynasties 南朝 (420~589) and the Tang periods 唐 (618-907) by a Tang writer, Xue Yongruo 薛用弱.

Instead of trochees, here, iambs are dominating in the following three poems. An iamb is a metrical foot having two syllables: the first unstressed, or 'weak,' and the second stressed (Below stressed syllables in bold are mine).

Gale’s translation –

"The **man** from **Cho** moves **west** and **en**ters **Chin**,

He **sees** the **wine** pa**vil**ion and **bold**ly **steps** wi**thin**,

Now **who** shall **pluck** the **flow**er **from** the **tree** wi**thin** the **moon**, f

And **claim** the **winn**er's **hon**our **and** the **fai**ry's **ma**gic **tune**?

The **cat**kins of the **will**ow they **float** o'er **Chun**-jin's **stream**,

The **gem**-wrought **shades** of **many** ply **close out** the **sun** be**tween**

Our **ears** a**wake** to **hear** a **song** of **spe**cial **gift** and **grace**,

Our **eyes** be**hold** in **sil**ken **scenes** a **gift**ed **fai**ry's **face**.

The **flow**ers of **spring** are **fill**ed with **awe** and **drop** their **heads** for **shame**,

They **sense** her **song**, they **feel** her **step**, the **frag**rance of **her name**;

The **pass**ing **sha**dows **stay** their **course**, un**willed** to **steal** a**way**,

The **light**ed **halls** of **glad**some**ness** pro**claim** my **winn**ing **day**."

The first poem begins with iambic pentameter, consisting of five iambic metres: The **man /** from **Cho** / moves **west** / and **en /** ters **Chin**. The remaining three poems are largely of iambic heptametres, consisting of seven iambics. The rhyme scheme is aa bb in the first poem, cc dd in the second poem, and ee ff in the third poem. Ch-in and with-in are for aa, m-oon and t-une for bb, str-eam and betw-een for cc, gr-ace and f-ace for dd, sh-ame and n-ame for ee, and aw-ay and d-ay for ff. The str-eam and betw-een do not share

exactly the same sound, but both [n] and [m] are voiced consonants that produce a similar sound for –eam and -een. If three poems are considered as one single piece, it features couplet rhymes: aa bb cc dd ee ff. Additionally, alliterations are arranged as f for f-lower and f-rom in the first line of the first poem. In the third line of the second poem, is s for s-ong and s-pecial, and g for g-ift and g-race. In the next line, is s for s-ilken and s-cenes, and f for f-airy's and f-ace. The last poem exhibits f for f-lowers and f-illed, th for th-ey, th-ey and th-e, and repetition of "her" twice. Abundant alliterations are completed with st for st-ay and st-ream. There is also assonance, which refers to the same or similar vowel that is found in words surrounded by all different or partially different consonants. For instance, -ea- in the two words ears and hear is considered as assonance in the third line in the second poem.

Gale's rendition of Chinese seven-character quatrains resulted in a kind of English poetry that is largely composed of iambic meters, which echoes what he did with Chinese five-character quatrains. A set of poems by Soyu at the poetry competition for Sŏmwŏl, however, exhibits much more diversity than what has been showcased with Soyu's willow poems. Unlike his willow poems, the disparity of his competition poems among editions is marked even in early *Kuunmong* editions of the Kyujanggak and the 1725. In addition, anonymous writers of these editions deliberately adopted Chinese references to accommodate their audiences' cultural affinity to Chinese classics. The Ewha edition again lacks these Chinese poems, but carries a short verse by Ch'unun, Soyu's another woman. The presentation of her short piece of poem in the Ewha edition is meaningful as most of the verse is eradicated there. The word order of the poem requires further analysis because disorderly application of a grammatical rule may indicate the change in the audience's literary taste that shows their laxity in relation to poetry appreciation. Below will be

discussed Ch'unun's short verse that appeared in four different editions: the Kyujanggak, the 1725, the Ewha, and the Gale's.

2.3.3. A short verse by Ch'unun

The Ewha edition lacks both the willow poem in the Ch'aebong episode and winning poems at the poetry competition for Sŏmwŏl. This may indicate that the readers of the lending library version of *Kuunmong* in the early twentieth century may not have favoured formal regulated poetry. Most poetry was cut out from the Ewha text with occasional scanty remnants such as a very short poem by Ch'unun. Even the short poem is a bit misleadingly presented. The first half of the poem requires detailed examination for the irregularity in its syntax, which contrasts with what accounts for Ch'unun's poem in early *Kuunmong* editions of the Kyujanggak and the 1725.

The first line of a poem by Ch'unun reads, "As a dog of a Daoist hermit is barking beyond the cloud," which is usually written in Chinese as 仙狵吠雲外 (1725 edition), or in Korean, 신션의 개 구룸밧긔 즈즈니 (Kyujanggak edition).[89] Here in the Ewha edition, however, the phrase is rendered as follows: 신션의구름밧계ᄀᆡ지지니. As in the case of Kyujanggak Korean edition, the possessive modifier 신션의 (of a Daoist hermit) should be directly connected to the modified noun 개 (a dog) unless there are other

[89] The word order noted in the Kyujanggak edition also appears in the nineteenth century Korean editions: 신션의ᄀᆡ구름밧긔지젓시니이양낭옴을알니로다 (*Kyŏngp'an-pon 32 chang-pon*) and 신션의개구름밧긔씃스니알건대냥낭이오ᄂᆞᆫ도다 (*Wanp'an-pon 105 chang-pon*).

modifiers. Adverbial phrase 구룸밧긔 (beyond the cloud) usually comes before the predicate, 즈즈니 (is barking).

A poem by Ch'unun:

The 1725 Chinese text –

仙猧吠雲外, 知是楊郎來

The Kyujanggak Korean text –

신션의개구룸밧긔즈즈니

아니양낭이왓ᄂᆞᆫ가

The Ewha Korean text –

신션의구름밧계ᄀᆡ지지니

양낭이오ᄂᆞᆫ쥴알니로다

Gale's English text –

The fairy's woolly dog barks from amid the clouds,

For he knows that Master Yang is on the way.

My English translation –

As a dog of a Daoist hermit is barking beyond the cloud,

Yang (Yang Soyu) must be coming.

However, in the Korean Ewha edition, 구름밧계 (beyond the cloud) is located between the possessive modifier 신션의 (of a Daoist hermit) and the modified noun ᄀᆞᆡ (a dog) as "신션의구름밧계ᄀᆞ지지니." It is awkward to see an adverbial phrase come between the modifier and the modified. The phrase "beyond the cloud" modifies the actor "a dog" rather than the verb "is barking." The line literally means "a Daoist hermit's dog, which is beyond the cloud, is barking." The awkward syntactic construction may have been caused by confusion in the usage of *-ŭi*.

The phoneme, *-ŭi*, spelled 의 or ᅳᅵ, was a possessive or locative marker. This rule was well observed in early Korean texts. For instance, as seen in the Kyujanggak edition, *sinsyŏn ŭi* 신션의 has 의 for *ŭi* to make the noun 신션 function as a possessive modifier. The phrase *kuram pakkŭi* 구ᄅᆞᆷ밧긔 has ᅳᅵ for *ŭi* to make a noun 밖 be a locative. The consonant *kiŭk* ᄀ, the second of double consonants ending the word *pakk* 밖 liaisons with the following syllable *ŭi* ᅳᅵ, so the *kŭi* 긔 is formed as in the 구ᄅᆞᆷ밧긔. When *ŭi* served as a locative, it changed into *-e, -ye* spelled variably like -에 (-ㅔ), -얘 (-ㅐ), -예 (-ㅖ) in later years. In the process, *ŭi* became conflated with *-e, -ye* to the point they were used interchangeably even in other context than to serve as a locative marker.

In the Ewha edition, ᅳᅵ was replaced with ㅖ, that is, 구름밧계 instead of 구ᄅᆞᆷ밧긔. The *-ye* of *kurŭm pakkye* 구름밧계 can be thus a possessive marker rather than a locative marker, so it is possible to present it before the noun ᄀᆞᆡ (a dog) to modify the

noun, instead of describing the location of the action "is barking." Nevertheless, the context of the action tells that the *-ye* of *kurŭm pakkye* 구름밧계 is better served as a locative marker. The writer of the Ewha edition, who edited the text to make it attract lending library customers, despite the context, most likely paid little attention to the syntax of this short verse. The lending library *Kuunmong* suggests that the poetry literacy in popular reading materials diminished in the early twentieth century.

In Gale's translation of Ch'unun's verse, he presents a faithful interpretation that concerns only the content of the verse because his consideration of the English rhyme scheme and alliterations may not be applicable to a poem by Ch'unun. Her poem is a couplet that is fundamental unit of a poem, and could be an independent poem in the style of *gushi* 古詩 (ancient style poetry, also called *gutishi* 古體詩). The *gushi* is, however, usually less confined to any specific versification rule than the *jintaishi* is. In other words, Ch'unun's short verse features insignificant elements of Chinese versification.

The diminution of poetry in the Ewha edition (1907) suggests that there was a significant change in the textual reception of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century. The novel *Kuunmong* became widespread while being circulated not only in early editions but also in newly created various popularised editions. Considering that Gale's translation (1923) is an effort to reconstruct early editions of Kuunmong, poetry started to lose appeal to the Kuunmong audience in the process of popularization. Two willow poems by Soyu and one of his winning poems at the poetry competition appear in the Chŏnju Korean edition (1862).[90] However, the nineteenth-century Seoul Korean edition[91] lacks most of poetry except the short verse by Ch'unun. This curtailment of poetry continued in the

[90] *Wanp'an-pon 105 chang-pon.*

[91] *Kyŏngpan-pon 32 chang-pon.*

Ewha edition.[92] The major rework of the narrative that occurred in the nineteenth century, however, concerned the theme of *Kuunmong*. The diminishment of religiosity marked the textual reception of popularised Kuunmong narrative, although religiosity was intended by the author Kim Manjung and kept in early editions of *Kuunmong*. This momentous change in the character of the Kuunmong narrative has a bearing on the production of Kuunmong screens.

2.4. Religious scenes

The novel *Kuunmong* was initially authored by Kim Manjung as a story of a Buddhist monk Sŏngjin's adventurous journey at the end of which he is led to his religious awakening. However, while availability of Kuunmong texts was increasing and thus accessibility of the text was advancing, in the composition of Kuunmong narratives were invited various efforts to accommodate the taste of audiences that had been developing in the nineteenth century. The availability of Kuunmong text was facilitated by anonymous copyists as well as commercial publishers. The use of printing technology for the production of cost-effective copies, in particular, intensified content-contraction of the Kuunmong text. The major cut-out from the narrative targeted religiosity that had been essential to constitute early versions of *Kuunmong*. This change in the arrangement of episodes made *Kuunmong* merely a love story or hero story of Soyu (reincarnation of Buddhist monk Sŏngjin) where his worldly success was highlighted at the expense of

[92] The change in the *Kuunmong* text may seem to be the only reason why none of the poetry is presented in the contemporaneous Kuunmong screens. However, it may be also due to the nature of a medium, a folding screen, as well as a type of painting that is attributed to the Kuunmong imagery. It is because some audiences possibly enjoyed poetry while early editions of *Kuunmong* were in circulaltion together with abridged recent versions. In any case, their literary taste was not considered in the production of Kuunmong screens. This will be discussed in Chapter Four and Five.

Sŏngjin's part. The role of Buddhist monk Sŏngjin diminished while religiosity associated with Buddhism was erased from the narrative (Wuerther 2017, 44-47).

The depletion of Sŏngjin's awakening scene was first noted in the 1803 woodblock-printed edition. The momentum of this religious scene continued to be extenuated as seen from subsequent nineteenth-century woodblock-printed *Kuunmong* texts. Further reduction of religious elements in other episodes, as well as the discard of unrealistic descriptions, is also marked in these abridged commercial versions of *Kuunmong*. Here, beside the 1803 edition, two well-known nineteenth-century woodblock printed Korean versions will be discussed. These two nineteenth editions represent the change in the character of Kuunmong narrative: one from Seoul-based woodblock prints (early nineteenth century) and the other from Chŏnju-based woodblock prints (1862). Seoul and Chŏnju, as two main centres for the book market in late Chosŏn, locally tailored Kuunmong texts to the taste of their customers but similarly modified their production to weaken religiosity of the narrative.

As discussed earlier, Sŏngjin was banished from the monastery as he could not let go his desire for women that was instigated by his encounter with eight fairies. Then, he was re-born into the world as Soyu, son to a Confucian family in Tang, and enjoyed his successful life with eight ladies. However, he realised that all of his worldly achievements was futile and decided to return to Buddhism. The narrative ends with the religious awakening of the protagonist. In the 1803 edition, as seen in Image 4, there is deletion of several passages where religious awakening for the protagonist is initiated by the master, who commands the precipitate spatial relocation from Soyu's palace to Sŏngjin's room. The following excerpt from the 1725 edition shows what is left out of the 1803 edition. Soyu is conversing with an Indian Monk, who has come to awaken his disciple Sŏngjin (as Soyu is Sŏngjin's reincarnation), and Soyu fails to recognise that this Indian monk is his

old master Yukkwan. The master comments on Soyu's poor memory as he cannot remember his years of stay at the monastery with Master Yukkwan. After this remark by the master, the master magically transport Soyu from his palatial residence to Sŏngjin's room at the monastery. In other words, when the master hits his staff twice, Soyu is immediately transported to the monastery to find himself seated at the monastery. Although it is confusing for a while, he manages to realise that he is actually a humble Buddhist monk Sŏngjin, who has been all along meditating in a small room, and that his life as Soyu is only a dream. Then, Sŏngjin goes to see the master to report his return. The removal of text finishes here. The 1803 edition resumes with the master asking Sŏngjin about his experience in the world.

> "I left my parents at the age of fifteen, and since I had passed the examination to work in the government, I stayed in the capital, except on two occasions. To the east, I went to the State of Yan, and to the west, I went to conquer Tibet. How could I serve you ten years?"
>
> The monk laughed and replied, "you are not yet awakened from your dream."
>
> "Can you wake me?"
>
> "That is not difficult"
>
> The monk raised his staff and had it hit the railing in the pavilion twice.

> (with the sound from master's staff, my note) Suddenly white fluffy clouds rolled up from all the valleys to shroud the tower eventually. It was too cloudy for Soyu to see anything. The vision appeared to Soyu as if he were drunk on wine or was dreaming. A while later, Soyu shouted, "Why are you not teaching me, but instead making fun of me with your magic?" Before he finished the sentence, clouds

> cleared up and the (Indian Buddhist) monk with eight women disappeared. Surprised, looking around, Soyu found neither the tower nor jade-bead screens around himself. He realised that he was seated on the cattail mat alone in a small cell at the monastery. The incense in the burner was burnt out. The moon was already over the West Peak. Touching his head, he felt it rough as if he had just gotten a fresh haircut. He was not a high official but a Buddhist monk. He felt perplexed and had heart palpitations. A long while later he realised that he is Sŏngjin at the Lotus Monastery.
>
> Looking back, he realised that he was scolded by the master, dragged to the World of Shadow Spirits by Yellow Turban Mighty Officials, and then reborn as son to Yang family in the human world. He passed the government examinations to be a Hallim scholar, then, military general and prime minister. After resignation, he enjoyed his days in retirement with his eight women, which was sumptuous with music, dance, and wine. All of this was, however, only a dream on a spring day. Sŏngjin thought that Master Yukkwan made him realise the vanity of desires and worldly success in his dream.
>
> Then, Sŏngjin quickly went down to the pond to wash her face, dressed himself, wore a hat, and went to report his arrival to the master. His fellow disciples already gathered there. The master spoke to Sŏngjin in a loud voice,

These several passages that cover from the ending scene of Syou meeting with the master to the beginning scene of Sŏngjin meditating in his room offer a clear message of the protagonist's transition from one self to the other. However, in the 1803 edition, with these

passages excluded, the narrative jumps from the master's dialogue with Soyu to his conversation with Sŏngjin. The masters now asks Sŏngjin if he had fun in the human world 問曰性眞人間滋味果如何耶 (See the sixth line from the right in Image 4.1.). Sŏngjin responds to his master that he has realised that his life as Soyu is a mere dream and that he is actually Buddhist monk Sŏngjin. Then, Master Yukkwan refutes Sŏngjin's claim that he has reached awakening. It is because Sŏngjin thinks that there is a division between Sŏngjin's life and Soyu's life. The master further recounts a butterfly anecdote from *Zhuangzi* and explains to Sŏngjin what should be achieved to reach the completion of awakening. There is no way to discern whose dream it is, whether Zhuangzi's dream or the butterfly's. Likewise, there is no division of whether Sŏngjin or Soyu is in the dream. It is the core Buddhist principle of *Diamond Sutra* that Yukkwan directly implicated by addressing Zhuangzi's butterfly episode.

The 1803 edition continues. Detailed preaching of *Diamond Sutra* was also promised by the master to deliver later in due course but not actually narrated in the text. Instead, a few words from the sutra were claimed to describe the preaching, "the light from a white hair (between the eyes of the Buddha) shines out to permeate the world, and sky flowers flutter down like a chaotic rain 白毫光射世界 天花下如亂雨." However, there is no such sentence in any of the 32 sections of the sutra.[93] Anyhow, at the end of the preaching by the master, Sŏngjin and the eight Buddhist nuns (previously eight fairies) recite *sagu-ge* (Ch. *siju-ji* 四句偈, or a *gatha* of four lines, *gatha* in Sanskrit means a type of metered and often rhythmic poetic verse or a phrase) and then they all attained sudden awakening. Upon Sŏngjin's awakening, the master performed the Buddhist succession rite to have Sŏngjin take over his post and left the monastery. The novel ends there.

[93] *Diamond Sutra* will be discussed in detail in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

Although the concluding scene in the 1803 edition is similar to those of the early editions, the absence of initial moments leading to religious awakening damages the role of Sŏngjin in conveying the Buddhist principles. The beginning passages embodies the physical change of the protagonist from Soyu to Sŏngjin and thus vividly visualises confrontation of the protagonist's identities. The spatial juxtaposition of Soyu's palatial pavilion and Sŏngjin's simple room epitomizes the two worlds of the protagonist. In the 1803 edition, however, the text skips from the master's commenting on the poor memory of Soyu to the master's questioning Sŏngjin on his journey. Since the magical transition that occurred to the protagonist is not articulated, the relevance of Zuangzi's butterfly episode to the dream journey of Sŏngjin is muffled. Lacking parity in the enunciation of the two identities, Soyu and Sŏngjin, curtails the core Buddhist thought that there is no division to the two worlds of the protagonist. This non-duality is the gist of *Diamond Sutra* that is promoted in the early versions of *Kuunmong*.[94]

The further shrinkage of religiosity is noted in an early-nineteenth-century Korean version from Seoul. In this version, Zhuangzi's butterfly episode was entirely unloaded. The following excerpt from the 1725 edition is what is left out:

> The master said, "You just went there because you were excited to go and then came back just when your excitement was exhausted. I was not involved at all. Now you said that you were reborn as Soyu in your dream, but it just shows that you see yourself as separate from the human world. You are still in your dream. Zhuangzi thought he turned into a butterfly in his dream, but it may have been rather a butterfly that turned into Zhuangzi. In other words, we never know

[94] Buddhist principles relevant to *Kuunmong* will be discussed in detail in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

> whether it is Zhuangzi's dream in which he became a butterfly, or it is a butterfly's dream in which it became Zhuangzi. Who knows which is a dream and which is real life? Now you think you are Sŏngjin, and you were in Sŏngjin's dream. This means you separate yourself from a dream. However, between Sŏngjin and Soyu, who is in a dream? And who is not in the dream?"

The discard of Zuangzi's butterfly episode in the master's remark significantly impaired the religiosity of Kuunmong narrative. Emphasis in the narrative is given to a secular success story of Soyu. The story thus ends by commenting on life: a human life is a mere dream no matter whether their life would be glorious and successful. The lesson of the story fails to reach out to religious teachings that are beyond secular affairs. In addition, occasional references to Sŏngjin no longer appeared in this early-nineteenth-century Seoul woodblock print, for instance, as the reason for why Soyu looked young even in his old age.[95] His young look is attributed to the fact that he originally was a disciple of a Buddhist master and he also received secret teachings from a Daoist master. This lack of Soyu's previous background further diminishes the contribution of Sŏngjin to the narrative formation.

Similarly, the reference to Zhuangzi's butterfly was also cleared from the Chŏnju Korean edition (1862). When compared with the previous passage from the 1725 edition, at the end of the following excerpt from the Chŏnju woodblock print should follow Zhuangzi's episode about a butterfly's dream.

[95] See Chapter 15 in the 1725 edition.

> The master said, “You just went there because you were excited to go and then came back just when your excitement was exhausted. I was not involved at all. Now you see that human world is different from a dream, you are still not awake. ᄃᆡᄉᆞ왈네흥으ᄯᅴ여갓다가흥이진ᄒᆞᄆᆡ왓스니ᄂᆡ무삼간셥ᄒᆞ리료ᄯᅩ네셰상과 ᄭᅮᆷ을달이아니네ᄭᅮᆷ이오히려ᄭᆡ지못ᄒᆞ여ᄯᅩ다.”[96] (See the eighth to tenth lines from the right in Image 4.2.)

However, after the master’s remark, Sŏngjin bows to the master twice to apologise and sincerely asks him to preach to awaken himself[97] (See the tenth to eleventh lines from the right in Image 4.2.). The omission of Zhuangzi’s butterfly dream episode again leads to the interpretation that is limited to the world of Soyu: Soyu’s life in the human world is a futile dream. The message has no religious connotations. Moreover, in contrast with the Seoul woodblock print, several passages describing the master’s preaching on *Diamond Sutra* and thereafter nine of the main character’s completion of religious awakening were entirely left out. The following is excluded: once the master’s preaching finalized Sŏngjin’s awakening, Sŏngjin took over the master’s post; and this succession took place as a ceremonial act in Sŏn Buddhism[98] where the master gave his staff as well as his other belongings, including *kasa* (Buddhist robe), bowl, water bottle, and the *Diamond Sutra,* to Sŏngjin and left the monastery for good. All of these religious acts is bereft. Thus, while

[96] *Kyŏng’in kososŏl p’angak-pon chŏnjip I* (Kim Tong’uk 1973, 153).

[97] 셩진이ᄌᆡᄇᆡᄉᆞ죄ᄒᆞ고설법ᄒᆞ야ᄭᅮᆷᄭᆡ옴을쳥ᄒᆞ니라

[98] Sŏn Buddhism prevailed in the late Chosŏn. Further detailed discussion in relation to *Kuunmong* will be in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

the length of narrative (105 leaves) exceeds that of the Seoul version (32 leaves), religiosity of the narrative is much more eradicated in the Chŏnju version.

Not just Buddhist metaphor, but also the overall deletion of supernatural events throughout the narrative is noted. This may be signaled in the 1803 edition by the erase of magical moment when Soyu turns into Sŏngjin. In fact, the Seoul Korean edition constitutes only thirty-two leaves. The short length of the narrative was a result from a business decision to produce cheap copies, but the act of contraction also required consistency. The consistency was achieved by minimizing unrealistic events and diluting the supernatural quality of such events, if any trace of those in the narrative. Supernatural qualities were often associated with Daoist immortals, masters or practitioners. Thus, unrealistic elements from various events were trimmed where Daoist figures were involved: for instance, illustrative conversations between Sŏngjin and the Dragon King in the World of Shadow Spirits (Chapter 1), unrealistic descriptions appearing Soyu's meeting with a Daoist master in the mountain (Chapter 2), and Daoist or supernatural references in the context of Soyu's encounter with his women (Chapter 4, 5, 6, and 9). The Seoul woodblock print thus turned a Kuunmong narrative into Soyu's romantic adventure where his rendezvous with eight women dominates the narrative. Similarly, in the Chŏnju edition Soyu as an upholder of secular morals overshadows Sŏngjin and women characters. As a result, this Chŏnju version of Kuunmong narrative approximated a hero story, in particular, a type of hero story that gained popularity among novels produced and circulated for contemporary audiences in the Chŏnju area (Ŏm T'aeung 2012, 125-127).

The effacement of Daoism as well as Buddhism from the narrative in the nineteenth-century popularized versions of *Kuunmong* may be related to the scene arrangement of contemporaneous Kuunmong folding screens where religious or Daoist elements are rarely visible. Considering that a folding screen was not just commissioned

for individual viewing but more used for a display purpose to decorate both inside and outside the building, it is understandable that popularized scenes from the narrative were selected for depiction to accommodate broader audiences. Screen users would prefer familiar scenes because these scenes would not be demanding but rather reside within the realm of familiarity when audiences were engaging with the visual narrative on the Kuunmong screens. The scene arrangement will be analyzed in the following chapter.

2.5. Canonisation of *Kuunmong*

The multitude of *Kuunmong* was produced as abridged or modified versions in the nineteenth century, and the majority of surviving *Kuunmong* editions was derived from the 1803 edition (Wurthner 2017, 46-47). However, in the canonisation process, most of popularised Kuunmong texts, which had been based on the 1803 edition, was not considered. It is because scholars from the 1930s evaluated *Kuunmong* as a work of masterpiece in an effort to establish seminal works that represent Korean classical literature (Wurthner 2017, 21). In the process, little attention was given to consider the transformation of the Kuunmong text that had been occurring over time since its conception by Kim Manjung. As discussed in the previous section, the broad readership of *Kuunmong* was formed around abridged or modified versions where Soyu's heroic narrative or romantic adventure was favoured over religious significance that was initially intended by Kim Manjung. The further distancing from the original composition in the currency of *Kuunmong* continued until the 1920s (Wurthner 2017, 20). Nevertheless, the reception of *Kuunmong* was not taken into account at large when *Kuunmong* was situated by modern scholars in Korean literature.

While scholarly appreciation of *Kuunmong* was in discord with that of the general audience, several reasons illustrate why *Kuunmong* was given the spotlight with

acclamation garnered from scholars of modern literature. Unlike many works of prose fiction from Chosŏn, *Kuunmong* was composed by an identifiable author Kim Manjung. In addition, a positive appraisal of the Kuunmong text for its religiosity and literary value by Japanese scholars, for instance, Takahashi Tōru, who taught at Kyŏngsŏng Imerial University in Seoul from 1926 to 1939, was influential (Wurthner 2017, 23). Kim T'aejun, in his revised *Chŏson sosŏlsa* (History of the Korean novel, 1933), also endorsed the significance of *Kuunmong* in the history of Korean literature. His tribute to *Kuunmong* was rarely challenged ever since. Moreover, although it is now suspected that *Kuunmong* was first authored in vernacular Korean by Kim Manjung, *Kuunmong* was especially advocated as a great work of Korean language by nationalist scholars such as Ch'oe Namsŏn (Wurthner 2017, 24).

The gravity given to Kim Manjung's *Kuunmong* in the context of cannonisation has been in place to shape the field of Kuunmong studies. While the original manuscript by the author was not discovered, various efforts to restore the original *Kuunmong* was made notably by Chŏng Kyubok. Any reconstructed version of *Kuunmong* that intends to revive the original is, however, nothing but an imaginary text. Thus it fails to reflect the reception of *Kuunmong* because there was no audience for this reshuffled version in history. In an attempt to restore the original, early editions of *Kuunmong* were heavily studied. Popularised editions were dismissed as non-authoritative ones[99] and thus were little explored. Recently, scholarly attention to these non-authoritative editions has been increasing in the reception studies of *Kuunmong* (Sŏ Insŏk 2000). The current research expands the reception studies of *Kuunmong* and significantly contributes to complete the picture of Kuunmong audiences. These audiences include not only individual readers but

[99] Commonly addressed as *ibon* 異本

also collective listeners of the Kuunmong story and even viewers of the Kuunmong visual narrative. Visual narratives of *Kuunmong* on folding screens reflect not only early versions of *Kuunmong* but also popularized versions that have been examined, for instance, those discussed in the previous sections. More importantly, these visualisations of *Kuunmong* offer ways in which to discover lost pieces to complete the puzzle, *Kuunmong* reception.

Below, Chapter Three will discuss the popular illustrated literature that influenced the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* before the thesis turns to the main concern, which is the visual reception of *Kuunmong*.

Chapter Three: Popular illustrated literature

Narrative painting embraces a range of any type of painting, which is based on or recalls a story (Thomas, 1994, ix). Paintings about *Kuunmong*, as paintings based on a story, can be categorized as narrative painting. The existing scholarship on narrative painting is substantial. In Europe, narrative paintings began by taking religious figures associated with the *Bible* as the primary subjects to convey biblical stories for the illiterate public. Eminent figures and memorable events in history followed as secondary subjects for narrative paintings (Thomas, 1994, x). In East Asia, Japanese paintings associated with Heian (794-1185) literary classics, such as *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (Tale of Genji, eleventh century) by Murasaki Shikibu 紫 式部 (c. 978-c. 1014) have been a major subject for scholarly exploration of narrative paintings. Since the Heian period, Japanese literary works maintained a close tie with visual materials. Besides ample production of paintings based on stories, with the development and prevailing use of printing technology throughout the Edo period (1603–1867), visual images frequently appeared inside literary works. A variety of picture books featured a large illustration, placed in the centre of the page and surrounded by scanty literary description. In the relationship of Japanese literature with visual art, the visual image was often more prominent, and existing scholarship tends to either focus on aesthetic values of visual materials or reveal similarities between the visual image and the original story (Murase 1984; Meech, Oliver and Carpenter 2008).

Recently, scholarly attention has been paid to Chinese paintings in an attempt to categorize them as narrative paintings to be studied in the context of visual culture (McCausland and Hwang 2014). In China, as asserted in *Huashi* 畫史 (History of Painting) by Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107), narrative painting started as illustrations that feature reverent Confucian teachers and other virtuous people to encourage Confucian ethics in

the minds of viewers. For this reason, narrative painting was highly regarded among other categories of painting (McCausland and Hwang 2014 7-8). Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (344-405)'s *Luoshenfutu* 洛神賦圖 (Nymph of the Luo River) is a pioneering narrative painting based on a literary work. Gu illustrated Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232)'s poem of the same title. In the Northern Song (960-1127) period, narrative painting established itself as a genre with the appearance of paintings based on well-known literary works: Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101)'s "Chibi fu 赤壁賦 (The Red Cliffs)" and Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365~427)'s "Guiqulai ci 歸去來辭 (I Had Better Return)" (Yi Chongsu, 2010 9-10).

More relevant to this research are narrative paintings that were included in Chinese illustrated popular novels. Earlier Buddhist illustrations were printed from the Tang era onwards and diversified their way into books of architecture and other art, encyclopedia, and literary works through the Song (960-1279) and Yuan (1271-1368) eras. From the Yuan period, illustrated novels appeared and proliferated during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) eras. Book illustrations peaked in the reign of the Ming Wanli Emperor (1572-1620) for various reasons: a large number of illustrated Confucian texts for moral education was published; no tax was charged for publishing books in the beginning years of the Ming, and substantial commercial publications of illustrated novels and drama scripts emerged from the mid-Ming. The high quality of illustrations that were displayed in Ming publications degenerated during the Qing period (Hegel 1998, 164-241; Kim Sangyŏp 2005, 287-289). While Japanese illustrations had little influence on Korean production, illustrations from Chinese novels relevant to Kuunmong screens will be included in the following discussion of popular illustrated literature.

For the purpose of this thesis, three kinds of visual materials that were in wide circulation in the Chosŏn period will be examined. A Korean collection of illustrations

from Chinese popular novels, *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* 中國小說繪模本 (Illustrated Templates of Chinese Novels, 1762) will be first discussed. A popular Chinese novel entitled *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Romance of Three Kingdoms, 1522) was included in the collection. The great popularity of *Sanguo yanyi* led to the production of abundant folding screens that depicted the narrative. Among popular novels, *Sanguo yanyi* produced the biggest number of folding screens. The Korean folding screens based on *Sanguo yanyi* will be also considered. Lastly, sutra illustrations, in particular, *Diamond Sutra* illustrations will be addressed as the sutra is related to *Kuunmong*. These exemplary visual narratives had all been produced in Korea before the Kuunmong visual narrative emerged. Kuunmong folding screens were most likely influenced by these antecedent examples in visually presenting a story. The level of influence on the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* from these materials, however, varied.

3.1. *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* (Illustrated Templates of Chinese Novels, 1762)

Crown Prince Sado 思悼世子 (1735 ~ 1762), who was tragically killed by his father, King Yŏngjo, commissioned *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* in 1762 (Pak Chaeyŏn 1993, 156). It was completed only six days before he was locked into a rice chest and died of dehydration. In his preface to *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*, Crown Prince Sado proposes that compilation of illustrations from various periods be consulted both to call attention to the conduct of life and to take a short rest from daily hard life while having a good laugh with enjoyable stories. Among 128 illustrations in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*, 99 illustrations derived from popular novels, whereas the remaining 29 consist of old stories. For example, 40 from *Xiyouji* 西遊記, 29 from *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Water Margin), and 9 from *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 were copied by the royal court painter Kim Tŏksŏng 金德

成 (1729-1797) from, presumably, Qing Chinese publications of illustrated novels (Kim Sangyŏp 2005, 302).

The collection was not made to be distributed widely, so it was unlikely that it was used as reference material for painters' consultation (Kim Sangyŏp 1995, 56). However, the existence of the collection directly indicates the extent to which these Chinese illustrations were circulated at least among the royal household, and thus royal court painters produced such imagery to accommodate the taste of their immediate commissioners and patrons. In other words, the publication of *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* evidently demonstrates Crown Prince Sado's reading of Chinese popular fiction in the first place but also suggests the widespread circulation of Chinese popular fiction at the royal court and most likely among the aristocracy.[100]

Chinese illustrated novels at large show that regardless of the period and place in which the stories unfold, as Robert E. Hegel examines, buildings from the Yuan and Ming period are frequently depicted, and figures are usually dressed in Ming Chinese costumes. Scenes inside the building are also presented from a birds-eye view (Hegel 1988, 217-224). These elements recur in domestic scenes in Kuunmong screens. The analysis of these visual features noted from Chinese illustrations, in particular, those from *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*, will be discussed in relation to Kuunmong screens in 4.3.2. Composition of images: Buildings and gardens in rendezvous scenes and again 4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals.

[100] The popularity of Chinese novels, in fact, reached beyond the educated because it contributed to dismantle one of the most long-standing indigeneous narrative illustrations that concerns moral instructions, despite their genre differences.

3.2. Folding screens in Korea that depict *Sanguo yanyi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms)

The significance of *Sanguo yanyi* imagery was not only manifested in the form of book illustrations, i.e., those contained in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* but also in the form of folding screen, which is the medium of Kuunmong imagery that is under scrutiny in this research. *Sanguo yanyi* was one of the widely-available Chinese novels to Korean audiences and was extensively adapted into folding screens. S*anguo yanyi*, a Chinese novel, conventionally attributed to Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (born ca. 1315), was introduced to Chosŏn society and was widely read from as early as the sixteenth century. The full title is *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* 三國志通俗演義, known as *Sanguo zhi yanyi* since the mid-1660s, also abbreviated to *Sanguo yanyi* (Wilkinson 2018, 451). The oldest extant edition of *Sanguo yanyi* was published in 1522 in China, and its circulation in Chosŏn was first mentioned in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王祖實錄 (The Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty) in 1569. *Sanguo yanyi* is thus thought to have been introduced to Chosŏn sometime between 1522 and 1569. In 1627, Koreans printed *Sanguo yanyi* even on the Cheju Island, a remote area far from the capital.

Reflecting the popularity of the text, *Sanguo yanyi* folding screens outnumber any other surviving folding screens based on novels (Kan 2014, 68). Kan Hoyun documents visual materials based on popular novels and testifies to the fact that *Sanguo yanyi* produced the largest group of visual art works. The *Sanguo yanyi* related visual materials constitute at least 52 folding screens, 46 shaman paintings, 9 book illustrations from *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*, 9 wall paintings, and 16 statues. One of *Sanguo yanyi* screens is, for example, a ten-panel folding screen at the National Museum is shown (Image 5). The number of Kuunmong paintings is next to those based on *Sanguo yanyi* (Kan 2014, 151).

In Korea, paintings on *Sanguo yanyi* appeared before any Kuunmong visual narratives and as early as the late sixteenth century. Pak Sun 朴淳 (1523-1589), in his *Saamjip* 思菴集 (Collected Writings by Saam, first published in 1652; Saam being Pak Sun's pen name), mentioned *Sanguo caolu* 三顧草廬 (Visiting the Thatched Hut Three Times), a painting that depicts four main characters from *Sanguo yanyi*, namely, Liu Be 劉備, with his sworn brothers Guan Yu 關羽 and Zhang Fei 張飛, as well as their future battle planner Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮. One example of *Sanguo caolu* is shown in Image 6. Liu Be and his two brothers made three visits to a thatched hut to recruit Zhuge Liang as their battle planner. Kim Man'gi 金萬基 (1633-1687), elder brother of Kim Manjung, also wrote poems appreciating the painting's depiction of the episode of Liu Be's three visits to Zhuge Liang's hut. The *Sanguo caolu* painting was on the wall of Kŏn'gŭktang 建極堂 (built in 1670), the residence of the Crown Prince in the Ch'anggyŏng Palace 昌慶宮. King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720) wrote more than ten poems dedicated to paintings about the stories in *Sanguo yanyi* (Kan 2014, 151-152). These circumstances indicate that paintings on *Sanguo yanyi* may have appeared from early on, although these early works did not survive.

As *Kuunmong* was composed by Kim Manjung during the years of 1687-88, Kuunmong paintings cannot date further back than the late-seventeenth century. Most were likely made in the nineteenth century, because the existence of a Kuunmong painting was first recorded in *Hanyang-ka* (1844), an epic poem or *kasa* 가사 describing the culture and people in the capital Hanyang or Hansŏng (present-day Seoul). Paintings on *Kuunmong* were displayed along with other paintings for sale in the painting shop near Kwangt'ong bridge over the Ch'ŏnggye stream in Hanyang. Unlike paintings by the educated aristocracy, paintings of popular literature were one kind of folk painting or they

were paintings for the royal court produced by professional painters. They were usually neither signed nor stamped by the painter. This makes it difficult to know the date of production and the name of the painter. Our difficulty in determining the timeline and other historical background of *Sanguo yanyi* paintings as well as Kuunmong paintings derives from this cultural convention in the late Chosŏn period.

To make the visual text sensible, however, the painter most likely employed familiar composition techniques that had been frequently used for previous relevant paintings. In this circumstance, the choice of composition made by the painter to illustrate *Kuunmong* was the kind of style familiar to viewers. It was thus taken either from illustrations collected in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* or from *Sanguo yanyi* paintings derived from *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*. In particular, the only battle scene in Kuunmong screens, which is the South Sea Prince's fight with Soyu's army, exhibits similar background renderings with illustrations of the Red Cliff Battle, both from *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* and from *Sanguo yanyi* folding screens.[101]

It is possible that the same painter may have been involved in the production of Kuunmong paintings as well as *Sanguo yanyi* paintings. For example, *Sanguo caolu* 三顧草廬 (Visiting the Thatched Hut Three Times) at the Guimet Museum (Image 5) illustrates the famous episode from *Sanguo yanyi* about Liu Be's three visits to a thatched hut of Zhuge Liang. Remarkably, this *Sanguo caolu* painting exhibits stylistic similarity with one Kuunmong painting from the same Guimet collection (Image 7).

Aside from illustrated popular literature, visual imagery of the Kuunmong screens also share comparable elements with other poly-chrome folding screens that may have been used in similar situations and even possibly used together. This aspect of Kuunmong

[101] A detailed discussion will follow in 4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals.

screens will be discussed in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings and 4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals. Prior to the main analysis of Kuunmong screens in Chapter Four, below is the final section of Chapter Three that deals with Buddhist narrative illustrations.

There has been a long tradition of Buddhist narrative paintings since the Three Kingdom period in Korea. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, *Kuunmong* by Kim Manjung is based on Buddhist thought. Although this Buddhist message was not kept intact in all versions of *Kuunmong*, religiosity needs to be considered part of the Kuunmong narrative. Thus, it requires us to consider Buddhist paintings, at least sutra illustrations that are pertinent to *Kuunmong*, to see if there is a comparability between Buddhist illustrations and the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* stories. The focus will be on a scene of Buddha preaching to his disciples because there is a scene of Master Yukkwan preaching to the protagonist and eight women depicted on Kuunmong folding screens.

3.3. Sutra illustrations and Buddhist preaching scenes

A sutra that is relevant to the Kuunmong narrative is *Diamond Sutra*, because the sutra was addressed more than once in the novel. *Diamond Sutra* was one of the most frequently coped sutras in the Koryŏ era, along with *Flower Garland Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra*[102] (Pak Youngsook 2003, 98-99). *Diamond Sutra* was also printed for wide circulation. One example is *Kŭmgang panya paramil-kŏng* 金剛般若波羅密經 printed in

[102] Sanskrit. Saddharmapuṇ-ḍarīka Sūtra, literally means the Sutra of the Lotus Blossom of the Marvelous Dharma. "Lotus Sūtra" in *A Dictionary of Buddhism* by Damien Keown (2004). Consulted online on 17 August 2020

https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2518/view/10.1093/acref/9780198605607.001.0001/acref-9780198605607-e-1035?rskey=2yXp7H&result=2

1363,[103] and thirty-seven leaves are folded in the concertina-like booklet format. The sutra features illustrations above text throughout (Image 8 (1)).

Sutra illustrations are known as *sagyŏng pyŏnsang-to* 寫經變相圖, or simply *sagyŏng-hwa* 寫經畵. The *sagyŏng* 寫經 (hand-copying of sutras for producing manuscripts) was actively practiced during the Silla and Koryŏ periods even after printing technology became available. The reason was that making hand-written manuscripts, sometimes illuminated for the royalty or high-ranking people, was regarded as one of the most meritorious deeds that Buddhists could perform as an act of dedication to Buddhist teachings. Sutra illustrations were thus hand-copied or manually inscribed from manuscripts—luxurious illuminated ones included. However, preaching scenes from sutra illustrations began to be woodblock printed for wider circulation in eleventh-century Koryŏ (Pak Youngsook 2003).

The printed sutra illustrations continued in the Chosŏn,[104] but unlike sutra illustrations in 1363 (Image 8 (1)), for the most part, only the "entire scene of the Buddha preaching" was kept as the frontispiece.[105] A majority of illustrated sutras produced in the

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[103] At the end of the sutra, a prayer wishing a long life for the royal court is followed by the colophon including 至正二十三年癸卯八月日 南原開板. Zhizheng 至正 (1341-1368) is the third reign name of Emperor Huizong 惠宗 (r. 1333-1368, also known as Togon-temür) of Yuan Dynasty (1206–1368). The 23th Zhizheng year is 1363.

The production of this illustrated *Diamond Sutra* was by command of Sŏl Sadŏk 薛師德, the magistrate of Namwon 南原 (a town in southwestern part of Korean peninsula) and Kim Yŏnggi 金英起, the *p'angwan* 判官.

[104] Eventually, in the mid Chosŏn, woodblocks replaced the tradition of illuminated illustrations (Pak Youngsook 2003).

[105] "Pŏmŏsa Kŭmgang panya paramil-kŏng pyŏnsang" in Pŏmŏ Temple Sŏngbo Museum. Consulted online on 26 August 2020

http://www.beomeomuseum.org/03_colle/colle01_view.php?path=1&relic1Num=1&relic2Num=&view_num=157&nowpage=8&keyfield=&p=

Chosŏn era, thus, only carry the frontispiece as exemplified in the *Kŭmgang-kŏng pyŏnsang pokp'an* (金剛經變相木版, Diamond Sutra Illustrations Woodblock, 1679, Image 8 (2)).[106] The frontispiece presents an elaborate depiction of Shakyamuni Buddha preaching that was produced from the fine-line carving.

The Buddha and members of the assembly including Subhuti[107] are depicted with a halo, a circle of light around the head. A halo around the whole body is additionally added to the Buddha. The Buddha's halo is accentuated with layers. Subhuti is kneeling down, with his hands held together, to ask for teachings. As he is situated to show respect to the Buddha, only his left shoulder is covered with the *kasa*.[108] Behind Subhuti are courtiers and the *śrāvaka* (on the bottom left). The *śrāvaka* in Sanskrit literally means "listener" and thus direct disciples of the Buddha, who listened to his teachings. However, in Mahayana Buddhism, the *śrāvaka* refers to those who seek their own personal awakening as an arhat, not extended to the level of the bodhisattvas who seek Buddhahood for the sake of all beings.[109]

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[106] On this woodblock is engraved the frontispiece for the *Kŭmgang-kŏng oga-hae* (Ch. Jinggang-jing wujia-jie, 金剛經五家解, The Elucidation of Lotus Sutra by Five Masters). The *Jinggang-jing wujia-jie* refers to five works of commentaries on Kumarajiva's Chinese translation *Jinggang-jing*, namely, *zuanyao* (纂要, collected essentials) by Guifeng Zongmi (圭峰 宗密, 780 – 841) of the Tang, *zan* (贊, explication) by Fu Dashi 傅大士, 497－569 of the Liang 梁, *koujue* (口訣, verbal transmission of the inner kernel of the Dharma from master to disciple) by Huineng (慧能, 638~713) of the Tang, *song* (頌, eulogy) by Yefu (冶父, ?-?) of the Song, and *tigang* (提綱, teaching essentials) by Zongjing (宗鏡, ?-?) of the Song (Ko Ikchin 1996).

[107] The Buddha seated above Subhuti is flanked by Mahākāśyapa (on his left) and Ānanda (on his right), the two most revered disciples of the ten great disciples. In the tradition of Ch'an (K. Sŏn) Buddhism, in particular, Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda are regarded as its first two Indian Masters. In addition, the rugged-looking catummahārājika (four great kings), firmly dedicated to the protection of the Buddha and the assembly, are seen in the four corners.

[108] For meore detail on the *kasa*, see the section "Symbolism associated with accoutrements of Buddhist monks" in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

[109] "Śrāvaka" in *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* edited by Robert E. Buswell Jr.

Besides Buddha preaching scenes from sutra illustrations, although not discussed here due to the current scope of research, Buddhist paintings demonstrate that there was a long-lasting tradition of visualising Shakamuni Buddha who is giving sermons to his followers. Luminous Koryŏ Buddhist art prospered with generous support from the royal court. Even while Buddhism was officially suppressed by the Chosŏn ruling class who championed Neo-Confucian ideology and politics, reconstructions of Buddhist monasteries in the late Chosŏn led to the production of a good number of Buddhist paintings for monasteries. The Buddhist imagery including preaching scenes was thus produced to serve various religious purposes by professional artists, as well as often by monk-painters in Korea.

Despite the long and living tradition of sutra illustration and other Buddist preaching imagery, however, visual narratives of *Kuunmong* on folding screens display little affinity to Buddhist imagery at large. The general lack of influence may be because polychrome screens—to which Kuunmong screens belong—were produced primarily by court artists and then by other professional artists, whereas Buddhist imagery was mainly made by monk-painters particularly in the late Chosŏn (Kim Ch'anggyun 1999, 141; Kim Chŏnghŭi 2007, 330-331). These monk-painters were mostly financed by the *pulkye*. The *pulkye* (佛契 Buddhist society, also called *sach'alkye* 寺刹契, Buddhist temple society) was a support system to maintain and keep Buddhist monasteries in operation. It epitomises the financially battered situation where Chosŏn Buddhism was practiced under

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and David S. Lopez Jr. (2017). Consulted online on 27 August 2020

https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780190681159.001.0001/acref-9780190681159-e-4227?rskey=SWGLQy&result=2

"Śrāvaka" in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* by John Bowker (2003). Consulted online on 27 August 2020
https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192800947.001.0001/acref-9780192800947-e-6963

the deprivation of support from state authorities, who sponsored paintings by court artists.[110]

The little relevance of Kuunmong imagery to Buddhist paintings may be also because polychrome screens were made for non-religious purposes, for instance, to create auspicious ambience on special festive occasions such as coronations and royal weddings.[111] Moreover, the literary text of *Kuunmong* went through the diminishment of religious scenes in the nineteenth century when most Kuunmong folding screens were produced as discussed in the preceding chapter. As for Buddhist paintings, in particular, paintings that depict the Buddha preaching to his followers or sutra illustrations, thus, although they are regarded as a major stakeholder that constitute narrative paintings in Korea, the relevance of Buddhist narrative paintings that holds with Kuunmong screens is not significant. Only visual references to Buddhist symbolism were adopted where the marginalised depiction of implicit religiosity was performed on Kuunmong screens. This will be discussed in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

[110] Various forms of *pulkye* were actively organised in the eighteenth century, and Buddhist monks also participated (Kim 2012, 206). The activity of the *pulkye* was greatly involved in a variety of *pulsa* (佛事, Buddhist temple service) because about eighty percent of the *pulkye*, i.e., 208 out of 264, engaged in Buddhist temple services including the management of monasteries and the financing of Buddhist paintings (Han 2011, 216). There are thirty-six cases of the *kwaebul* 掛佛, which is a large-scale Buddhist hanging scroll, i.e., hanging banner, as well as twenty-six paintings of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva (K. Chijang Posal 지장보살 地藏菩薩) from the eighteenth century, and they were produced with the support of *pulkye* (Kim 2012, 183). For instance, a *yŏngsanhoe* painting for Yongmun Temple 龍門寺 was financed by the *tŭngch'okkye* 燈燭契 in 1812 (Hong 1995, 238-239).

[111] For more detail on the use of screens, see 4.1. Folding Screens in Korea and 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings

Chapter Four: Visual Reception – Kuunmong Folding Screens

Prior to the analysis of the Kuunmong visual narrative, a folding screen in Korea will be discussed because it is the medium for the Kuunmong imagery that is examined in the current research.

4.1. Folding screens in Korea

The screen originated in the ancient Chinese Zhou Dynasty 周 (1046-771 BCE) in the form of one single panel to decorate the wall (Ŏm and Yi 2017). From the Han dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE), the folding screen developed from one panel to multi-panels, usually hinged together, and reached its peak popularity in the Tang dynasty. In addition to one panel and multi-panels, there is also the triptych with narrower and smaller panels adjoining both sides of the central main panel. In later periods, the popularity of folding screens diminished in China (Kim Hongnam 2005). That may be because, from the Southern Song period (1127–1279), fan paintings, albums of paintings, and scrolls were more favoured for personal viewing than folding screens and large paintings. As folding screens went out of fashion, panels were separated to be made into a single hanging scroll.[112] Additionally, from the Yuan era (1279-1368), as monochrome ink paintings came to dominate, folding screens that mainly contained polychrome paintings lost their appeal (Chang Chinsŏng 2018, 325). However, other than in China, in East Asia in general, folding screens are the most popular form of screen.

Folding screens were introduced from China to Korea in the Silla period. There is mention in *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (The History of Three Kingdoms, 1145) that Emperor Gaozu 高祖 of Tang China sent books, paintings in the form of folding screens, and 300

[112] As will be seen in the discussion of Chinese influence on Kuunmong folding screens, Chinese examples are mostly in the form of hanging scrolls.

bolts of silk to King Chinp'yŏng of Silla in 621. A few decades later, as noted in *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720), in 686, Emperor Tenmu 天武天皇 in Japan received gifts including screens from the Silla King Sinmun 神文 (r. 681~692) (Yi 2017).

In Japan, there are three types of screens: *tsuitate shoji* 衝立障子 or simply *tsuitate*, *fusuma shoji* 襖障子 or simply *fusuma*, and folding screens. *Tsuitate shoji*, produced from the Heian period (794-1185), is a one-panel screen in which a painting is depicted directly on wood, a piece of painting on paper or silk is pasted on wood, or lacquer is applied on wood relief. It is usually placed at the entrance of the building. *Fusuma* is a sliding door that divides space both in *shinden zukuri* 寝殿造, residence of Heian nobles, and *shoin zukuri* 書院造, residence of military families in Muromachi period (1338–1573) where no wall was constructed inside the building. Paintings for *fusuma* were produced from the early Heian era. The third type is the folding screen. Individual panels were connected with silk or leather strings until the late eleventh century, when metal hinges came to be used. In the fourteenth century, when paper hinges replaced metal hinges, a panorama scene that covers all panels seamlessly became possible. In Japan, two folding screens make a set. This coupling set was common neither in China nor in Korea.

From the early Chosŏn era, folding screens were commonly produced. In Korea, each panel was connected by paper or cloth pasted across the boundaries of two adjacent panels. Yamamoto Moto 山本元 states in his *Hyōgu no shiori* 表具の栞 (Introduction to Mounting, 1924) that this style of folding screen was invented in Korea. One-panel screens and triptyches were not as popular as in China. Moreover, Korean folding screens do not make a set out of two screens, as in Japan. Compared to Chinese and Japanese screens, Chang Chinsŏng argues that there exist a substantive number of palace paintings for

documenting events and palace decorative paintings. Paintings are found in Korea and China that display kingship, depict visits to the tombs of royal ancestors, celebrate the appointment of the Crown Prince, and document royal feasts at various festive events. However, some paintings are almost only found in Korea: palace decorative paintings such as peony folding screens, paintings on screens of ten animals and plants symbolic of longevity (*sip changsaeng-to* 十長生圖),[113] and stylized depictions of the sun, the moon, and the five peaks (*irwŏl obong-to* 日月五峰圖).[114] Additionally, distinctive to Korea are screens with still-life paintings that depict books and other decorative items (*ch'aekkŏri* 책거리 冊巨里), paintings of reeds and geese in mud and gold (*yigŭm noan-to* 泥金 蘆雁圖), famously by Yang Kihun 楊基薰 (1843-?) and Kim Yunsik 金允輔 (1865-1938), and paintings on screens where the successful life of a Confucian scholar in Chosŏn society is visualised (*p'yŏngsaeng-to* 平生圖), famously by Kim Hongdo (Chang 2018, 328). Kim Hongdo initiated *p'yŏngsaeng-to* screens, and his style of *p'yŏngsaeng-to* prevailed from the late eighteenth century to early nineteenth century (Yun Yŏlsu 2016, 257). Several notable palace decorative paintings will be discussed in relation to Kuunmong screens in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.

As Kim Hongnam notes, due to the structure of buildings, folding screens rather than other types of screens, were more useful in Korea than in China or Japan. Chinese buildings were often made of bricks and did not have as many windows as Korean houses or had little open space like the Korean *taech'ŏng* 대청 (large open wooden floor between rooms) (no. 7 of Image 9 for *taech'ŏng* and other pictures of traditional Korean houses). The rooves of traditional Korean houses, either with tile (no. 1 of Image 9) or straw-thatch

[113] *Sip changsaeng-to* will be discussed in 4.3.5 Narrative and symbolism: Animals.

[114] *Irwŏl obong-to* 日月五峰圖 will be explained below.

(no. 8 of Image 9), are placed atop wooden frames that were filled with mud walls to make small indoor spaces with low-ceilings and many windows. A folding screen that is easy to move and flexible in size is a practical choice for a more cramped Korean house. Additionally, there was often a courtyard where ceremonies such as weddings or ritual performances by a shaman were held. At those occasions, a folding screen was used as a backdrop to add symbolic meaning to the event. In rural villages, there were communal folding screens that were available to poor families.

Hyŏn Munp'il, curator of the exhibition "Chosŏn, pyŏngp'ung ŭi nara 조선, 병풍의 나라" (Chosŏn, The Country of Folding Screens, 3 October to 23 December, 2018 at Amore Pacific Gallery in Seoul) explains,

> A folding screen is to decorate indoor space, so its size depends on the size of the door. Normally screens from the Chosŏn era and even contemporary ones are less than 90 to 100 cm. high and 3.5 m. wide. However, folding screens at the royal court can be as big as 4 to 5 m. Chosŏn society observed Confucian values that provided protocols to formalize special events. At those events, folding screens were used for visual effect. Since the reign of King Yŏngjo [r. 1724-1776], the use of folding screens at the royal court increased. That culture of folding screens spread even to commoners. In the early twentieth century, folding screens were commonly found in a Korean family home.[115]

[115] Yi, Hyŏn'gyŏng. "Chosŏn, pyŏngp'ung ŭi nara' kihoekchŏn, 1000 nyŏn yŏksa han'guk ŭi pyŏngp'ung i hanjari e '조선, 병풍의 나라' 기획전, 1000 년 역사 한국의 병풍이 한자리에." *Newspim*, 10 October, 2018. http://www.newspim.com/news/view/20181005000299

Kim Hongnam also notes that Koreans kept the tradition from the ancient *Liji* that folding screens were essential to glorify a sacred place (Kim 2005). In the Chosŏn era, for instance, an *irwŏl obong-to* 日月五峰圖 (Image 10) stood behind the throne to signal kingship, and a miniature of this screen was placed behind the funeral tablets of each king at Chongmyo 宗廟 (Confucian Shrine of Kings and Queens), where memorial services are held to this day to worship the kings and queens of the Chosŏn dynasty. These paintings were placed behind the king's throne, with the king's back to it, as he faced his court. The effect was to put the king into a regal visual context.

4.2. Kuunmong Folding Screens

Thirty-nine different Kuunmong screens exist; most of them are eight-panel screens, while several screens are in the form of one panel, four panels, six panels, and ten panels (Kan 2014, 273-6). Folding screens in traditional Korea are usually items of luxury while some are more expensive than others. For analysis, thirty-six screens of different styles (Table 1, Appendix 1) will be discussed. The first is the ten-panel embroidery screen at the Han'guk Chasu Museum[116] in Seoul (no.1 in Table 1, Appendix 1). It is a very elegant and high-quality screen, perhaps the finest of the extant screens. Being embroidery, it was expensive and probably in the possession of the royal household. Except for the embroidered screen, Kuunmong screens were painted in colour either on silk or paper. For instance, the screen (no. 31 in Table 1, Appendix 1) from Portland Art Museum is in ten-panels and painted on silk. The screen (no. 3 in Table 1, Appendix 1) from the Haengso Museum in Keimyung University in Taegu is also eight panels but

[116] Hereafter, Chasu Museum.

painted on paper. Details about other Kuunmong screens are presented in Table 1, Appendix 1.

Some images in Table 1, Appendix 1 do not form a folding screen and only exist as single images, for instance, no. 8 (Gahoe Museum), no. 21 (Seoul History Museum), no. 28 (Kim Sejong's private collection) and no. 32 (Guimet Museum), are in the format of one single hanging scroll but may have been part of a screen. Both no. 27 (Jeonju Museum of History) and no. 29 (Kim Sejong's private collection) are panels from a folding screen that consists of images not all from the novel *Kuunmong*. No. 33 and no. 34 are displayed in two separate frames at the Serizawa but may have been also part of one folding screen. Despite a lack of physical evidence to conclusively say that the item is a folding screen, all of these images will be referred to as folding screen images in the following comparative discussion.

The date of production for most Kuunmong folding screens is not known due to the lack of information of the painter. Exceptionally, a few Kuunmong screens are dated. For instance, a ten-panel folding screen (no. 4 in Table 1, Appendix 1) from the Haengso Museum was painted in 1868. One panel from Musée national des Arts asiatiques – Guimet (no. 32 in Table 1, Appendix 1) was arguably made before 1888. Although it is difficult to know the year of production, some screens were appraised as a production from the nineteenth century: screens from the Han'guk Chasu Museum (no. 1), the Onyang Folk Museum (no. 17), Portland Art Museum (no. 31), Asian Art Museum (no. 30), and the Kim Sejong private collection (no. 28).

Some undated screens may have been produced in the nineteenth century. One screen from the National Museum of Korea (no.19) exhibits stylistic similarity to a screen from the Onyang Folk Museum (no. 17): landscape in the background, costumes, and buildings (Image 11). In addition, the Ch'aebong scene on both screens is rendered

similarly while there are three different ways of depicting her rendezvous with Soyu.[117] While Soyu is on the donkey turning his back to watch Ch'aebong, his servant is walking ahead of the master and carrying an umbrella. Further to this, both are eight-panel folding screens while they share the same eight scenes: a bridge scene depicting the first encounter of Sŏngjin and eight fairies, rendezvous scenes of Syou and six women, and Syou's last family gathering with his eight women. A screen from the Sosŏng Museum (no. 9) may be related to a screen from the Songam Gallery (no. 36). They are the only two screens among thirty six Kuunmong screens in the current research that depict a scene where women in the palace are engaging in the competition of poetry composition (Image 12). They are participating in a contest called *ch'ilposi* 七步詩 (literally means seven-footstep poem); a poem should be composed before a person takes the seventh step. These screens may have been produced for viewers, who knew about this type of entertainment. As the entertainment was enjoyed by the educated, more relevant to these screens were viewers from the nobility. These screens, thus, may belong to early editions of Kuunmong screens that tend to reflect high culture that prevailed in royal and noble families

Two panels from Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Art Museum (no. 34) were assessed as a production from the nineteenth to the early twenty century. Screens from the Gahoe Museum (no. 5 to no. 8) and the National Folk Museum of Korea (no. 10 to no. 16), as well as from Chosun Minhwa Museum (no. 23 and no. 24), are popularised versions. One panel from the Jeonju Museum of History also belongs to this group of Kuunmong screens. These screens were most likely made after early versions became famous and influential. Some of them may have been produced before others. Two screens

[117] The significant semblance in the depiction of the Ch'aebong scene is also noted amomg these screens: Asian Art (no. 30), Onyang (no. 17), National (sinsu 14114, no. 19), Hangul (no. 25), Portland (no. 31), and Chosun (chosun 122001, no. 23). For more details, see 4.3.2. Composition of images: Buildings and gardes in rendezvous scenes.

from the National Folk Museum of Korea (no. 12 and no. 13) are dated to after 1945. Several other screens were produced from the early twenty century: for instance, two screens from Seoul History Museum (no. 20 and no. 21), a screen from Busan Museum (no. 26), and one panel from the Kim Sejong private collection.

Overall, Kuunmong screens demonstrate the high-level of consistency in the selection of scenes. The consistency may be due to the fact that the nineteenth-century production of Kuunmong screens served as a foundation for the later screens. Detailed discussions of scenes follow in 4.3. Analysis of Scenes.

4.3. Analysis of Scenes

Intermedial translation: medium and use

We can speculate on and surmise authorial intent by Kim Manjung in writing *Kuunmong*, but the meaning of the text is only provided by audience reception, and one of the important indicators of reception is the reproduction of the text in visual media, among which folding screens are nearly the only medium before the twentieth century.[118] After the text began to be read in the late seventeenth century, Kim's intended message was meaningfully put into "use" by the audience. The term "use" embraces a range of various engagements of audiences with a screen.

The meaning of his work was realised in the hands of the audience. A novel or a painting (here, in particular, a folding screen) is a work of art that is made in a medium to be engaged with by audience response, that is, in the audience's meaning-making activity. In what follows, folding screens depicting scenes from *Kuunmong* are taken as the best

[118] Textual reception of *Kuunmong* revealed in various surviving editions was discussed in Chapter Two: Textual reception of *Kuunmong*.

medium to indicate reception. Reception is inferred from the way scenes from the story were depicted and used.

The nature of a folding screen that depicts a story is threefold: as a visual image, as a narrative, and as a physical screen. The focus of analysis is to examine what is visually translated onto a screen from the story *Kuunmong*, a case of intermedial translation, and to speculate on the reason for these selective visual presentations of the narrative. In this inquiry, the specific visual tradition and conventions of folding screens will be considered. In short, the conventions of folding screens lend the medium to the creation of a narrative story but with limitations that will be explored below. These points will be illustrated through a comparison of Kuunmong screens with similar types of screens and a variety of folding screens depicting the Kuunmong story.

Narrative in relation to a novel and an image

When it comes to a work of art, the world is constructed differently in a novel or an image with regard to temporal and spatial dimensions and constructions. This study of the intermedial translation of *Kuunmong*, and in particular visual presentations of the narrative, discusses the differences that are noticeable in rendering the same story in different media: a literary text called "novel" and a visual image called "a folding screen." The contrast of temporal elements of a novel with an image, for instance, raises the question of how a narrative is differently achieved in different media. Because it is foundational for the main discussions that follow, the construction of a narrative in relation to a novel will be first explained and then be compared with the construction of a narrative commonly seen in the images on a folding screen.

A novel is a form of writing where a narrative develops through combinations of two devices called scenes and summaries.[119] A scene approximates time and space where actions of characters occur, while a summary manipulates time and space of events by condensing and abridging events. Each scene has only its own temporal dimension. One scene after another is presented in a sequence, but because the scenes are not always sequential, if there is no transition or information to connect scenes, that makes it difficult for a reader to see how all of the scenes relate to one another as a sequence of events. On the other hand, a summary has no temporal dimension like a scene but often provides helpful context and transition to fill in the gaps between scenes. It is in the mind of a reader that the narrative takes shape. Only while being read does a sequence of events occur in a single, connected time dimension. A reader puts together events provided by both scenes and summaries and works out a narrative from them.

In a painting, a narrative is generated differently. There are visual images that present scenes, which mainly have time and space in the present of the scene's action, but one scene can accommodate more than one action. A folding screen usually shows multiple scenes or snapshots, rather than a single scene. This is because a screen often consists of multiple panels. A single panel, additionally, is sometimes divided into more than one scene. The scene can be complicated with visual references and brief summaries of relevant episodes to become informative to a viewer, who is expected to be equipped with applicable visual literacy. However, there is usually a lack of substantive signposting of words and phrases among visual images, as in the novel, which better connect scenes. Accompanied by the viewer filling in knowledge of the story, these scenes constitute a visual narrative, but only if the viewer already knows the story. The linkage between the

[119] For detailed discussion of scene and summary, see *The Art of Fiction* by David Lodge (2011).

textually or orally transmitted story and the folding screen requires us to consider the characteristics of intermedial translation from the text on the page to the image on the screen.

Use of screens in the viewer's surroundings and the viewer's perspectives

A folding screen was a means of mounting paintings and was itself a piece of furniture. A folding screen is not only foldable but also changeable in the size of its paintings and in the number of its panels. That makes folding screens a good material for storing paintings of various types. In addition, a folding screen is a piece of furniture that was usually put on one side of the wall in a room, flat against the wall with necessary equipment added to it as needed but also simply perpendicular to the wall. It was uncommon in the Chosŏn period to put a screen in the middle of the room to partition the room, as we see in Japan. As a piece of furniture, though, it functioned to deflect the cold wind and decorate the room. Multiple-panel screens seem to have been frequently used to protect the room from the cold winter wind and were more useful for that purpose than a single-panel screen, because a wider screen could block more wind.

As the image shows (Image 13), it was usually the case that a tall, multiple-panel screen stood in front of the wall that faced the entrance to the room, behind the owner of the room who usually sat at a low table. A folding screen was not always set out for a viewing experience, unlike the impression one is given in museum displays. Because the screen stood behind one's back, the owner usually did not look at the screen. A folding screen is also easy to put aside when not needed. In Image 14, the folding screen is closed and stands in the corner on the right.

As mentioned above, folding screens were also used on special occasions outdoors to create a space for ceremonies, for example, for a wedding ceremony or a celebration of

longevity at the age of sixty or older. Kuunmong screens might have been used for these purposes no matter how closely or loosely the visual images of the screen reflected the novel. This use of a *Kuunmong* screen for such occasions that might celebrate a happy marriage or a dignified worldly life ironically illuminates the fact that the image on the screen was probably not viewed and not always enjoyed as a visual translation of a story that depicted polygamy and employed Buddhist principles. This means that Kuunmong screens were used in a range of contexts, not always for a viewing experience related to the novel.

Thus, the nature of the folding screen as a medium should be taken into account in the visual reception of the novel *Kuunmong*. The enjoyment of Kuunmong visual narrative by screen users not just correlates with the representation of popular scenes from the Kuunmomg narrative. It is true that the scene arrangement reflected the currency of Kuunmong texts in the nineteenth century when romantic episodes gained popularity while religiosity in the narrative was disfavoured. Scenes for the Kuunmong screens, however, were selected as well to suit other motifs that were expected by screen users. The medial identity of a folding screen contributed to the selection of content for visualising the novel *Kuunmong*. Thus, besides prevailing romantic scenes, depictions of festivity or non-human fantasy appeared on folding screens. In addition to the scene-selection, the medial identity as a folding screen affected the rendering of their respective scenes. Detailed discussion of scenes thus executed on Kuunmong folding screens is the main concern in the current research.

Scenes selected

There are three different kinds of episodes from the Kuunmong narrative depicted on folding screens: meet-ups of the protagonist with one or more women, family gatherings, and other miscellaneous events. The first group is dominant while the other two groups moderately occur. The first group includes the first encounter scene of Sŏngjin and eight fairies on the stone bridge, as well as Soyu's rendezvous with eight women. The second group depicts various occasions where Soyu's family gathers together, such as Soyu's wedding, his mother's reunion with her son's family, a banquet of Soyu's extended family, i.e., Soyu's family and King Wŏl's family (King Wŏl is Soyu's brother-in law), and the last gathering of Soyu's family in his majestic pavilion. The third group is eclectic where it encompasses Syou's imaginary battle with the South Sea Prince, the religious awakening of Sŏngjin, the World of Shadow Spirits, and women's poetry competition in the palace.

The selection of these scenes most likely reflected the contemporary Kuunmong texts while the medial identity of a folding screen was also factored in. As discussed earlier, change in the composition of Kuunmong texts occurred in the nineteenth century, and the Kuunmong narrative turned to concern only Soyu's romantic adventure in the secular world. These romantic scenes will be discussed in 4.3.1. Media differences: First encounter scene and 4.3.2. Composition of images: Buildings and gardens in rendezvous scenes. The Kuunmong narrative was thus de-linked from a religious story of the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin. This diminishment of religiosity in the Kuunmong narrative is evident in the scene-arrangement of the Kuunmong folding screens, which were mainly produced in the nineteenth century. This aspect of the Kuunmong imagery will be examined in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening. In addition, festivity of family scenes in the Kuunmong screens is related to similarly-used narrative screens in the late Chosŏn. This thematic commonality of the Kuunmong screens with the contemporary polychrome

screens will be discussed in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings. The influence of contemporary folding screens on the Kuunmong visual narrative extended to the depiction of Soyu's fight with the South Sea Prince and his sea creatures. This sea battle scene will be discussed in 4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals.

Three groups of the Kuunmong imagery largely maintained their ratio and constituencies to constitute the Kuunmong visual narrative over time. The arrangement of scenes that once appeared in early Kuunmong screens persisted to a great extent. For instance, all of the scenes from the Chasu Museum screen continued on other screens. Little adjustment to the proportion is noted while we see dominance of romantic scenes as well as depletion of religious scenes. Nevertheless, a few changes occurred in the select scenes as availability of the Kuunmong screens increased. Popularised versions of the Kuunmong screens show that family scenes tend to be reduced while a sea battle scene is added. There is also an increase in the scenes that may not be related to the Kuunmong story. The following is a table that shows scenes of Kuunmong folding screens.

Table of scenes

	Panel 10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1[120]	Catalogue no.
1	Sim Yoyŏn	Nagyuwŏn	Wedding	Yukkwan, Before Return	Princess Nanyang	Stone bridge	Soyu's mother	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Ka Ch'unun	(Han'guk Chasu)[121]
2					Title	Stone bridge	South Sea Prince	Sim Yoyŏn	Chin Ch'aebong	Nagyuwŏn	Keimyung 계명 1791
3			Ka Ch'unun	Nagyuwŏn	Sim Yoyŏn	Princess Nanyang	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Stone bridge	Keimyung 계명 1520
4	Yukkwan, Before return	Nagyuwŏn	Ka Ch'unun	The World of Shadow Sprits	Sim Yoyŏn	Stone bridge	Princess Nanyang	Chin Ch'aebong	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Keimyung 계명 1519
5			Chŏk Kyŏnghong	Ka Ch'unun	Sim Yoyŏn	Stone bridge	Kye Sŏmwŏl	South Sea Prince	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Chin Ch'aebong	(Gaheo) Inmul 인물 1-013
6			Princess Nanyang	Kye Sŏmwŏlat her place	Nagyuwŏn	Stone bridge	Sim Yoyŏn	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	(Gaheo) Inmul 인물 2-013
7					Sim Yoyŏn	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Paek Nŭngp'a	Pansagok	Princess Nanyang	Kye Sŏmwŏl	(Gaheo) Inmul 인물 2-018

[120] The number of the panel is traditionally counted from the right to the left. The end panel on the right side is the number one panel with some exceptions, for instance, Keimyung 계명 1791. However, to be consistent, all numbering starts from the right.

[121] When no catalogue number is available, the name of the museum or the collector (usually partially) in bracket is used. The name of the museum (usually partially) with a bracket is also added to the catalogue number when it is necessary to do that.

8										Stone bridge	(Gaheo) Inmul 인물 2-014
9			Yukkwan, After return	Sim Yoyŏn	Ka Ch'unun	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Chŏk Kyŏnghong	Chin Ch'aebong	Ch'lposi (Princess Nanyang and Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae)	Stone bridge	Kyonggi 경기 1309
10					?	?	Stone bridge	?	?	?	minsok 민속 051267
11			Wedding?	?	Nagyuwŏn	?	?	?	?	Stone bridge	minsok 민속 045484
12			?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	minsok 민속 040445
13			Sim Yoyŏn	Nagyuwŏn	Yukkwan,Before return	?	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Stone bridge	?	Chin Ch'aebong	minsok 민속 039692
14			Stone bridge	Sim Yoyŏn	Princess Nanyang	South SeaPrince	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Ka Ch'unun	minsok 민속 063586
15			Sanguo yanyi	Sanguo yanyi	Sanguo yanyi	Stone bridge	Sanguo yanyi	Sanguo yanyi	Sanguo yanyi	Sanguo yanyi	minsok 민속 038817
16	?	Stone bridge	South Sea Prince	Sim Yoyŏn	?	?	?	Kye Sŏmwŏl	?	Chin Ch'aebong	Minsok 민속 067950
17			Yukkwan, Before Return	Soyu's mother	Sim Yoyŏn	Nagyuwŏn	Stone bridge	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Ka Ch'unun	Chin Ch'aebong	(Onyang) 6903
18			South Sea Prince	Sim Yoyŏn	Chŏk Kyŏnghong	Ka Ch'unun	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Stone bridge	(National) ku 구 5526
19			Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Nagyuwŏn	Stone bridge	Ka Ch'unun	Yukkwan, Before return	Soyu's mother	Sim Yoyŏn	(National) sinsu 신수 14114
20			Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Wedding	Chin Ch'aebong	Kye Sŏmwŏl	South Sea Prince	Sym Yoyŏn	Chŏk Kyŏnghong	Ka Ch'uun	(Seoul) Sŏ 서 15561
21										Stone bridge	(Seoul) Sŏ 서 13838
22					Paek Nŭngp'a	Pansagok	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Princess Nanyang	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Sim Yoyŏn	(Horim)
23			Yukkwan, Before return	Nagyuwŏn	South Sea Prince	Sim Yoyŏn	Ch'lposi (Princess Nanyang and Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae)	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Stone bridge	(choson) sŏlhwado 설화도 122001
24			Nagyuwŏn	Sim Yoyŏn	Princess Nanyang	Ka Ch'unun	Soyu's mother	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Stone bridge	(choson) sŏlhwado 설화도 122004
25	Yukkwan, Before return	Nagyuwŏn	South Sea Prince	Sim Yoyŏn	Chŏk Kyŏnghong	Ka Ch'unun	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chin Ch'aebong	Stone bridge	(Hangul) han'gu 한구 833
26					Sim Yoyŏn	Nagyuwŏn	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Princess Nanyang	Stone bridge	Kye Sŏmwŏl	(Busan) kuip 구입 6283
27	?	?	?	Kye Sŏmwŏl?	?	?	?	Ka Ch'unun?	?	Stone bridge	(Jeonju) kijŭng 기증 10080
28										Yukkwan and eight fairies	(Kim Sejong)
29										Stone bridge	(Kim Sejong)
30			Stone bridge	Yukkwan, Before return	Sim Yoyŏn	Nagyuwŏn	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Ka Ch'unun	Chin Ch'aebong	Kye Sŏmwŏl	(Asian) no. 1997.21
31	Yukkwan, Before return	Nagyuwŏn	South Sea Prince	Paek Nŭngp'a	Soyu's mother	Sim Yoyŏn	Ka Ch'unun	Stone bridge	Chin Ch'aebong	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	(Portland)
32										Stone Bridge	(Guimet) MG 25506
33										World of Shadow Spirit	(Serizawa)
34										?	(Serizawa)
35	Pine tree?	Stone Bridge	Sim Yoyŏn	World of Shadow Spirit	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Thatched roof house	Sŭngsang Pu after Soyu defeated Tibet and he became Wikukkong	Ka Ch'unun	Chin Ch'aebong	(Han'guk Chasu)
36			Stone Bridge	World of Shadow Spirit	Chin Ch'aebong	Kye Sŏmwŏl	Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae	Ch'lposi (Princess Nanyang and Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae)	Nagyuwŏn	Sŏngjin and eight fairies	(Song'am)

The following is what each word or phrase for a scene indicates. The number in brackets refers to the frequency of a scene.

* Stone bridge (29): the first encounter scene where Sŏngjin meets with eight fairies on the stone bridge.

* each of eight women indicates her rendezvous with Soyu, for instance, Kye Sŏmwŏl (23), Sim Yoyŏn (22), Chin Ch'aebong (21), Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae (18), Ka Ch'unun (16), Princess Nanyang (10), Chŏk Kyŏnghong (5), and Paek Nŭngp'a (3).

* Nagyuwŏn (16): a banquet of Soyu's extended family, i.e., Soyu's family and King Wŏl's family (King Wŏl is Soyu's brother-in law)

* Soyu's mother (5): the reunion of Soyu's mother with his son Soyu's family after his marriage.

* wedding (2): Soyu's wedding where he gets married to Princess Nanyang and Princess Yŏngyang (previously Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae, but elevated to the status of a princess to enable Soyu to marry both of them)

* Yukkwan before return (9): last gathering of Soyu family where Master Yukkwan visits Soyu to lead his disciple (originally Sŏngjin but here Soyu) back to Buddhism

* Yukkwan after return (1): After Soyu's return to the monastery, the master Yukkwan is preaching *Diamond Sutra* to Sŏngjin and eight fairies.

* the World of Shadow Spirits (4): Sŏngjin, dismissed by the master Yukkwan, is being escorted by officers to meet the king of the World of Shadow Spirits. The king rules Sŏngjin's rebirth into the human world.

* South Sea Prince (9): Soyu is engaged in an imaginary fight with the South Sea Prince under the sea as the prince has claimed that Paek Nŭngp'a is his wife.

* title: the title in Chinese says Kuunmong-to 九雲夢圖.

* Sŏngjin and eight fairies (1): Sŏngjin stands in the pavilion and watches eight fairies flying up to disappear from him. It is a spurious depiction of what follows Soyu's last

family gathering in the pavilion. Instead of eight fairies, in fact, it is Soyu that leaves the pavilion to become Sŏngjin before they do.

* Ch'ilposi (2): The *ch'ilposi* (literally means seven-footstep poem) where a poem should be composed before a person takes the seventh foot step. Princess Nanyang and Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae are featured in the poetry competition *ch'ilposi* in the palace.

* Pansagok (2): The Pansagok is a dangerous place where Soyu's army is struggling during his military campaign against the Tibetans.

* Yukkwan and eight fairies (1): The master Yukkwan and eight fairies are depicted together, where little clue is offered to recall any related episodes from the Kuunmong narrative.

* Sŭngsang Pu after Soyu defeated Tibet and he became Wikukkong (1): Soyu became the Prince of Wi after he subdued the Tibetan upheaval.

* Sanguo yanyi (7): episodes from a Chinese novel *Sanguo yanyi* that is not related to the novel *Kuunmong*.

* Thatched roof house (1); Pine tree (1): These may refer to some scenes in the Kuunmong narrative, but they are not recognized.

* The question mark indicates that the content depicted in the scene is not identifiable in relation to the novel *Kuunmong*.

The embroidered screen at the Chasu Museum (no. 1 in Table 1, Appendix 1), the most elaborate one for reasons that will be explained below, can be used as a discussion base for further comparative work with other screens. Chapter one of *Kuunmong*, that is, first encounter scene, and its rendition on a screen will be discussed first, because the scene from the first chapter is the origin point of the entire story and is frequently depicted on screens. The discussion of rendezvous scenes of Soyu with eight women, festivity scenes, religious scenes, and other fantasy scenes will follow in later sections. In addition,

comparative analysis of the Kuunmong screens would help us explore how differently the Kuunmong imagery was consumed by different audiences.

4.3.1. Media differences: First encounter scene

In the embroidered screen at the Chasu Museum, the fifth panel or the farthest panel to the left[122] in the first five scenes (fifth panel as Image 15) offers a visual presentation of the encounter scene.[123] The fifth panel on the left depicts the encounter between Sŏngjin and the eight fairies on the bridge. The scene is in the first chapter of the novel but is numbered as the fifth panel in the screen. The order of the scenes in the folding screen does not follow that of the novel. The disorder of the screen may happen because many surviving screens underwent amending and restoration. The order of panels as the Chasu Museum screen is now may not be the original order but may rather be what has resulted from repair and restoration. Whether or not this is the original order that has been kept in the screen, the disorder may reflect the kind of relation that the screen has towards the novel. That relation may tell us about the visual presentation of a story in the case of a folding screen.

That is, a viewer already knows what the story is about and already has the narrative in mind. Therefore, scenes need not be put in a sequential order; the viewer can read the narrative from images in any order. In the case of Kuunmong screens, this may be particularly true. The Chasu Museum screen does not have one large, continuous composition across the entire screen, which is the case for nearly all the known extant

[122] Numbering panels of a screen is from right to left. The enlarged image contains only the first five panels. Another set of five panels follows the fifth panel. That makes the fifth panel one of two central panels of this ten-panel Chasu Museum folding screen.

[123] Textual descriptions of the first encounter scene were examined in 2.2. Encounter Scene in Chapter One from the Kuunmong story. Translated excerpts pertinent to the scene are provided in Appendix 3.

Kuunmong screens. Each panel of the Chasu Museum screen is discreet and has individual images, which are to be viewed either as a whole or individually. Simultaneous viewing of many scenes on a folding screen is unique to this medium; that is clear when compared with a handscroll. The images of a handscroll unfold as the scroll is unrolled to the left, while the already open part is rolled back. The entire image of the handscroll cannot be seen at the same time, and the images are seen only sequentially no matter how loosely each depiction on the handscroll is connected. A folding screen is viewed in a different way.

A viewer of a folding screen has the liberty to choose from where to start; and that may not necessarily be the first panel. A viewer may choose scenes in any order they want. It may be a random choice, but most likely the order will reflect a viewer's priorities. The first scene they wish to view may be the most memorable scene. The encounter between Sŏngjin and the eight fairies at the bridge is a very memorable scene in the story, so a viewer may want to see this scene first, but that desire does not necessarily mean that this scene should come first on the screen. Rather, it may be placed in the middle of the screen so as to draw more attention. The central panel is usually a preferred spot that grabs the viewer's attention, anyway. In short, the panels are not necessarily in the order of the textual story; each panel carries a discreet scene; and the order cannot be precisely determined, because the screen may have undergone restoration that scrambled any sequence. The key element, though, is that the strength of the screen's effect on the viewer and their preference in the order rely on the viewer's previous knowledge of the story.

Action in the scene of the fifth panel

Then what do we see in the fifth panel? It is the moment in which all of the main characters, that is, Sŏngjin and the eight fairies, meet each other for the first time (Image

16). To take a closer look at the fifth panel, Sŏngjin is at the bridge, about to cross the bridge, while eight fairies are already on the bridge. This is an action scene, and compared with a written text, an image is better suited for depicting an action scene than any other aspect of a narrative.[124]

Action in a single scene, however, is often multiple. In other words, one scene can contain several actions at once. The scene (Image 16) shows us that the characters are about to converse with each other, but they do not seem to be talking yet. It looks like the moment when they have just literally bumped into each other. The panel seems to depict the scene immediately before the exchange of proper and formal greetings by the characters. From the textual translations, we know that there were several sequences of action before the greeting and several sequences of action after the greeting. Before Sŏngjin appeared at the bridge, eight fairies were enjoying the spring scenery and amusing themselves; they sat on the bridge, looked down at the stream, and found their faces reflected in the water. Once the women encountered Sŏngjin, the women and the man immediately set about putting their hands together, palm to palm, and then bowing to greet each other properly before they proceeded to the negotiation over who has to yield the way. The fairies argued that *Liji*, the Confucian text that prescribes proper rites and manners, states, "men should go on the right side of the road, and women go on the left side." However, the bridge is too narrow for both a man and woman to pass. They insisted that the monk should find another way to cross, since they were sitting on the bridge before he appeared. Sŏngjin, understood that they wanted to be bribed to allow him to pass and turned peach blossoms into eight jewels to give them to the fairies as a payment.

[124] Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen point out that image performs effectively when it depicts physical action in a narrative (2006, 59-78).

The image (Image 16) can be read as a single moment or as a set of multiple actions as described in the text. These actions began from before Sŏngjin and the women encountered each other all the way up to their argument over the right-of-way over the bridge. Here, the action ends before the settlement, because Sŏngjin has not yet thrown the peach blossoms to the women to resolve the argument. We know this, because, although the peach tree appears behind Sŏngjin, the eight jewels that he transformed from the peach blossoms are not depicted in the scene. Various points of action, though, may be indicated by characters' gazing in different directions. Only four fairies in the group actually face Sŏngjin, while three are looking away in different directions, and one fairy has yet to stand up from her sitting position. These other four fairies may represent their engagement with the beauty of the spring scenery before they turn to greet Sŏngjin. Once they encounter each other at the bridge, the fairies turn to him and greet Sŏngjin and then argue with him. The artist of the Chasu Museum *Kuunmong* screen condensed multiple actions into one single frame rather than separating them. We know of these actions only because we have foreknowledge from the text.

The choice of action

Before the encounter at the bridge, Sŏngjin was washing his face and went upstream to follow a scent he smelled, while the fairies were enjoying the view of the waterfall at the top of the peak before they came down and sat on the side of the bridge to have their faces reflected in the mirror-like clean water. The visual image (Image 16) only catches the moment or moments just prior to and including the encounter and not most of what leads up to Sŏngjin being at the base of the bridge or what follows after their encounter. To understand why the artist may have chosen the bridge scene from among other possible action-laden moments, it is important to note that this scene depicts the very

moment that triggers the conflict of desire, which leads to the development of the entire story. After meeting and talking to eight fairies, Sŏngjin does not leave that experience behind him but carries a memory of the women borne of desire. That encounter, then, holds great significance for his ascetic life as a Buddhist monk. Buddhist monks under training are not usually allowed to leave the monastery. Only those who are ready to overcome any attraction and temptation they would encounter in the secular world could travel outside. Master Yukkwan is the one who should have gone to see the Dragon King. However, he trusted his best disciple Sŏngjin to go in his stead, or the master may have wanted to test his disciple at the last stage of his training, so Sŏngjin was sent out instead of his master. It turns out that Sŏngjin was not yet ready to overcome his desire for beautiful women. Desire, as mentioned above, is the central problem for those dedicated to Buddhist teaching. The ultimate goal of the teaching is to eliminate desire, because desire is the origin of suffering, and to eliminate desire is the best way to eliminate suffering. Sŏngjin's inability to overcome his desire, actually shared by the women as well, led to their punishments: rebirth in the real world where they meet again at various points in a secular narrative.

In connecting Sŏngjin with the eight fairies in that scene, peach blossoms play a significant role, because the peach blossoms are the only tangible token of Sŏngjin's fascination for the women. The peach blossoms are transformed into jewels on their way from him to them and are accepted by the eight fairies. The act of giving and receiving peach blossoms acknowledges their mutual endearment or enchantment. Peach blossoms are also a wondrous suggestion of Daoist immorality, and are not out of place in a story about fairies and immortals. The symbolic significance of peach blossoms in literature and paintings is, in fact, widely shared across East Asia. Ever since "Taohuayuan ji 桃花源記 (The Peach Blossom Spring)," a story written by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明, also known as

Tao Quan 陶潛 (365-427), peach blossoms have been associated with an idealized space in East Asian literary texts. Tao's story relates that a fisherman, lost in a forest of peach blossom trees, follows the river to find a place where people live happy, comfortable lives regardless of the political instability outside. In Korea, for instance, *Mongyu towŏn-to* 夢遊桃源圖 (Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom, Image 17) by An Kyŏn 安堅 was commissioned by Prince Anp'yŏng 安平大君 (1418-1453), who had a dream of such a place. The painting depicts Tao Yuanming's description of the journey with slight but localized changes. In the ideal place, neither people nor animals are depicted. The multiple associations related to the peach blossoms may be another reason why this scene from *Kuunmong* is more frequently depicted on Kuunmong screens than other scenes. For instance, in the screen entitled *Sŏlhwa-to*, no. 27 in Appendix 1 (Jeonju Museum of History), only this scene appears as a Kuunmong image.

The overall episode is quite similarly depicted in all four textual translations as discussed above. Detailed comparative analysis of textual description of the first encounter scene was conducted in 2.2. Encounter Scene in Chapter One from the Kuunmong story. However, most relevant to the Chasu Museum image is the Gale and the 1725 edition of *Kuunmong*. In their texts, Sŏngjin stands at the foot of the stone bridge, and the clouds and mists, hanging around the five highest peaks, are described as lit in the glow of the setting sun. In contrast, there are no details at all in the Kyujanggak edition and only a very vague conceptual description using the word "auspicious" in the Ewha edition. The Ewha edition is the most loosely connected text to the image, because the eight fairies are described as seated under the bridge, which is entirely different from all images presented on screens, where the eight fairies are on the bridge. Also, the Ewha text deviates the most from the other three editions in describing the eight fairies' enjoyment of the spring scenery. As noted above, in the Ewha edition, the eight fairies come down from the peak and play a

pebble-throwing game and float flower petals in the water. These activities are not mentioned in the other three editions and are absent from any extant screens.

Different visuality or what is added and what is left out

Other than the fact that the visual image is optimized for depicting action, different kinds of capacity for visuality or what can be added and what can be left out result from different modes of expression between literary texts and visual images. For example, a stream in the valley and a waterfall near the top of the peak are described in detail in the novel, and these are fairly accurately translated onto the panel. A tall peach blossom tree stands convincingly just next to Sŏngjin in the screens, and this is described in the novel. However, while a written description affords many details of visuality, ample amounts of visual elements are left out of the novel but find their way into the folding screen. For example, the words "stone bridge," unless it is a metaphor, immediately brings forth an image of the referent, a sort of constructed bridge; that is, an image shared in the community of that language. Language is economic in this sense. Thus, there is no real need to mention what the bridge looks like in the novel.

By contrast, in depicting a bridge in a visual medium, there is always a need to depict what shape, colour, and design go into the bridge (Image 18). It has to be a certain bridge. Similarly, as opposed to the image (Image 19), there is no description in the text of the monastery, except its size: it is a big monastery. The dress and hairstyles of the fairies are not described as they are expected to be wearing something and to have some kind of coiffure. The way Sŏngjin is dressed is described only using the word *kasa* 袈裟, the formal clothing for a monk. A reader may or may not call up these images to complement their reading, whereas for a viewer these visual details have to be depicted in the screen.

Visual details of these items are all the artist's rendering of the scene.[125] Interestingly, Sŏngjin is wearing a pointed hat in the Chasu Museum panel. Sin Insuk (1991) comments that this is one addition to the original text. However, Sŏngjin's pointed hat is just another case of some aspect being left unmarked visually in the novel but being marked in the visual image. This style of hat is commonly associated with a travelling monk. Sŏngjin is returning from his visit to the Dragon King, so a viewer of the nineteenth century would expect Sŏngjin to be wearing the hat of a travelling monk.

Rendering sensory elements specific to a screen

These are the visual elements, but we should also consider other sensory elements that figure prominently in the textual narrative and can be depicted visually[126] but in fact are rarely transferable to the screens, such as sound, smell, taste, and touch. The text has more capacity to suggest these sensory experiences. Taste, however briefly, is mentioned in the novel, as for example, the tasty food at the Dragon King's Palace. Touch is very rarely mentioned by itself but at pivotal moments touch is addressed, often in an association with sound and smell to link sound and smell with touching experiences.

Sound is an important sensory experience and figures prominently in the novel. In Chapter one of the written text, the final scene features sound at the moment Sŏngjin is born into the real world. He shouts, "save me, save me (救我救我)." Although he thinks

[125] Ways in which details unmarked in the novel are visually rendered in the hand of artists will be discussed in all of the following sections, but in particular, in 4.3.2. Composition of images: Buildings and gardens in rendezvous scenes.

[126] Sensory elements can be depicted visually. François Quiviger presents a summary of "three ways of representing the senses: by means of animals reputed for the acuity of a specific sense; by means of figures experiencing sensations; and by means of sensory organs." For instance, "flowers for Smell, a mirror for Sight, musical instruments for Hearing, and food for Taste" (Quiviger 2014, 170).

he is shouting, this is only in his mind. His shout does not form words; the sounds only linger in his throat and turn into a baby crying (而聲在喉間不能成語, 只小兒啼哭之作聲矣). Sound will be discussed later in the present study in relation to the images in the panels where its significance is evident, but several pivotal moments are triggered by sound as the story unfolds. For example, as shown above, the transition from one space or world to another—from the fantastic to the actual or vice versa—is marked by specific sonic experiences of characters. Or, other pivotal moments are when the protagonist Soyu (the monk Sŏngjin as re-born into the actual world) encounters eight fairies or maidens, and sound marks the encounters. For now, "fantastic" versus "actual" is used rather uncritically, but elaboration on this division will be provided later in detail.

Smell also frequently plays a crucial role in the development of the episodes. The reason why Sŏngjin goes up the valley and meets fairies, for instance, is because he smells a strange fragrance. He goes to discover what the scent is: whether it is of orchid, musk, or another flower. Noticing that the water gave out a fragrance, Sŏngjin wonders, what strange flowers have bloomed upstream? As revealed afterwards, the fragrance turns out to be that of the fairies. Smells are described like this elaborately in three texts, except the Ewha edition. In the 1725 edition, when Sŏngjin smells the scent, it is so pungent he feels that his nose is being rubbed (捩) with it. In the Kyujanggak edition, the smell penetrates so deeply that he is disturbed beyond words. The physical strength of the scent takes possession of him and makes him take the first step on a path not appropriate for a monk—towards desire. When fairies soar up into the sky and disappear, the fragrance from the fairies scatters as the shadow of clouds fade.

The bridge scene in the panel is only visually saturated without deploying any other sensory experiences. The important role of the fragrant scent and Sŏngjin's tactile experience in his nose are not translatable to the folding screens. Other sensory indicators

are also often missing in other panels of the Chasu Museum screen (Image 15 and Image 20). Among visual expressions, for instance, the time of day is not depicted. Although the time of day when each scene is set varies, there is no indication of time visible in the screens. The colours of clouds in the images do not always indicate the sunset, and these colourings are uniformly seen in all panels. There may be reasons for this lack of varying light. It is also good to show the figures' shadows and naturalism in the scene. However, it was not the norm to illustrate shadows and time of day. The nature of screens may require a consistent tone and shade of background: perhaps for the sake of pleasant viewing. Consistency in background may also be due to the fact that the artist wishes to create a special world on the screen. Or, specifically to Kuunmong screens, it may be because a consistent background helps to generate the optimal fantasy experience of a timeless event. In a fantasy world, the ordinary passage of time is redundant, even disruptive. The image seems to be visually designed to maximize the effect of the fantasy.

Space: Fantasy and the actual world

Consistency of background in the scenes on the folding screen demonstrates the nature of spaces that appear in the novel. A clear-cut division of fantasy and the actual world requires further consideration. Whether or not the action is in Sŏngjin's dream, or in the world of humans or non-humans, any space in the novel may or may not be in the actual world. In Chapter one, there is the Mt. Hyŏngsan area with a focus on the monastery at Lotus Peak; there are also the Dragon King's palace, Lady Wi's Daoist residence, the World of Shadow Spirits, and the Yang's home in Tang China. The first two spaces are inhabited by or visited by the magical monk Sŏngjin and along with the third space are not in his dream; the fourth (Shadow Spirits) is in Sŏngjin's dream where he recognizes himself; and the fifth (the Yang's home) is in Sŏngjin's dream where he is Soyu, son to a

Confucian family. Except for Lady Wi's Daoist residence, which is mentioned but not actually described, these are the sites of action. On the surface, it seems that these five sites can be divided into fantasy spaces and actual spaces. The monastery may seem to be an ordinary Buddhist temple that can be found in the human world, but Yukkwan is not an ordinary monk. He came from India, which is distant enough to be wholly mysterious. In addition, he is regarded as being almost a Buddha, and among his five to six hundred disciples are more than thirty who command supernatural powers. Sŏngjin, for example, flies to the Dragon King's palace on his master's errand; he goes there floating on the wind (飄飄) and on his way back, he commands the wind (御冷風) and rides it. He also has the power to turn flowers into jewels. Lady Wi is a Daoist immortal, and her fairies fly up into the sky to return home after their argument with Sŏngjin. Although Lady Wi's residence is not described, it is clear that Sŏngjin's monastery and her Daoist space are in opposition to the actual world. The World of Shadow Spirits and the Dragon King's Palace are unambiguous fantasy worlds. In sum, there are four different fantasy worlds, while only the Yang family house seems to exist in real space.

Nevertheless, the Yang's home is in Tang China, which is temporally and spatially far away from seventeenth-century Korea. Despite the apparent reality attached to its geography, it is not entirely of the ordinary human world. In Chapter one, the Yang's home is just less fantastical as compared with other unworldly spaces containing immortals. Despite the apparent actuality, Soyu's world in Tang China is revealed to us as his life unfolds and appears to audiences as fantasy. His life is filled with such extreme glory and successes as only imagination would allow. When his first meeting with one of the reborn fairies, Chin Ch'aebong 秦彩鳳, ends in vain, Soyu also meets and stays with a Daoist immortal in a deep mountain. His human world does not actually offer a vision of non-fantasy, but of less fantasy. In the end, Tang society is set in Sŏngjin's dream. This

means that there are only varying degrees of fantasy space. For this reason, it is fairly natural to see fantasy spaces not just in the fifth panel but everywhere one looks.

However, the varying degree of fantasy is not the reason for whether or not we see depictions in the screens. The frequency of some scenes suggests the popularity of some locations. The ending of Chapter one and Chapters two to fifteen discuss the human world of Soyu, while Chapters one (except for the last few pages) and sixteen, the beginning and the ending of the novel, are set in the world of the magical monk Sŏngjin. Whether in Sŏngjin or Soyu's worlds, some unworldly spaces are preferred in the screen presentations. An apparent fantasy space, the realm of the South Sea Crown Prince, for instance, tends to be favoured and frequently depicted in the Kuunmong screens. By contrast, Daoist immortals' residences rarely migrate into the visual translations of the story. This may be because Daoism was relatively underrepresented among the late Chosŏn viewership of the Kuunmong screens when compared with Buddhism and Confucianism. It also correlates with the fact that Daoist elements were often left out in the consumption of Kuunmong texts in the nineteenth century when Kuunmong paintings were produced. The taste of audiences for the Kuunmong story most likely affected their preference in the selection of scenes on Kuunmong screens.

The first encounter scene, and its rendition on a screen was discussed first because the scene from the first chapter is the origin point of the entire story and is frequently depicted on screens. A close comparison of text with image in narrating the initial encounter episode concerned media differences in forming the narrative. With the foundational comparative analysis of text and image, the discussion of rendezvous scenes of Soyu (the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin reborn as Soyu) with eight women, festivity scenes, religious scenes, and other fantasy scenes will follow in later sections. The rendezvous scenes prevail the Kuunmong screens. Below comes the discussion of rendezvous of Soyu

with eight women that occur in the domestic or domesticated outdoor scenes. Influences from contemporaneous illustrated literature, in particular, book illustrations will be revealed on the composition of domestic scenes, with a focus on garden culture.

4.3.2. Composition of images: Buildings and gardens in rendezvous scenes

The textual description of protagonist Soyu's rendezvous with eight women will be compared with corresponding scenes on the screens. A comparative analysis of textual and visual reception of the rendezvous events will show which moments among the rendezvous were selected for viewers of the screen and how visual tradition and conventions shared among screen users affected the elements that appear in the rendezvous imagery. Not all of the eight rendezvous moments migrate into visual presentation. A visual analysis of all eight rendezvous scenes will be conducted together. It is because while each rendezvous episode displays distinct details, those visually translated onto the screens demonstrate a significant level of consistency in an approach capturing the episode of the rendezvous.

The first part of analysis includes an investigation of the visual rendering of sensory experience that triggers a rendezvous. The scent of fragrance, the music, and Soyu's intoxication play significant roles in leading Soyu to connect with women. The second part of the inquiry focuses on the fact that all rendezvous scenes are depicted in residences, even temporary residence. Two rendezvous events seem to defy this consistency as they occur in the valley or in the military camp, but each space is significantly domesticated. The domesticity in the spatial background grants similarity to the compositions, in particular, those featuring buildings and gardens.

The domestic scene of these rendezvous scenes dominates the Kuunmong imagery and show influence from contemporaneous visual culture, in particular, of illustrated

literature discussed in Chapter Three. In addition to book illustrations crafted in Chinese novels, analysis of domestic scenes will consider visual allusions to non-narrative art, in particular, a metaphor for a well-ordered garden, as well as visual quotations from *koesŏk-to* 怪石圖 (ornamental rock painting) and *han'gung-to* 漢宮圖 (Korean palace painting).

Rendezvous episodes

In his dream, the monk Sŏngjin is reborn as the *bon vivant* Yang Soyu. As the narrative unfolds, Soyu meets again the eight maidens. The eight women are reborn in all different social statuses, and their expertise varies. Leaving his home in Sujuhyŏn 壽州縣 (Ch. Shouzhouxian), Hoenamdo 淮南道 (Ch. Huainandao), at the age of fifteen, Soyu takes a journey to the capital, Changan (Ch. Chang'an, present day Xi'an), for the government civil examinations. During his journey, he first comes across Chin Ch'aebong, daughter of a local aristocratic family in Hwaŭmhyŏn 華陰縣 (Ch. Hwainxian), Hwaju 華州 (Ch. Huazhou). Later he meets Kye Sŏmwŏl, a female entertainer with a cultivated taste in poetry in Nagyang (present day Luoyang), the second biggest city next to the capital. While waiting for the examination in Changan, he encounters Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae, a model woman in every aspect, who is daughter of a prestigious aristocrat, and her maid Ka Ch'unun. He passes the examination winning the first place, begins working in the Hallim Academy, and then is given a diplomatic mission to subdue the king of Yŏn 燕 (Ch. Yan), a state in the east. On his return journey after completing the mission successfully, in Handan 邯鄲 (Ch. Handan) area he also encounters Chŏk Kyŏnghong, who grew up in a northern remote village, but became famous for her beauty. She is one of the three best female entertainers along with Kye Sŏmwŏl. Back in the capital, while Soyu continues to work in the government as a Hallim scholar 翰林學士, he experiences an indirect contact

with Princess Nanyang through the tunes of a flute. Later, in the military campaign in the west to conquer Tibet, he meets Sim Yoyŏn, who has been sent to kill him as an assassin, and subsequently Paek Nŭngp'a, daughter of the Dragon King of the Sea.

In the novel, the descriptions of Soyu's various rendezvous with eight women diverge in the level of intimacy and in the complexity of the events. The difference derives from their social statuses. When Soyu meets each of the three women from non-noble families, that is, Sŏmwŏl, Yoyŏn, and Nŭngp'a, their relationship begins immediately. Once encountering each other, without hesitation and without pretending to be someone or something else, they talk to each other, and then spend the night together on that day. The rendezvous with the other two women from non-noble families, Ch'unun and Kyŏnghong, involves disguise on the part of the women, but their relationship develops relatively fast in comparison to the case of women of higher social status. Ch'unun deceives Soyu first as a Daoist immortal and then as a ghost. Ch'unun introduces herself as a Daoist immortal Chang Yŏrang 張女娘, who is about to return to her home in the sky. After the first night with Soyu, she disappears but several days later comes back to him as a ghost. Kyŏnghong encounters Soyu in disguise as a boy. From then on, they travel together until Soyu meets again Sŏmwŏl on the way back to the capital. As Kyŏnghong is a friend of Sŏmwŏl, they have a secret meeting. People suspect that Kyŏnghong flirts with Sŏmwŏl, but Kyŏnghong reveals her identity immediately after she spends that night together with Soyu.

In contrast, rendezvous with the three women from noble or royal families, Ch'aebong, Kyŏngp'ae, and Princess Nanyang are all delayed, and multiple preparatory procedures are required before their romantic relationship is established. Soyu encounters Ch'aebong in Chapter Two, but they only look at each other briefly with no time for conversation. Poetry that contains their mutual promise to marry follows their first encounter, but they fail to meet again due to political disruption in the region. Later in

chapter 7, Ch'aebong, then *yŏjungsŏ* 女中書 (Ch. *nüzhongshu*, a court lady doing paperwork at the royal court), encounters Soyu when he writes poems to ladies-in-waiting, but he does not recognise her, because he thinks that she did not survive the rebellion. The courtship between Ch'aebong and Soyu is finally completed in chapter 13, when he recognises her from her weeping at him on the third night after his wedding. Rendezvous with Kyŏngp'ae in chapter 4 carries tension and descriptive details, but they fail to be romantically involved at their first encounter. There is only an exchange of surreptitious glances. Soyu is also disguised as a female Daoist. Once she recognises him, from his indecently suggestive music soliciting her love, and realises that Soyu the Daoist is not a woman, she quickly withdraws to her room. Until the wedding, they do not meet again. Even at the wedding, Soyu is deceived to think that Kyŏngp'ae is sister to Princess Nanyang. Only several days later, he realises that he has married Kyŏngp'ae. That finally completes their reunion. The relationship with Princess Nanyang carries the least description. The first occasion for them to meet in chapter 7 is mediated through anonymous exchanges of music. Soyu hears the music of the princess's white jade six-holed flute, and responds to the music with his own jade six-holed flute, although he does not know whose music he heard. The princess also does not recognise who replies to her tunes. They do not meet each other until they encounter each other again at the wedding in chapter 13.

Dominance of rendezvous scenes and moments depicted

These eight rendezvous events dominate the Kuunmong screens but were visually translated with varying frequency. Rendezvous scenes that frequently appear in the screens comprise Sŏmwŏl, Yoyŏn, Ch'aebong, Kyŏngp'ae, and Ch'unun whereas less frequent ones are of Princess Nanyang, Kyŏnghong, and Nŭngp'a. The frequency of appearance is

in descending order. Among thirty-six Kuunmong screens, Sŏmwŏl appears twenty three times; Yoyŏn twenty-two times; Ch'aebong twenty one times; Kyŏngp'ae eighteen times; Ch'unun sixteen times; Princess Nanyang ten times; and Kyŏnghong five times. The Nŭngp'a rendezvous scenes are the least frequent and diverge from the rest of the rendezvous scenes in the painting style. Only in two screens, no. 7 Gahoe 2-018 and no. 22 horim, an exclusive focus is given on Soyu meeting Nŭngp'a. Their meeting is depicted as well in no. 5 Gahoe 1-013; no. 14 National Folk 063586; and no. 23 Chosun 12200. However, in these three screens, the scene is not central but only supplemental in Soyu's dream where he is engaged in the battle with South Sea Prince. Nŭngp'a's place is marginalised at the upper end (Chosun 122001) or blended into the battle scene (both National Folk 063586 and Gahoe 1-013).[127] The no. 31 Portland Art Museum screen also shows that Soyu meets Nŭngp'a in his dream, but the rendezvous scene is relatively minimized while the main focus is given to the fact that Soyu is sleeping in the military tent and having a dream of the rendezvous. In addition, the scene in both 7 Gahoe 2-018 and 22 horim screens is identical, and it thus makes the Nŭngp'a scene even more uncommon one (Image 24).

The Chasu Museum screen carries four of the five frequent rendezvous scenes. The rendezvous scene of Kyŏngp'ae is left out. Among less frequent rendezvous scenes, only Soyu's musical exchange with Princess Nanyang is visualised in the Chasu Museum screen. This may be because Soyu appearing disguised as a woman (when he encounters Kyŏngp'ae) or Kyŏnghong cloaked as a boy may seem to be unfavourable for display to the royal household. The wedding scene[128] replaces the Kyŏngp'ae rendezvous scene in

[127] As Soyu's battle with the prince dominates the scene in these three screens, they will be discuused in 4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals. Images can be found in that section. (Image 79, 83 and 85 in Appendix 2).

[128] The wedding scene appears again only on a screen at Seoul History museum (Sŏ 서

the Chasu Museum screen. The Kyŏnghong rendezvous scene is substituted by the scene depicting the reunion of Soyu's mother and his family in the Chasu Museum screen.[129] The five frequent scenes, four in the Chasu Museum screen, that is, Sŏmwŏl, Yoyŏn, Ch'aebong, and Ch'unun, and one from Asian Art Museum, Kyŏngp'ae [130] as well as the less frequent Princess Nanyang, and Kyŏnghong scenes,[131] share similar stylistic features and will be mainly discussed below.[132]

As discussed above there are at least two different types of rendezvous: one immediate and the other delayed. Regardless of intimacy and complexity involved in rendezvous scenes, the visual presentation of rendezvous tends to depict the starting point of romantic involvement of Soyu with each woman. Rendezvous scenes for Yoyŏn, Ch'unun, Sŏmwŏl, and Nŭngp'a, who are from the first group, as well as Ch'aebong, Kyŏngp'ae, and Princess Nanyang, from the second group, depict their first occasion whether or not their relationship is fully established from there. When a woman takes on more than one persona, it is the first one that is depicted on the screens. Ch'unun, for instance, appears first disguised as a Daoist immortal and then as a ghost. Her rendezvous with Soyu is always presented on the screens as a Daoist immortal. Soyu's rendezvous with Kyŏnghong is not directly rendered onto the screen. The prelude to their meeting is

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15561, no. 20 in Table 1, Appendix 1) among thirty-six Kuunmong screens.

[129] Beside the Chasu Museum screen, the scene depicting the reunion of Soyu's mother and his family appears in screens of no. 17 Onyang 6903; no. 19 National sinsu 신수 14114; no. 24 choson sŏlhwado 설화도 122004; and no. 31 Portland. The scene will be discussed in 4.3.3. Symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.

[130] Instead of the Chasu Museum screen, the fourth panel in the eight-panel folding screen at Asian Art Museum is provided in Image 22 in Appendix 2.

[131] Instead of the Chasu Museum screen, the fourth panel in the eight-panel folding screen at Sosŏng Museum is provided in Image 23 in Appendix 2.

[132] Rendezvous scenes in the Chasu Museum screen can be found in Image 20 in Appendix 2.

instead depicted. It is the meeting of Kyŏnghong with Sŏmwŏl over the fence, and Soyu always appears in the scene. This scene of Kyŏnghong with Sŏmwŏl leads to the unveiling of Kyŏnghong's identity, which is followed by their first moment of romance, although this is only implied in the screen presentation.

The textual descriptions of rendezvous, in relation to their visual presentation, is provided in Appendix 3. My paraphrased translation based on the 1725 edition provides the necessary explanations for words, references, and contexts added in brackets for the rendezvous scenes. Significant differences with other textual editions that deserve attention is discussed as needed. The textual description of the 1725 edition is the most elaborate, and here we can consider the overall textual narratives of rendezvous scenes based on the 1725 edition. Information not pertinent to the screen adaptations is not translated, and omitted as indicated by "…".

These first moments of Soyu and the eight women are often introduced with music or poetry. They are also harbingered with fragrance or a change of ambience. Soyu is sometimes intoxicated before being led to the rendezvous. These non-visual elements in the event often fail to gain visibility but only hinted at in the visual presentation. However, musical instruments, for instance, the zither or *kŭm*, are usually depicted. Even if most non-visual elements are not visually represented in the screen, if the viewer has knowledge of the story, despite a range of different levels of their familiarity to the novel, audiences would infer from visually covert elements more details than expressed that contribute to the rendezvous episode. Prior to analysing what is visualised on the screen (in particular, buildings and gardens), these non-visual triggers in the rendezvous will be discussed below.

The fragrance, music, and intoxication

The presence of beautiful women, in particular, women for Sŏngjin or Soyu is signalled with fragrance. The first encounter of Sŏngjin and eight fairies at the stone bridge was occasioned by the intoxicated monk's attraction to the strange fragrance.[133] As eight fairies are associated with fragrance, similarly, the presences of Ch'aebong and Sŏmwŏl, Kyŏngp'ae and Nŭngp'a are accompanied with a strange fragrance. When Ch'aebong withdraws to her room, fragrance lingers behind. Soyu stops to join the poetry contest, where he will meet Sŏmwŏl, because he is attracted by the fragrance resonating from the pavilion.[134] Fragrance signals to Soyu that Kyŏngp'ae is approaching even before she becomes visible. As Nŭngp'a approaches and bows to Soyu, he senses cool fragrance along with the clear sound of jade in her movements.

Instrumental music is involved in the first occasion of Soyu with Kyŏngp'ae and Princess Nanyang. At Kyŏngp'ae's residence, Soyu plays nine pieces of ancient Chinese music on his zither. The last one called "Fengqiuhuang 鳳求凰 (a male phoenix seeks for his spouse, a female phoenix)" intends to initiate their relationship because it is associated with a poem about Sima Xiangru's love for Zhu Wenjun. However, Soyu's effort in winning her heart was futile because his blatant attempt was truly disturbing to Kyŏngp'ae. The first encounter of Soyu with Princess Nanyang is musical correspondence without knowing each other. Their exchange of flute tunes of which the title is not recognised by both of them only implies the weak approach of Soyu to Princess Nanyang.

Poetry, in contrast, is more rewarding in connecting Soyu with Ch'aebong, Sŏmwŏl, and Ch'unun. It is Ch'unun's poem written on a leaf floating down the stream that triggers Soyu's curiosity to explore that area further and eventually encounter her.

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[133] The fragrance in the first encounter scene was discussed in 2.2. Encounter Scene in Chapter One from the Kuunmong story and 4.3.1. Media differences: First encounter scene.

[134] The Kyujaggak edition omits the fragrance in this rendezvous event.

Poetry is vocal music when recited. Other than in the case of Ch'unun, poems are usually recited in the novel. Vocal music, playing a pivotal role in the rendezvous episodes, turns out to be more effective than instrumental music. For instance, Soyu's voice in reciting his poem reaches Ch'aebong to wake her up to find him. Sŏmwŏl's recognition of Soyu is also achieved when she selects his poems as the winning pieces. She recites his poems, and that leads to further development of their relationship.

The fragrances, as well as the sounds in instrumental music and poem recitation, may be perceived when the characters' attention to fragrances or sounds is not particularly purposeful. In other words, we smell things but we do not necessarily intend to do so, we hear things but we do not always pursue them. Smelling and hearing are non-projective more often than vision. We do not usually project our nose or ears whereas we do usually project our eyes. Sometimes, only after smelling or hearing something, do we try to discover where it comes from and what it is. Smell and sound resonate in all directions, so our sense of them is often unintentional and beyond our control. All we can do to avoid our exposure to smells or sounds is to block our nose or ears. This may be the reason why smells or sounds are often deployed when Soyu meets a woman unexpectedly, unplanned, and sometimes without recognition on both sides. Fragrance and music coming from the pavilion reach Soyu when he does not expect it, but that makes him join the poetry society and meet Sŏmwŏl. Ch'aebong, while napping, happens to hear Soyu reciting his poem. The anonymous sounds of flute tunes travel in all directions, but Soyu and Princess Nanyang happen to be in that soundscape together.

Intoxication may make Soyu quite vulnerable to the unexpected attractions of fragrance and sound. Intoxication facilitates the rendezvous of Soyu, for instance, with Sŏmwŏl, Princess Nanyang, and Ch'unun. He has taken already a few drinks before he arrives at the drinking and poetry contest society. There, he encounters Sŏmwŏl and listens

to her reciting his poems after he has become even more drunk from several more cups of wine called Nangyangch'un 洛陽春, which is shared with others at the pavilion. The name of the wine, literally meaning the spring in Nangyang, appears in one of his poems composed for the competition to describe the weather.[135] It is also after several drinks that he is fascinated with the flute music by Princess Nanyang. Intoxication is also involved in his meeting with Ch'unun. While intoxicated from drinking with King Wŏl, he walks further into the valley and finds Ch'unun's short poem written on a leaf. The role of intoxication in the novel is not linear towards drunkenness. Toward the closure, it induces recovery to the sobriety of Soyu's mind that has been so far clouded in his worldly life. The complexity of intoxication will be discussed in section 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

The fragrance associated with women and Soyu's intoxication are not explicit in the visual presentation of rendezvous scenes whereas musical instruments are visually translated. Although poetry is a key element in the rendezvous of Soyu with Ch'aebong, Sŏmwŏl, and Ch'unun, poetry never appears on screens. The following discusses the absence of poetry in Kuunmong screens in relation to different audience types targeted for text and visual images.

Poetry and audiences for Kuunmong texts and Kuunmong screens

The absence of poetry in the Kuunmong screens as well as the appearance of poetry in different *Kuunmong* editions tell us about the audiences for the novel and for the screens. As discussed in 2.2. Poetry in three rendezvous scenes, poetry significantly features in the rendezvous with Ch'aebong, Sŏmwŏl, and Ch'unun in the 1725 edition, the

[135] For more detail, see 2.3. Poetry in three rendezvous scenes from the Kuunmong story.

Kyujanggak edition, and Gale's translation, except the Ewha edition where only a brief poem by Ch'unun appears in the rendezvous scene between Soyu and Ch'unun. Lack of poetry is part of the popularisation of the Kuunmong text in the nineteenth century, and it was well illustrated in Seoul Korean woodblock print version, as well as in the Chŏnju Korean woodblock print edition (1862). This may be the reason why none of the poetry is presented in the contemporaneous Kuunmong screens. The absence of poetry in the Kuunmong screens also indicates that Kuunmong screens stand in a line of visual convention that is different from literati paintings. The viewers of Kuunmong screens encompassed people of varying cultural literacies, from the royal family to well-off merchants, but what they expected from the screens may not have differed much. Even the literati viewers of Kuunmong screens probably did not expect what they would have expected from literati screens where poetry often complements the image to create a sophistication of message. Kuunmong screens were commissioned to professional painters for practical use,[136] whereas literati paintings were produced by painters themselves for scholarly engagement and the cultivation of the mind. These values are attached to literati art, and they are not usually associated with aesthetic appreciation or practicality.[137]

Calligraphy is sometimes found in the Kuunmong screen, but the content of calligraphy usually refers to a brief description of the corresponding chapter and is written

[136] Discussed in 4.1. Folding Screens in Korea and 4.2. Kuunmong Folding Screens. More discussion will be found in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.
[137] The absence of poetry contrasts with what would be expected in literati paintings. Some professional painters emulated cultural elites by cultivating the literati arts of poetry, calligraphy, and painting with the aspiration to measure up to the expectations of elite culture. Literati often painted according to the theme of a poem that was added as calligraphy. In literati art, poetry, calligraphy, and painting are often deployed in the meaning-making of an image. One example of these poetry-paintings, *Masang ch'ŏngaeng* 馬上聽鶯 (Listening to Nightingales While on Horseback) (Image 3 in 1.1., Appendix 2) by Kim Hongdo, was discussed earlier in 1.1.4. Enjoyment of popular novels in multiple ways. That is a case of a professional painter emulating literati art.

in a prosaic phrase with no poetic flavour. The earlier palace screens tend not to carry any calligraphy. Some surviving calligraphic entries do not match the visual narrative, for instance, in the case of the screen at Portland (no. 31 in Table 1, Appendix 1). This indicates that calligraphy, part of the popularising process of the screen, may have been added later by somebody other than the original painter.[138] Below will be discussed the visual depiction of the zither or *kŭm* in relation to audiences of Kuunmong texts and Kuunmong screens.

Musical instruments and audiences of Kuunmong texts and Kuunmong screens

The way in which the zither is treated in the novel and in the screens tells us a great deal about the assumptions of audiences reading *Kuunmong* and viewing Kuunmong screens. Musical instruments brought to Korea from China went through changes to adapt them to Korean sensibilities, even while keeping the same name. For instance, a musical instrument that appears frequently in the narrative (notably, at Soyu's rendezvous with Kyŏngp'ae) is the zither or *kŭm*. The Chinese character for *kŭm* 琴 originally referred to a Chinese five- or seven-stringed instrument called the *qin*. The ancient, five-stringed *qin* was known as an instrument played by Confucius. A seven-stringed *qin* called *jiuxiao huanpei* 九霄环佩, now housed at Gugong bowuyuan 故宫博物院 (Palace Museum in Beijing), is attributed to a person called Lei 雷 from the Chu area in the High Tang era 盛唐 (711-766) (Yang 1999, 403-4). The fretless Chinese zither (or *qin*) board with five or seven strings is made of paulownia wood and is closed by a flat base, usually made of *zi* 梓 (Chinese catalpa).

[138] The presence of calligraphy in Kuunmong screens will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five: Intermedial considerations in the visual reception of *Kuunmong*.

The same character (*kŭm* 琴) was also used to indicate a Korean six-stringed instrument called the *kŏmungo* 거문고. The *kŏmungo* 거문고, a Korean domesticated version related to the *qin*, was made in the seventh century. The *kŏmungo* has three movable bridges and sixteen frets supporting six silk strings and differs significantly from the fretless and bridgeless Chinese *qin*. The front plate of the instrument is made of paulownia wood, and the back plate is made of chestnut wood. In addition to having frets and bridges or not, another distinctive characteristic is that the *kŏmungo* is played with a bamboo plectrum whereas the Chinese *qin* is plucked with fingers. The *kŏmungo* musician strikes the string with a plectrum held in the left hand while pressing the strings with the fingers of their right hand. In Chosŏn, the Chinese character for *kŭm* 琴 usually referred to the Korean *kŏmungo*, instead of the Chinese instrument. In the Korean vernacular editions of *Kuunmong* (Kyujanggak and Ewha), *kŭm* is thus translated as *kŏmungo*. However, the author Kim Manjung may have meant an ancient Chinese seven-stringed instrument, because the narrative is set in the Tang era.

A detailed description of the instrument, either as Chinese *qin* or as Korean *kŏmungo*, is not available in any of the four text editions. Nevertheless, in the visual presentation of the musical performance, the instrument tends to be featured as a *kŏmungo,* the same as in the Korean vernacular editions of *Kuunmong*. For instance, in the fourth panel of the Keimyung no. 1520 screen, *kŏmungo* is depicted with six strings on frets, and a plectrum is held in the performer's left hand (Image 25). The *kŏmungo* player's left hand is not seen in the first panel of the San Francisco screen, but the instrument clearly has frets (Image 26). These visual presentations of the instrument featured in Kuunmong screens indicate that the instrument was generally understood by the *Kuunmong* screen audience as the Korean *kŏmungo*. *Kuunmong* is a story from the Tang era, so the zither

should be a Chinese instrument. However, the Kuunmong screens domesticated and familiarised the zither to fit the expectations of the local audience.

Unlike the non-visual elements discussed above, many visual components in the text are translated onto the screens. Visual narrative is, however, not an entirely faithful representation of the novel. Crucial and weighty elements are usually translated but may be replaced with something else. The artist's imagination is required to complete the scene by making up elements not specified in the text. Artists usually drew on conventional imagery available from paintings relevant to the Kuunmong narrative. What follows is a comparative analysis of Kuunmong visual narratives with a focus on buildings and garden culture. For the visual element, the discussion is mostly based on the Chasu Museum screen.[139] This is because the screen is arguably the earliest and most elaborate extant screen.

Buildings and gardens

Earlier Kuunmong screens, for instance, the Chasu Museum screen, demonstrate structures depicted in combination of straight and diagonal lines. These structures are mainly residential buildings, but also include temporary arrangements such as a military tent or a festival structure. The textual description provides little detail of structures. The garden in the domestic or domesticated outdoor scenes is not described in the novel. Artists most likely relied upon the relevant conventional imagery for this domestic scenery. They consulted familiar visual materials that were available in late Chosŏn while they were working on these domestic scenes. As a result, the relevant style of composition was applied to structures, and the familiar elements were featured in the garden.

[139] Each panel of Chasu Museum screen is provided in details in Image 20 in Appendix 2.

Immediate references to these structures and garden scenes may be found in contemporary visual narratives: illustrated Chinese novels, in particular, some relevant illustrations listed in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*.

Diagonal composition

Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon is a collection of copied illustrations from Chinese novels that were available at the royal court, and was not meant for wider circulation outside. The earlier Kuunmong screens (e.g., the Chasu Museum screen) and the screens used for the royal household exhibit evident influence from *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*. Other screens maintain the style of *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* more or less, because they were initially modelled on palace screens. One major characteristic in the copied illustrations is the diagonal composition where buildings and figures are arranged along a line. This method makes the depth in the scene manifest (Kim Sangyŏp 1995, 56). For instance, "Hono munmaek 호노문믹 (Ch. Laohu wenmai 老狐問脉, An old fox examines the pulse)" is the no. 24 illustration in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* (Image 27).[140] The entire building in the centre, the fence on the left, and a fox disguised as a human being, who is examining the pulse of the sick king, are presented in a diagonal composition. The fence in the upper left and the roof in the lower right are diagonally upward in parallel. The main building is depicted sideways to have the inside better-displayed to a viewer. The stairs to the floor are in the same direction. The gate at the bottom left forms the opposite diagonal line and creates a closed space where events take place. The application of diagonal lines

[140] The story is contained in the *Dongxi Han yanyi* 東西漢演義 (The Romance of the Eastern Han and Western Han), that put together two romances written in the Ming era, that is, *Xi Han yanyi* 西漢演義 (The Romance of the Western Han) by Zhen Wei 甄偉 and *Dong Han yanyi* 東漢演義 (The Romance of the Eastern Han) by Xie Zhao 謝詔.

in the composition increases the sense of depth in the space and adds dynamic rhythm to the scene.

This Chinese illustration of an old fox examining a patient shows that the sideways front view of buildings conveys a sufficient spatial depth, and thus serves as a site for action often with the interior scene. In other words, it offers a good display space where an episode is visually presented. Such advantages of the diagonal composition of a scene can be comprehensively harnessed in the visualization of the Kuunmong narrative. A variety of diagonal presentations of buildings are hence witnessed in the Chasu Museum screen. However, use of the diagonal view of buildings is deliberately adjusted to the depiction of rendezvous scenes. Although the inner space of most diagonally arranged buildings is easy to see from outside, few of Soyu's meetings with his women is depicted as in a way in which it occurs inside the building. Several of their first meetings are, in fact, consummated inside a building or structure, for instance, when Soyu meets Sŏmwŏl, Ch'unun, or Yoyŏn. Nevertheless, to be precise, respective rendezvous scenes on the screen concern moments just prior to their meeting: they are about to meet (Ch'unun or Yoyŏn) or plan on a proper meeting[141] (Sŏmwŏl). Such side-view presentations in these scenes thus function differently from what Chinee illustrations such as "Hono munmaek" would do. In other words, side-view in the rendezvous scenes allows viewers to peep into the inner space only to imagine what would be subsequently occurring there. If they could recall an episode related to that building, they would narrate the story in their mind. Ch'unun's place in the upper right in the first panel, for instance, is presented this way (Image 20).[142] Ch'unun's place is in the background where she receives her maid's

[141] Their one-on-one meeting that occurred at night in Sŏmwŏl's place, which followed their brief come-cross at the poetry composition contest with other participants around.

[142] Each panel of the Chasu Museum screen is provided in details in Image 20.

reporting on Soyu's arrival. It is right before their rendezvous takes place in her room. The diagonal view of her residence thus helps a viewer to look into her room to find it equipped with musical instruments and piles of books and envisage how these items would be related to her rendezvous with Soyu. Such indications of literacy and cultural cultivation are usually associated with women characters of *Kuunmong*.[143] A more informed viewer would infer a rendevous story from the scene as more approximate to what is described in the Kuunmong narrative.

This sense of Ch'unun and Soyu also depicts Kyŏngp'ae family's residence at the bottom left. Soyu's rendezvous with Kyŏngp'ae occurs in her family residence, but it is absent from the Chasu Museum screen. The scene of Kyŏngp'ae, however, was frequently depicted and appeared in early versions of the Kuunmong screens, notably a screen from the Asian Art Museum.[144] Unlike other rendezvous scenes, Soyu's rendezvous with Kyŏngp'ae is depicted inside the building, and diagonal presentation of the scene makes it convenient for viewers to see what is occurring inside. Soyu is disguised as a Daoist female practitioner and playing music on the zither to win her heart while she stands nearby. This may be the reason why this rendezvous scene was not chosen for the Chasu Museum screen. Despite his disguise, a blatant exhibit of Soyu's proximity to Kyŏngp'ae was not desirable when audiences of the Chasu Museum screen were aware of the identity of the Daoist musician from the Kuunmong story.

Even in other domestic scenes not pertinent to rendezvous, the same composition appears in the Chasu Museum screen (Image 20). In contrast to the case of rendezvous, however, these scenes demonstrate what is occurring in the building. For instance, side-

[143] Those not from the upper-class household included, as is exemplified by Ch'unun.

[144] The fourth panel in the eight-panel folding screen at Asian Art Museum is provided in Image 22.

view of Soyu's palatial residence presents a scene where his mother receives due respect from Soyu's women in the fourth panel,[145] and also depicts his wedding with Princess Nanyang and Princess Yŏngyang (Kyŏngp'ae) in the eighth panel. In addition, Soyu's pavilion is shown in the seventh panel where he enjoys the last company of his women prior to his imminent awakening.[146]

The dominant diagonal lines in the composition of domestic scenes may be also indebted to other narrative screens. The domestic scene on a screen entitled *Hyohaeng kosa-to* 효행고사도 孝行故事圖 (Narrative painting of filial piety) in Image 28 is similar to illustrations in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*. The inside of buildings in the screen are presented in a diagonal way (the building in the panel one to seven and nine) or the building itself is depicted sideways (in panel eight). This *Hyohaeng kosa-to* screen is a kind of visual narrative labelled as *hyohaeng-to* 孝行圖, which depicts episodes of laudable filial piety. The *hyohaeng-to* imagery appeared in 1490 and was made in the form of albums, prints, and folding screens. *Hyohaeng-to* folding screens in the palace were then usually made for the education of the Crown Prince and continued to be produced throughout the Chosŏn period.[147] In the nineteenth century, the *hyohaeng-to* was even chosen as subjects for examinations to appoint ten core painters called *ch'abi taeryŏng*

[145] This scene will be discussed in detail in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.

[146] This scene will be discussed in detail in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

[147] For instance, in 1413, the screen was made by *sŏyŏn'gwan* 書筵官 (officials in charge of educating the Crown Prince), and in 1443 a screen was presented to the Crown Prince by the Governor of Kyŏnggi Province when he and King Sejong were on a visit to a hot spring. King Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623-1649) and King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776-1800) also had the screen in their room when they were Crown Prince (Mun Sŏnju, "Hyohaeng-to sip p'ok pyŏngp'ung" in *Beyond Folding Screens*. 174-175. Seoul: Amore p'ŏsip'ik misulgwan, 2018)

hawŏn 差備待令畵員 (Painters in Attendance) from painters in the *Tohwasŏ* 圖畵署 (The Bureau of Painting).[148]

Additionally, the reason why composition is significantly structured with rigid lines so as to form grand mansions for Soyu family in the Chasu Museum screen may be because *han'gung-to* 한궁도 漢宮圖 (Korean palace painting) gained popularity for the royal household in the nineteenth century. The *han'gung-to* was used at various celebrations such as the birth of a Crown Prince, recovery from illness, weddings, and birthdays of royal household members (Pak Chŏnghye 2012, 123). The *han'gung-to* is a painting in the form of a folding screen where magnificent and luxurious palace buildings are imaginatively visualised in Chinese style (Image 29 and Image 30). It is a type of *jiehua* 界畫 where accurate outlining of buildings is applied with the use of a ruler. Unlike in China, *jiehua* was not established as an independent category of painting in Chosŏn. This makes the *han'gung-to* significantly eye-catching to viewers. Even before the *han'gun-to* was in great demand, however, these imaginative palace buildings were already familiar to viewers through narrative screens such as *Yojiyŏn-to* 瑤池宴圖 (Ch. *Yaochiyan-tu,* The Banquet at Yaochi Pond, Image 31), *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* 郭汾陽行樂圖 (Ch. *Guo Fenyang xingle-tu,* Guo Fenyang's Enjoyment of Life, Image 32), and *paektongja-to* 百童子圖 (Ch. *Bai tongzi-tu,* One Hundred Children, Image 33). The clear rigid lines are there to delineate Xiwangmu's 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) Palace

[148] Mun Sŏnju, "Hyohaeng-to sip p'ok pyŏngp'ung" in *Beyond Folding Screens*. 174-175. Seoul: Amore p'ŏsip'ik misulgwan, 2018.

The *Tohwasŏ* began with twenty painters as regulated in *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (經國大典, 1481). The number of painters increased to thirty in the late Chosŏn as stated in *Taejŏnt'ongp'yŏn* (大典通編, 1785) (Hwang Chŏngyŏn 2012, 25-41).

in *Yojiyŏn-to*, and majestic buildings in Guo Fenyang's residence are displayed in both *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* and *paektongja-to*.[149]

Visual allusions and references

The depiction of Princess Nanyang here in the Chasu Museum screen (sixth panel in Image 20) resembles one painting in a nineteenth-century Chinese album *Shi'er jin chai-tu* 十二金釵圖 (Twelve Golden Hairpins, 1841) by Fei Danxu 費丹旭 (1802-1850). Fei Danxu illustrated episodes from the novel *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢 (Dream of the Red Chamber, 1791) and featured twelve of the major female characters there. The posture of Princess Nanyang sitting by the window is similar to that of Jia Xichun 賈惜春, one of twelve beauties from *Hongloumeng* (image presented along with the sixth panel in Image 20). Both of the ladies exemplify beauty paintings of the times. Fei Danxu, as well as Gai Qi 改琦 (1773-1828), was a leading artist in the field of *shinü-hua* 仕女畵 (beauty paintings) (Yi Yŏnju 2006, 251).[150] A slender woman in their beauty paintings is depicted with an oval chubby duck-egg face, thin willow eyebrows, and a mouth resembling cherries with vermillion dotted lips. The look of Princess Nanyang represents these

[149] Further discussion of these three paintings will be followed in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.

[150] "The term *shinü* 仕女 originated from *shinü* 士女, which meant unmarried young men and women until the Former Han dynasty. After the Former Han, it was used to refer to women, in particular women of the upper class. It was during the Song era when *shinü* was used to mean beauties. For instance, Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (active in the eleventh century) describes, in his *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌 (Records of viewing and hearing about paintings), a *shinü* is a slender and beautiful woman. The characters 仕女 was adopted for the *shinü* during the Yuan dynasty, as noted in *Hualun* 畫論 (On the painting) and *Gujin huajian* 古今畫鑑 (Ancient and modern painting appreciation) by Tang Hou (active in the early fourteenth century). Since then, a painting of *shinü* is equivalent to a beauty painting in the Ming and Qing eras. (Hŏ and Mun 2017)

elements of beauty paintings. In fact, all of Soyu's women look like a beauty seen in the paintings by Gai Qi and Fei Danxu.

These beauty paintings are associated with popular literature and were made by professional artists based in the urban studios. The city of Suzhou was the center for these professional paintings even after the late sixteenth century when it lost its leading position in literati art that had been maintained during the Ming. The urban studio masters produced functional paintings and intended not to represent literati ideals such as to celebrate retreats in mountains. For instance, figures in these paintings were usually set in domestic interiors or gardens (Cahill 2010, 14). These paintings were commissioned to be hung to decorate domestic spaces or to be presented on special congratulatory occasions to convey symbolic messages. An appropriate theme for a functional painting was adopted to fit the function from a range of repertoires including well known legendary figures and familiar scenes from popular narratives (Cahill 2010, 14). These functional paintings are in line with the Northern Song style, that is "a skilled and polished manner of depicting figures and buildings in fine outline and color, plants and animals with close observation and accuracy, trees and rocks in descriptive brushworks that imparted naturalistic textures and volume, and of combining these elements as required by pictorial theme and purpose to produce elaborate but clearly readable compositions." (Cahill 2010, 13). This technically finished style was practiced by professional artists from the Southern Song Imperial Academy from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Paintings in this academic style continued to the Ming and Qing eras as their collections were accessible to studio artists in the cities (Cahill 2010, 13). The figure painting style of Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca.1494-1552) and his daughter Qiu Zhu 仇珠 (1565–1585) from earlier in the Ming, in particular, continued by his followers in the late Ming and Qing. The legacy of Qiu Ying's sensitive depiction of women and Qiu Zhu's paintings of literary and cultivated women set in gardens (Cahill

2010, 21-22) is related to the realistic representation of episodes from the late Ming and early Qing vernacular popular literature such as fiction and drama and is characteristic of a descriptive style for detailed settings.

Women might have been those who commissioned these paintings or selected scenes, as their experience of reading popular literature suggested their familiarity to these images where women were featured in the domestic space. They would prefer to view scenes where women characters are actively engaged in the narrative to initiate actions rather than just be submissive to male leads (Cahill 2006, 13). This may be the reason why we see the dominance of rendezvous scenes in the Kuunmong screens. Women characters in these scenes are proactive and often outwit Soyu. Princess Nanyang is looking out the window to figure out the music she has just heard, as seen above (sixth panel in Image 20); a noble lady Ch'aebong leans forward at the window to discern from where a voice of poetry recitation has come to disrupt her nap (second panel in Image 20).

Women from low status, that is Ch'unun, Sŏmwŏl, and Yoyŏn, are depicted more in action than those from royal or noble families. In the rendezvous scenes for socially low-status women, Soyu's contribution to the rendezvous is significantly curtailed. Instead of Soyu, women take initiatives to arrange their meeting with Soyu. Sŏmwŏl, a low-born entertainer, directly talks to Soyu to arrange their meeting in her place at night (third panel in Image 20). In addition, it is during the conversation led by Sŏmwŏl that disports the most proximity that can be demonstrated between Soyu and his woman. Note that, nevertheless, it is not inside the pavilion but on the bridge outside.

It is also Kyŏngp'ae who contrived Ch'unun's encounter with Soyu in the valley (first panel in Image 20). Ch'unun also lies to him about her identity and bids a heartbreaking farewell to him even before their joy on the first night has been consummated. She says that she has been waiting for her partner Soyu, who has been

banished together with her from the world of Daoist immortals. Here Ch'unun only pretends to have been waiting for Soyu for a long time painfully, so her image defies "the fading and wasted beauty of the neglected woman" (Cahill 2006, 21) as a wife who was worn out from the prolonged absence of her husband, common in seventeenth and eighteenth-century China. The depiction of dejected women waiting in the garden was a type of beauty paintings, for instance, as illustrated in the work of Yu Zhiding 禹之鼎 (1647-1710 or after), a Yangzhou-based early Qing painter (Cahill 2006, 20-21). The recognition of determined and tactful women may come easier to Korean audiences because the Kuunmong narrative is set in such an extraordinary time and place—it is a fictional representation of late Tang times, rather than based on real life. When an episode is more unrealistic, the role of a woman character involved in the scene can be more commanding. Ch'unun, here, is acting as a Daoist immortal; she is not presented as a maid to Kyŏngp'ae.

Similarly, Yoyŏn is in action and coming to Soyu, who is unguarded at night in the military tent and thus exposed to an imminent attack by an assassin (tenth panel in Image 20). Yoyŏn was an assassin sent by the king to kill Soyu; however, her real mission was to rescue Soyu, her soulmate, as her old master had foretold her about it years ago. It is Yoyŏn who takes initiatives in arranging the rendezvous. Anyhow, Yoyŏn was a trained woman fighter—commonly addressed as *yŏhyŏp* 女俠. The *yŏhyŏp* stories gained popularity among the Chosŏn literati as they were interested in fighters after having had two major wars with China and Japan in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. They were reading many Chinese novels, and new Korean *yŏhyŏp* stories were composed (Ch'a Miae 2010, 327). In particular, the intrusion of Yoyŏn into the encampment of Soyu's troops evokes a *yŏhyŏp* story of Hongxian from *Hongxian chuan* 紅線傳 (The Tale

of Hongxian).[151] In the early versions of *Kuunmong* such as the Kyujanggak and the 1725 texts, in fact, this literary allusion to the tale of Hongxian was indicated.

The visual presentation of Yoyŏn in the scene is not an exact representation of her appearance described in the text. Like Hongxian in *Hongxian chuan*, the novel describes Yoyŏn as wearing a sword and flying down into the camp. She also put her hair up with a golden hairpin. However, in the Chasu Museum screen, for instance, Yoyŏn is holding two swords overhead, one in each hand. Yoyŏn is also riding clouds to approach Soyu's military camp while there is no such details articulated in the novel. This may indicate an influence of illustrations from Ming Chinese popular literature. In an illustration from a musical comedy version of Honxian story *Hongxian nü* 紅線女 (a Woman Hongxian, Image 34), Hongxian is riding clouds to leave from the camp of her master's enemy after stealing the golden box. This version of the Hongxian story by Liang Chenyu 梁辰魚 was collected and illustrated in *Shengming zaju sanshi zhong* 盛明雜劇三十種 (fifteen works of Yuan dynasty form of musical comedy, a collection from High Ming). In addition to clouds, both images show that various types of spears and flags are lined up around to register the encampments of Soyu and the rival of Hongxian's master.

The depiction of Yoyŏn, in effect, references paintings called *yŏhyŏp-to* 女俠圖 (paintings of the woman fighter). Since a *yŏhyŏp-to* by Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca. 1494-1552) was introduced to Korea in the early seventeenth century, various paintings of women

[151] *Hongxian chuan* is one of nine stories in Ganzeyao 甘澤謠, The *Ganzeyao* 甘澤謠 (Tales of sweet enrichment, 868), a collection of stories compiled by the Tang period (618-907) scholar Yuan Jiao 袁郊. The heroine Hongxian succeeded in a stealth intrusion into the castle of her master's enemy to obtain a golden box, so her master brandished superiority to his rival and prevented the approaching war. The tale of Hongxian was collected in *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Era), which was introduced to Korea during the Koryŏ dynasty, and since then was read by many Koreans.

fighters were produced (Ch'a Miae 2010, 324-5). In particular, a *yŏhyŏp-to* (Image 35) by Yi Chaegwan 李在寬 (1783-1838) presents a female Daoist immortal descending from the sky, who is holding a sword above her head, while ribbons are flying and the hem of her dress rippling. Her descending posture is as dynamic and energetic as that of Yoyŏn. Yi's *yŏhyŏp-to* bears semblance to a style of Ren Xiong 任熊 (1823-1857), who was based in Shanghai, a commercial center, and produced popular figure paintings or flower-bird paintings rather than landscape paintings (Kim Hyŏn'gwon 1998, 98).

There is another significant visual reference to examine in the rendezvous scenes. In the scene of Soyu's rendezvous with Ch'aebong in the Chasu Museum screen (second panel in Image 20; Image 36), she is leaning forward at the window and looks down at Soyu. Her looks echoes Chinese beauty paintings, and it deserves no further examination. What requires further discussion is the rendering of Soyu. After dismounting from his donkey, Soyu is touching willow leaves and reciting his poems about willow trees. His servant stands near the tree, taking care of the donkey for his master. In the textual description of this scene, it is not clear whether Soyu is dismounted from a donkey. There is no mention of it both in the Kyujanggak edition and in the 1725 edition. Soyu may or may not be mounted a donkey when he is reciting poems. Anyhow, there is several other screens that share the rendering of Soyu in a way done on the Chasu Museum screen. There is another group of screens that is disparate from the Chasu Museum screen group. Thus, there are two distinctive ways of depicting this scene among Kuunmong screens.

The first group shows, as seen in the Chasu Museum screen, Soyu stands near the willow trees and is touching leaves while Ch'aebong is at the window, and then they find each other. There rendezvous occurs right before she retreats inside her room. The following constitutes this group of paintings (Image 36)—Chasu (no. 1), Haengso (keimyung 1519, no. 4), Chosun (chosun 121004, no. 24), Gahoe (no. 5 to 7), and the

National Folk (minsok 063586, no. 14). Screens from the Haengso and the Chosun collections almost replicates what has been rendered on the Chasu Museum screen. The Gahoe Museum screen (no. 6) deviates much in style at large but repeats such similarity as noted in the first three screens. The remaining three screens depict Soyu's servant not near the tree but going away from it: Gahoe Museum screens (no. 5 and no.7) and National Folk Museum screen (minsok 063586). In one of these screens (minsok 063586), Ch'aebong's nurse is handing over a note to Soyu near the willow trees, but this is not occurring in their rendezvous. Thus, although the main content of the rendezvous was kept in the late versions of Kuunmong imagery such as this screen from the National Folk Museum, popularized screens would add unnecessary elements to the scene.

Instead of Soyu dismounted and standing by the willow tree, the other group of screens (Image 37) shows Soyu still mounted on a donkey but turning his back to touch willow leaves—Asian Art (no. 30), Onyang (no. 17), National (sinsu 14114, no. 19), Hangul (no. 25), Portland (no. 31), and Chosun (chosun 122001, no. 23). While Soyu is riding a donkey and looking back at Ch'aebong, his servant is walking ahead of the master and carrying an umbrella. All in this group present a significant level of resemblance although no servants are depicted on screens from Portland and chosun 122001. In this group again, while the main similarity was maintained, unnecessary elements were added to the popularised screen (minsok 039692, no. 13): a gentleman is following Soyu's servant.

This way of visualising Soyu mounted on a donkey leads to the subsequent group where the moment of rendezvous is not rightly captured. In the novel, their brief rendezvous occurs while Soyu stays near the willow trees. After that momentary encounter, Ch'aebong is quickly ashamed at the situation she is involved; she withdraws to her room to disappear from his view. Then, downhearted but reluctantly, Soyu heads for

an inn to stay for the night. However, in this last group of paintings (Image 38), Soyu is already leaving from the willow trees, but Ch'aebong is still at the window to watch him away from her view. Thus, unlike those of previous screens, this depiction is not approximat to what is described in the text. All of these paintings in this last group also show a servant following Soyu, instead of walking ahead of Soyu, which is seen in the first group.[152]

The shift to this last group (Image 38) is signaled in the depiction on the screen from Songam Gallery (no. 26), where Soyu, still near the willow trees and mounted on a donkey, turns his back, but not touching leaves while his hand is being raised. With the exception of the screen from Songam Gallery, Soyu is not rasing his hand and just passing by the tree although he is looking back at Ch'aebong in the rest of screens in this group: Seoul History Museum (no. 20), Sosŏng Museum (no. 9), and National Museum (ku 5526, no. 18). Soyu is going away from the tree further, and approximates what would be shown in the painting called *qulü-tu* (K. *kiryŏ-to*) 騎驢圖 (riding a donkey painting). The *qulü-tu* is a type of figure painting and often depicted as part of a landscape painting. Since the mid Chosŏn, the *qulü-tu* was the main subject for the figure painting based on Chinese old stories (Song Hŭigyŏng 2001, 5). If Ch'aebong is not considered in the scene from the National Museum screen, the depiction of Soyu and his servant greatly resembles what would be expected in the *qulü-tu* painting. Besides influences from illustrations from popular literature aforementioned, this reference to the donkey-riding painting suggests another instance of visual-cultural convergence that occurred in the creation of the Kuunmong imagery: Soyu's journey to the capital for the examination was connected to

[152] With the exception of National Folk Museum screen (minsok 039692, no. 13) where the servant follows his master.

the metaphor of literati or hermits riding a donkey on travel for the audience of Kuunmong screens.

These different ways of Soyu depicted in the rendezvous with Ch'aebong also points to the relations among Kuunmong screens where some screens are more closely connected than others. There would be considerable affinity among some Kuunmong screens in the respective groups where the template of early screens was influential on popularized ones: in the first group, Chasu Musem screen (Image 36, 1) and the Chosun Minhwa Musem screen (Image 36, 3); and in the second group, Asian Art Museum screen (Image 37, 1), Onyang Folk Musem screen (Image 37, 2), and National Musem screen (Image 37, 3)—these three with the highest level of resemblance among Kuunmong screens—as well as Portland Art Musem screen (Image 38, 5) and Chosun Folk Museum screen (Image 38, 6). The initial depiction of Soyu as mounted on a donkey in the rendezvous scene with Ch'aebong may have been resulted from an arbitrary decision. This would have been done without any intention to refer to the *qulü-tu* painting but just to reflect the episode. Nevertheless, increased familiarity with the donkey-riding painting led in time to the inclusion of similar elements from the the *qulü-tu* painting into the Kuunmong imagery—although deviated from details described in the rendezvous.

So far the influence of illustrations from popular literature on the rendezvous scenes has been mainly discussed. Some speculations have been already made in regard to the target audience of the Kuunmong imagery. The dominance of the rendezvous scenes may indicate its relation to women commissioners or users, and it may point to where Kuunmong screens were used to decorate the interior or on which celebratory occasion they were presented outdoors to create a festive ambience. The use of Kuunmong screens

will be further discussed later in terms of the function of a screen.[153] Another important element in the depiction of rendezvous scenes is the metaphor of a garden that is illustrated while qualified. The domestic space where the rendezvous occurs is often presented as a garden because it is where women are allowed more mobility than the interiors. Below will be discussed the composition of the garden and the relevant visual culture.

Garden metaphor and its composition

Traditional Chinese gardens represented the world,[154] and a well-ordered imperial garden gained a metaphor for the well-regulated state during the early Song dynasty. This metaphor was reinstated during the Ming dynasty, and it was not usually associated with the literati painters who pursued the virtues of self-cultivation through their self-expressive style.[155] The garden featured in the Kuunmong screens may have been associated with such a metaphor as a well-regulated state because they were initially used by members of the royal household. The garden metaphor adopted in the Kuunmong screens also corordinates with the use of folding screens as they were to be a piece of functional equipment rather than to be a work of contemplative literati art. Nevertheless, the depiction of a garden in the Kuunmong screens is encompassing and it relates to relevant visual culture and garden culture that affected not only professional painters but also the literati. This section examines what contemporary visual materials and cultural trends were tied into the composition of a garden depicted on the Kuunmong screens.

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[153] See 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.

[154] Department of Asian Art. "Chinese Gardens and Collectors' Rocks." In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cgrk/hd_cgrk.htm (October 2004)

[155] Department of Asian Art. "Landscape Painting in Chinese Art." In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/clpg/hd_clpg.htm (October 2004)

Besides buildings, the garden depicted on the Chasu Museum screen is decorated with trees, flowers, and rocks. Several animals including cranes also appear in the domestic scenes. In particular, banana trees and ornamental rocks almost always appear adjacent to a luxurious building in royal or noble residences. There are banana trees along with ornamental rocks in the garden of the Kyŏngp'ae family depicted in the first panel, next to buildings for Princess Nanyang and Soyu in the palace in the sixth panel, and at the wedding in the palace in the eighth panel. Chaebong's residence in the third panel features grotesque rocks behind the building: a perforated orange rock stands at the corner of the pavilion. Although it is not about a rendezvous of Soyu with women, a perforated orange rock also appears in another domestic scene depicting the celebratory reunion of Soyu with his mother. This is featured in the inner garden of Soyu's residence. Not just ornamental rocks in the garden, but throughout the Chasu Museum screen, rocky hills are rendered almost like an enlarged version of grotesque ornamental rocks. This treatment of landscape in the background of each scene helps to create its own fantasy space for the visual narrative.

The frequent appearance of ornamental rocks and their use for rocky hills in the background, reflects the appreciation of ornamental garden rocks that prevailed among the royal household and the aristocracy in late Chosŏn society. Garden culture, in fact, appears in literary writings and visual culture from the Koryŏ period and throughout the Chosŏn era. Ornamental rocks in garden culture, however, were not always admired for moral cultivation, although that admiration was traditionally sought by literati in garden culture. They were favoured during Koryŏ but were dismissed by neo-Confucian scholars in Chosŏn as an object of self-indulgence, symptomatic of the extinct, decadent Koryŏ dynasty. Nevertheless, in the early eighteenth century, ornamental rocks regained favour, and the materiality of sensuous objects in private spaces was highly appreciated (Ko

Yŏnhŭi 2013). This trend was evidenced in the emergence of craftsmen of ornamental rocks in the capital.[156]

Ornamental rocks, also known as scholars' stones, were first used in the gardens of Tang Chinese royal and aristocratic households. Tang garden culture was adopted as a subject for paintings in the Five Dynasties (907–960) and Song (960-1279) periods. During the Song period, scholars' stones were established as a representative item that decorates a luxurious garden (Ko Yŏnhŭi 2013, 8). Among scholars' rocks, the *taihu* rock 太湖石 was most favoured. It is called a *taihu* rock because the porous stone came from the foot of Dongting Mountain 洞庭山 in Suzhou, which is close to Lake Tai. It is regarded as the best of its kind. A well-known Tang Chinese poet, Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), expressed his special affection for *taihu* rock in his verse and prose including "Taihushi ji 太湖石記 (writings on *taihu* rock)." His "Taihushi ji" was often quoted by Chosŏn scholars or inspired them to write about their version of taihu rock admiration.

Literati's change in their attitudes to ornamental rocks was effected through exposure to the descriptions of Qing and Japanese gardens by envoys to Beijing and Edo. For example, by Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737–1805) mentions ornamental rocks in *Yŏrha ilgi* 熱河日記[157] (Ko Yŏnhŭi 2013, 10-17). Among descriptions of Chinese and Japanese gardens by Korean envoys, extravagant, verbal descriptions of splendid *taihu* rocks were

[156] There is mention of a craftsman who stayed in palace working on a kind of ornamental rock called *ch'imhyangsŏk* 沈香石 (the record on the thirteenth day of the sixth month in 1695 in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*). The *ch'imhyangsŏk* was thus called because it kept water long enough, and moss grew there, so the rock resembled the tree *ch'imsuhyang* 沈水香 (agarwood) (See the entry "koesŏk 怪石" in *Yanghwa sorok* 養花小錄 (Little writings on flower growing) by Kang Hŭian 姜希顔 (1418-1464).

[157] "Yŏrha (Ch. Rehe) Travelogue," written during an embassy to Beijing in 1780. The Yorha or Rehe area, literally meaning "hot river," was 230 km to the northeast from Beijing and possessed many hot springs.

greatly charming. For instance, Pak Chiwŏn, in the chapters "Ilsin sup'il 馹迅隨筆 (Essays written while going through checkpoints and changing horses at stations on the way to Beijing)" and "Hwangdo Kiryak 黃圖紀略 (Summary of sightseeing in the capital, Hwangdo meaning the capital Beijing)" of his *Yŏrha ilgi*, fantasised on the beauty of *taihu* rock as follows:

> In a shop…*taihu* rock stands. The colour is bright green. With a banana tree behind as tall as a person, the colour is twice as bright right after the rain. ("Ilsin sup'il")

> Perforated, brilliant *taihu* rocks are lined up. The colour is dark green, jade green, green, or navy blue with no other colours mixed in. They are as tall as a person's height. *Taihu* rock is the most elaborate among decorative stones. ("Hwangdo Kiryak")

King Chŏngjo (1787-1800), when he was Crown Prince, also expressed his utter joy at attaining a *taihu* rock in his "T'aehosŏk ki 太湖石記 (Writings on *taihu* rock)" in *Ch'unjŏrok* 春邸錄 (Writings at Spring Home), the first four voulmes of *Hongchae chŏnsŏ* 弘齋全書 (Complete collection of Hongchae's writings, Hongchae being King Chŏngjo's pen name, sixty volumes in total, 1799).

> The stone from the western part of Dongting is called *taihu*. The texture is hard, and the colour is dark blue. It is lovely and shines like a jade. It is cut vertically like a spear; it soars like a peak; it spreads like a screen or hanging scroll; it strangely squats like an animal; it stands upright like a human; it is glossy like oil; it is black like lacquer; it is iridescent; and it is so strange looking like a bright,

> chaotic but natural mixture of cloud, mist, the moon, a bridge, and a pavilion that no painter would represent it in a painting . . . I acquired a *taihu* rock from an old royal garden of the past dynasty, (i.e., Koryŏ) in the spring of the *kabo* year (1774), washed it clean, and placed at the windowsill . . . A stone as big as a fist contains the excellency of one thousand rocks. A stone is composed of the utmost energy of the sky and the earth . . . Since olden times, sages have cherished stones and wrote about them . . . Confucius said, 'a man of virtue likes a mountain and a wise man likes water.' The *taihu* stone is the only one in the garden that is loved by both a man of virtue and a wise man. This is why I attained a *taihu* rock. How could it be an excessive and irrational affection to an object?

Although he attempted to justify his own attainment of a *taihu* rock as part of his moral cultivation by referring to Confucius, the florid description of the rock in the beginning of "T'aehosŏk ki" ironically reflects his fascination with the *taihu* rock as a sensuous object.

In the eighteenth century, the *taihu* rock was a highly valued object, which even a member of the royal household eagerly sought out for their personal ownership. Thus, it is often fantasised as an ideal constituent of the garden and depicted in paintings, as seen in one painting from *Kosong yusu ch'ŏp* 古松流水帖 (Album of paintings by Kosong yusu)[158] by Yi Yinmun 李寅文 (1745-1821). Ornamental rocks as tall as a pillar are featured at the left of the main building in the garden along with trees, deer, and white cranes (Image 39). Ornamental rocks appear as well with subjects for *sagunja-to* 四君子圖 (Four Gentlemen Painting). The four subjects of *sagunja-to* paintings are plum

[158] Kosong yusu refers to the artist's pen name Kosong yusugwan toin 古松流水館道人, 59.1x38.2 cm, ink and colours on paper, tŏksu 덕수 4501, at the National Museum.

blossoms, orchids, chrysanthemums, and bamboo. For instance, in the ten-panel folding screen *Nanjuk koesŏk-to-pyŏg* 蘭竹怪石圖屛 (Orchid, bamboo, and ornamental rock screen)[159] at Sosŏng Museum, ornamental rocks in the fourth and eighth panels are depicted with orchids and bamboo (Image 40).

The rocks are also depicted with flowers and plants, in particular peony, as noted in *Koesŏk moran-to pyŏngp'ung* 怪石牧丹圖 屛風 at the Kogung Museum (Ornamental rock and peony screen,[160] Image 41). When the rock appears in paintings by professional painters, such as *Koesŏk moran-to pyŏngp'ung*, it is often brightly coloured like the rock in the Kuunmong screen. Another example that exhibits polychrome ornamental rocks is *Hwajŏp koesŏk-to* 花蝶怪石圖 (Flower, butterfly, and ornamental rock painting[161] at the National Museum, Image 42). Ornamental rocks with banana trees, such as in the garden scene of the Chasu Museum screen, are found as well, for instance, in *P'acho koesŏk-to* 芭蕉怪石圖 (Banana tree and ornamental rock,[162] Image 43).

The ornamental rock was established even as a separate category of painting called *koesŏk-to* 怪石圖 (ornamental rock painting) in the nineteenth century, which was led by Chŏng Hakkyo 丁學敎 (1832-1914). One of his numerous works of *koesŏk-to*[163] is stored at the National Museum (Image 44). The *Koesŏk-to* were made to wish for longevity, because rocks were one of the longevity symbols (Cho Chayong and Kim Yŏng'ok,

[159] Ink and colours on paper, no. 3650, 1897-1910

[160] Eight panels, 166.5x25.5cm, ink and colours on silk, chongmyo 종묘 6416,

[161] 144.1x47.4cm, Ku 구 2334

[162] 95.5x52.5cm, ink and colours on paper, minsok 18499 at the National Folk Museum

[163] Ink and colours on silk 119.3x56.9cm, Ku 구 2831

2017).[164] This symbolic message associated with rocks may be another reason why we see ornamental rocks aplenty in the Chasu Museum screen. This association of Kuunmong screens with the auspicious message will be discussed in relation to the function of the screens in the following chapter.[165]

In this section, the Kuunmong imagery concerns Soyu's rendezvous with each of the eight women, and it was mainly discussed in relation to popular illustrated literature, along with figure paintings and garden culture. The composition of the domestic scene where the rendezvous occurs was adopted from a type of popular visual narrative—monochrom book illustrations. However, the purpose of book illustrations is to complement the narrative, which is discrete from what folding screens were produced for. There is another significant difference between Kuunmong screens with monochrome book illustrations: all of the Kuunmong imagery is of large-scale polychrome artwork. The use of Kuunmong screens can be thus better explained when they are compared with other folding screens that may have been used together with Kuunmong screens. I have already briefly mentioned Kuunmong screens' relation to polychrome paintings, such as *han'gun-to*, *pyŏngsaeng-to, Yojiyŏn-to*, *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*, and *paektongja-to*. Below is examined Kuunmong screens in relation to similar polychrome narrative screens; in particular, *Yojiyŏn-to, Kwak Punyang haengnak-to,* and *paektongja-to,* with a focus on the use of Kuunmong screens. Some visual references to relevant paintings such as sword dance paintings and *horyŏp-to* 胡獵圖 (paintings of barbarians hunting) will be also addressed.

[164] *Taihu* rocks are missing in illustrations embedded in Gale's English translation of *Kuunmong* (1922). By then, it is most likely that the favour of the rock faded away.
[165] Symbolic messages associated with Kuunmong screens will be discussed in detail in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings

4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings

The use of Kuunmong folding screens in various contexts overlaps with that of similar types of paintings and folding screens that share similar visual conventions. The Kuunmong images are usually classified as *ch'aesaek-hwa* 彩色畵 or polychrome paintings. A theme-based subgroup is called *kosa inmul-hwa* 古事人物畵, or paintings of an old story featuring a well-known figure, or simply narrative paintings.[166] Considering that it is the viewer who makes a story out of the image in the painting, the image on its own is not sufficient to create a narrative in a viewer's mind. Narrative painting always presupposes that the story line already resides in the mind of the viewer. Narrative paintings are not just found in polychrome paintings but also in *sumukhwa* 水墨畵, monochrome ink paintings. The function of the story, however, is not the same. Narrative monochrome ink paintings tend to remind the viewer of eminent figures and their episodes known through the Confucian classics, historical writings, and well-known literary works, whereas polychrome narrative paintings additionally link up with the general purpose of auspicious paintings, that is, to wish for a good life, and a number of symbols referencing long and healthy lives are presented (Kŭmja Paek Kim 2015, 359).

Because the *Kuunmong* screens are polychrome, we should set aside a consideration of monochrome paintings and discuss *Kuunmong* screens in relation to other, similar polychrome narrative screens. For instance, let us consider three auspicious paintings illustrated below: *Yojiyŏn-to* 瑤池宴圖, (Ch. *Yaochiyan-tu*, The Banquet at Yaochi Pond, Image 45), *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* 郭汾陽行樂圖 (Ch. *Guo Fenyang xingle-tu*, Guo Fenyang's Enjoyment of Life, Image 46), and *paek tongja-to* 百童子圖 (Ch. *Bai tongzi-tu*,

[166] Hereafter "narrative paintings" will be used to refer to *kosa inmul-hwa*.

One Hundred Children, Image 47). All three of these paintings were produced by Korean artists in Korea, originating from a Chinese style with Chinese content but duly domesticated. To make the point that they were produced for Korean viewers, the titles of the paintings are presented in Korean pronunciation but Chinese pronunciation is provided as well in brackets for reference.

In *Yojiyŏn-to,* Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) holds a banquet where King Mu 穆王, along with Bodhisattvas and Daoist immortals, is invited to celebrate the ripening of the peach of immortality in her garden.[167] King Mu visits in a carriage drawn by eight excellent horses. A goddess of life, Queen Mother of the West, is usually associated with symbols of longevity, prosperity, and eternal bliss. Xiwangmu's banquet story was already introduced in the latter period of Silla (668–935) in Korea (U 2018, 293). The painting called *Yojiyŏn-to*, in Korea, for instance, appeared in Chŏng Munbu 鄭文孚 (1565-1624)'s *Nongp'ojip* 農圃集 (Collections of Writings by Nongp'o, Nongp'o being pen name of Chŏng Munbu, seven volumes). In the first volume, he wrote "Yojiyŏn-to," a Chinese quatrain of which each line has seven characters.[168] The *Yojiyŏn-*

[167] The *Yojiyŏn-to* was based on the story of King Mu 穆王, the fifth king of the Zhou 周 state (tenth century BCE)'s visit to Xiwangmu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) and written in *Jushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Annals written on bamboo) and *Mu tianzi chuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Emperor Mu) (U 2018, 291). *Jushu jinian* is a historical writing from the ancient China, through Xia 夏, Yin 殷, Zhou 周, until King Mu 襄王 (r. 334-319 BCE) of Wei 魏. *Mu tianzi chuan* is a biographical novel of King Mu of Wei where he meets Xiangmu and enjoys a feast at the pond Yaochi together. These bamboo-written stories, not dated, were found in the tomb of King Mu of Wei. The pond called Yaochi (K. Yoji) is in Xiwangmu's Palace, which is located at the top of the mythological Mt. Kunlun 昆仑山, believed to be in Western China. In Daoist mythology, the Queen Mother of the West is the queen of immortals in charge of female sprites. In addition to Xiwangmu's banquet with King Mu, another episode associated with her, *pantao dahui* 蟠桃大會 (great gathering to celebrate the ripening of the peach of immortality or *pantao* 蟠桃), was combined.

[168] The poem reads, 瑤池宴圖 弱水西邊斷往還。瑤池自在碧桃閑。姬王却遡東流至。

to screen was mentioned as one of the *kyebyŏng* 契屛 (screens that were made to be shared among participants when a project is finished) in the eighth volume of Hogokchip 壺谷集 (Writings by Hogok, Hogok being the pen name of Nam Yong'ik, fourteen volumes) by Nam Yong'ik 南龍翼 (1628-1692).[169]

Korean folding screens depicted all the characters of the story: Queen Mother of the West, King Mu, peach of immortality trees, Daoist immortals, and eight excellent horses (Cho Chayung and Pak Chŏnghye 2017). Korean imagery of the story, however, went through transformations in the process of being tailored to Korean audiences. Chinese paintings, such as *Qun xian hui zhu-tu* 群仙會祝圖 (A Gathering of Daoist Immortals Wishing for Longevity, Image 48) by the Ming Chinese artist Qiu Ying 仇英 and *Yaochi xianshou-tu* 瑤池獻壽圖 (Wishing for Longevity at Yaochi, Image 49) by the Song Chinese artist Liu Songnian 劉松年 (c. 1131-1218), focus on the image where the Queen Mother of the West comes down from the sky to meet Bodhisattvas and Daoist immortals (Image 48), and they present to her gifts wishing that she enjoy a long life (Image 49).

By contrast, in Image 45 by Korean artists, the focus is given to the banquet at large, with the image divided into two parts: the banquet on land, and Bodhisattvas and

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悔遣黃河出世間。

[169] He worked as Yejo p'ansŏ 禮曹判書 (Minister of Rites) in the T'aejo yŏngjŏng mosa togam 太祖影幀模寫都監 (Office for producing portraitures of King T'aejo) with Hojo p'ansŏ 戶曹正郎 (Section Chief of Taxation), Yi Pongjo 李鳳朝 (1644-1701). Nam's poem "pyŏl Kansŏng Yi sagun Pongjo 別杆城李使君鳳朝 (Farewell to Yi Ponjo leaving for Kansŏng to be Kansŏng *gunsu* 杆城郡守, Magistrate of Kansŏng)" written on Yi's departure for Kansŏng mentions the *Yojiyŏn-to* screen as one of the *kyebyŏng* 契屛 (screens that were made to be shared among participants when a project is finished) for those who were involved in the office for the royal portraiture production (U Hyŏnsu 2018, 293-4).
同勞纔見契屛知 一夢依依又別難 淸澗海裳嘶五馬 未應仙境讓瑤池 贈與使君同勞影幀都監 纔作契屛中瑤池宴 故云.

Daoist immortals' crossing the sea to come to the banquet (Pak Chŏnghye 2012, 109). More important to the discussion here is the further difference that these two paintings by Chinese artists are in the format of hanging scrolls. There are, in fact, no folding screens of the story that have been found in China, while the surviving Korean imagery of the story exists largely in folding screens of six, eight, or ten-panels (Pak Ponsu 2017). As typical of palace decorative paintings, *Yojiyŏn-to* conveys clear symbolic images utilising well-organised form and content. For the style and composition of *Yojiyŏn-to*, there was most likely interaction with other palace paintings such as *sip changseng-to*, *irwŏl obong-to*,[170] *and Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* (U Hyŏnsu 2018, 293).

Kwak Punyang haengnak-to (Image 46) depicts a birthday party for Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697~781, K. Kawk Chaŭi),[171] who was appointed as the King of Fenyang 汾陽 (K. Punyang), so the painting is titled *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*. He was praised for his achievements and enjoyed a happy, luxurious life with eight sons and nine daughters until he died at the age of eighty five. His children and grandchildren were successful in their careers and marriages.[172] Guo Ziyi had so many grandchildren that he could not recognize them all (Kim Yunjŏng 2017). More than thirty surviving Korean versions of *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* exist in folding screens of eight or ten-panels where one single large panorama-style image of the story is presented across panels (Pak Chŏnghye 2012, 97,

[170] *sip changseng-to* and *irwŏl obong-to* will be discussed in 4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals.

[171] Guo Ziyi was a military general in Tang, who played a significant role in suppressing the An Lushan Rebellion. He was honoured by being buried next to the tomb of Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756-762) of the Tang Dynasty, and his ancestors were presented to Lingyan Pavilion 凌煙閣 that was originally created by the Taizong Emperor of Tang to display portraits of twenty-four meritorious vassals.

[172] For instance, his sixth son Guo Ai 郭曖 married a daughter of the Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779); a daughter of Ai became the Queen to Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805-820); and her son became Emperor Mu 穆宗 (r. 820-823).

107). In other words, as shown in Image 46, the image of each panel is seamlessly connected to both the preceding and the following panels.

The *paek tongja-to* (Image 47) may be derived from the Guo Ziyi story and concerns his numerous grandsons (Pak Ŭnsun 2011). In the painting of one hundred children, the auspicious message of having many children, particularly sons, is brought to the fore.[173] The painting depicts many children playing various games. "Paek" means one hundred but not exactly one-hundred children are presented in the painting. This may be also related to the story associated with King Wen 文王 of the Zhou Dynasty 周, that he had one hundred children from Queen Taisi 太姒 and his concubines.[174] When the Zhou Dynasty was worshiped as the ideal Confucian state, with King Wen as an ideal ruler and Queen Taisi as an ideal queen, their having one hundred children was regarded as an exemplary case of ideal life possible in a traditional Confucian country (Amore p'ŏsip'ik misulgwan 2018, 48). The symbolic implication of the number one hundred is abundance and being sufficient, so the number can carry an auspicious message rather than indicating accuracy of the number.[175]

[173] The auspiciousness of *paek tongja-to* is one of major features that is differentiated from another category of paintings on children called *yingxi-tu* 嬰戲圖 (Painting of Children playing) that emerged in the Song Dynasty (960-1279) (Pak 2012, 157).

[174] In the chapter Daya 大雅 (Great Elegant, i.e., Courtly Songs) in *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of Poetry), the story goes that Queen Taisi gave birth to ten children, and his concubines the rest of their numerous offspring. The story further developed in *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義, a novel from the Ming Dynasty 明 (1368-1644) that depicts King Wen as a virtuous ruler, who has twenty-four women and they give birth to ninety-nine and have one last one adopted to finally get one-hundred children (Mun 2018, 274).

[175] In a similar fashion in the Chosŏn era are: paeknok-to 百鹿圖 (painting of one-hundred deer), paekhak-to 百鶴圖 (painting of one-hundred cranes), paeksu paekpok-to 百壽百福圖 (painting of one-hundred longevities and one-hundred fortunes), paekchŏp-to 百蝶圖 (painting of one-hundred butterflies) (Pak 2012, 155).

The painting of one-hundred children was introduced to Ponglim taegun 鳳林大君 (Prince Ponglim, later King Hyojong 孝宗, r. 1649-1659) when he was in Shenyang 沈阳 in China. *Baitong-tu* 百童圖 (One Hundred Children) by Meng Yongguang 孟永光 (1590-1648, a Qing painter) was presented to the Prince. Yu Tŭkkong 柳得恭 (1748-1807) stated it in his poem to the painting.[176] This Chinese painting did not survive, but the select scenes depict, as Yu records in his poem, a set of children's games that significantly corresponds to what is shown in the existent Korean *paek tongja-to*. Meng's *Baitong-tu* may have influenced Chosŏn's *paek tongja-to*. Most extant Chosŏn *paek tongja-to* are alike; they all carry the same motifs and scenes of the same set of children's plays (Kim Sŏnjŏng 2015, 395). The surviving Korean *paek tongja-to* exist in folding screens of six, eight, or ten-panels. In the majority of extant *paek tongja-to* screens, each panel carries independent scenes in the background of majestic palace-style buildings as shown in Image 47. The *paek tongja-to* screen used at royal weddings in the nineteenth century was, however, in the panorama style in which all panels exhibit one large scene with no break in-between; it is recorded in *Karye togam ŭigwe* 嘉禮都監儀軌 (Records of Royal Wedding Ceremonies) (Pak Chŏnghye 2012, 161). The height of most of the screens is about 70 cm (Pak Chŏnghye 2012, 172) although the example (Image 47) is a very large folding screen (313.2cm×768cm).

These narrative, auspicious images were in vogue at the royal court at least from the early nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, as *Yŏlsŏngŏje* 列聖御製 (Verse and Prose by Kings) shows, King Sukjong 肅宗 (r. 1674-1720) wrote a preface to *Yoji taehoe-to* (Ch. *Yaochi dahui-tu* 瑤池大會圖 Grand Gathering at Yaochi). Yi Yisun 李頤淳 (1754-

[176] "Maeng Yŏnggwang Paektong-to ka Paekcha-to 孟永光百童圖歌百子圖." For more details, see Kim Sŏnjŏng 2001 (55-59).

1832) states in "Taejojŏn surisi kisa 大造殿修理時記事 (Records about the repairing of Taejojŏn)" [177] that a *Yojiyŏn-to* was placed behind the King's throne at Taejojŏn 大造殿 at Ch'angdŏk Palace 昌德宮, instead of an *irwŏl obong-to* 日月五峰圖 (a very stylized depiction of the sun, the moon, and the five peaks placed as a symbol of kingship behind the King's throne and behind funeral portraits of kings; see Image 10). The displacement of a traditional painting that set the scene for the enactment of kingship clearly indicates the favour given to a narrative painting. The *Yojiyŏn-to* was used at royal weddings because of the auspicious images of peach, Mt Kulun, and Daoist immortals (Amore p'ŏsip'ik misugwan 2018, 44). For instance, a *Yojiyŏn-to* was made for the wedding of King Hŏnjong 憲宗 (r. 1827-1849) and Queen Hyojong 孝定王后 (1831-1904) in 1844 and also his wedding with the concubine Kyŏngbin 慶嬪 (1831-1907) in 1847. It was also made to celebrate the appointment of the Crown Prince (later Sunjo 純祖, r. 1800-1834) in 1800 (U Hyŏnsu 2018, 290).

Other narrative auspicious screens also found favour at the royal court. *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* screens were used at the royal weddings from 1802, as recorded in *Karye togam ŭigwe* 嘉禮都監儀軌 (Records of Royal Wedding Ceremonies) (Kim Sŏnjŏng 2015, 396; Yi Sŏngmi 2015, 372). *Paek tongja-to* was also used for royal weddings, for instance, Crown Prince Hyomyŏng 孝明世子 (1809~1830)'s wedding with his bride (later Queen Sinjŏng 神貞王后, a.k.a Queen Dowger Cho 趙大妃, 1808-1890) in

[177] "Taejojŏn surisi kisa" is in the fifth volume of *Hugye chip* 後溪集 (Writings by Hugye, Hugye being the author Yi Yisun's pen name, ten volumes, 1840). It is a journal that Yi wrote about the reparing of Taejojŏn in which he was involved in 1802.

1819 and King Hŏnjong's wedding with the concubine Kyŏngbin 慶嬪 (1831-1907) in 1847 (Mun Sŏnju 2018, 216).[178]

These screens were thus used to fashion festive occasions because of their auspicious messages. The *Yojiyŏn-to* and *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* show similar festive events, in an idealized space with both non-humans and humans, where longevity is celebrated along with other enjoyments. Similarly in *paek tongja-to*, having many children, one of the common elements that compose a good life for traditional Koreans, is depicted. They share similar themes by depicting similar scenes filled with similar symbolic objects. All of these symbolic objects contribute to the same goal of wishing for a good life. To that end, in *Yojiyŏn-to*, which depicts a banquet at the residence of the Queen Mother of the West, and Bodhisattvas and Daoist immortals' crossing the sea to come to the banquet, we can see the following auspicious objects: clouds, water, waves, waterfalls, mountains, rocks, and oddly shaped ornamental rocks for the non-organic objects; peonies, peaches, ganoderma mushrooms, pine trees, maple trees, and moss for plants; cranes, phoenixes, peacocks, and a turtle[179] for animals (details listed in Image 45). In a painting to celebrate a birthday for an old man (*Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*), clouds surround the entire scene, including mountains and magnificent buildings, representing an ideal space away from the actual world. Waterfalls, mountains, rocks, oddly shaped ornamental rocks, peonies, and peacocks appear as well. Additionally, we can see animals

[178] *Paek tongja-to*, as well as *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*, were chosen as subjects for examinations to appoint ten core painters called *ch'abi taeryŏng hawŏn* 差備待令畵員 from painters in the Tohwasŏ (The Bureau of Painting) in 1860 and in 1873 (Kim Sŏnjŏng 2015, 395). The *ch'abi taeryŏng hawŏn* selection of the best painters was informally introduced by King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724-1776) in his later years, but King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776-1800) made it official and part of the examinations at his royal library, the Kyujanggak 奎章閣, in 1783.

[179] A turtle, as one of sea animals, will be discussed in 4.3.5 Narrative and symbolism: Animals.

and plants that are symbolic of longevity: dancing cranes and idling deer along with pine trees (details listed in Image 46).

The novel *Kuunmong* is set in Tang China, and audiences were accustomed to these paintings with references to Chinese stories. In comparing the three polychrome auspicious narrative screens produced in Korea with the *Kuunmong* screens, however, it is more relevant to note the elements that fill the images, rather than their Chinese origin, because these screens accommodated local users' interest and needs and thus more importantly share the same function as discussed above. *Kuunmong* screens share these sorts of festive events, while drawing on similar auspicious objects to serve the purpose of wishing the viewers a good life. The choice of scenes for the *Kuunmong* screens tells us that the images on the screen are not just about the main characters' romantic encounters (eight women and the protagonist Sŏngjin or Soyu) but also about Soyu's entire extended family. For instance, the six out of ten panels of the Chasu Museum folding screen (Image 15 and Image 20)[180] are dedicated to the encounters of Sŏngjin with eight fairies, as well as of Soyu with the five of eight women he meets in the secular world. Soyu's rendezvous with Kyŏngp'ae, Kyŏnghong, and Nŭngp'a are left out. The remaining four panels are related to a festive gathering for Soyu and his family: Soyu's mother welcomed by his family in the fourth panel; Soyu's wedding in the eighth panel; a banquet with King Wŏl 越 in the ninth panel; and Soyu's last family gathering with eight women in the seventh panel (Image 20). King Wŏl is the brother of Princess Nanyang 蘭陽, one of the women who married Soyu. A banquet with King Wŏl occurs in the highest point in the capital, Nagyuwŏn 樂遊原 (Ch. Leyouyuan), known as the best viewing point for the imperial city. In depicting Soyu's last festivity with eight women, his residence called Ch'wimi Palace 翠微宮 (Ch.

[180] All panels are presented individually in Image 20 in Appendix 2.

Cuiwei Palace, a temporary Tang palace located in the south of the capital, built in 647), which was given by the emperor, is featured.[181]

When family life is depicted in *Kuunmong* screens, we see common symbols for longevity or good health, such as cranes and deer, as depicted in *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*. In the fourth panel of the Chasu Museum folding screen (Image 20), for instance, although absent in the textual description, these animals always come into the scene. It is where Soyu's mother goes to Soyu's residence and two of his wives, including other women, present formal greetings to her. While the formal greetings are performed, in the garden appear cranes and deer. These animals are added onto the screen to create the ambience that was familiarized to *Kuunmong* screen users from their viewing similar festive scenes from other screens including *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*. Soyu's family reunion scene is most comparable to a birthday celebration for old Guo Ziyi joined by all of his children and grandchildren in *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*.[182]

Unlike in the case of *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*, however, it is noted that we see little of the banquet in the Kuunmong screen although the textual description is much dedicated to a luxurious feast in the Soyu's family reunion. The focus in the Kuunmong screen is given to Soyu's mother getting respectful formal greetings from Soyu and his women. In the fourth panel (Image 20 Detail (4)), Soyu's mother is centrally seated with four women, two of his wives (Princess Yŏngyang, who is formerly Kyŏngp'ae, and Princess Nanyang) as well as Ch'aebong and Ch'unun. Soyu stands at the right side of the building to introduce Sŏmwŏl and Kyŏnghong to his mother as they have just arrived. They are about to present their formal greetings to her. Additional differences that diverge

[181] Soyu's last festivity with eight women immediately leads to his return to Buddhism. For this reason, this scene will be discussed in detail in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening.

[182] The textual description of Syou's family reunion can be found in Appendix 3.

from the text are noted for the depiction of Sŏmwŏl and Kyŏnghong. Greetings from these two women are described in the novel as giving their respect at the bottom of the stone stairs to the building; it is because of their low social status (female entertainers). However, they are treated less unequally with other women in the visual narrative; they have walked up the stairs to the floor of the building and now stand on the floor in an adjacent room. This brief comparative analysis of text and image reveals the painterly interpretation of *Kuunmong* that may have reflected the common reception of the episode among screen users.

Auspicious objects are, however, not solely reserved for family scenes in Kuunmong screens. In fact, they are present in almost all panels no matter what the scene is about. We can see most of the same non-organic objects as depicted in *Yojiyŏn-to*. For instance, in the Kuunmong screen at the Chasu Museum we see clouds, water, waves, waterfalls, mountains, rocks, and oddly shaped rocks, otherwise known as the ornamental rocks. Clearly, then, Kuunmong screens borrowed from familiar motifs to fulfill the expectations of audiences, who were accustomed to similar screens with auspicious expressions that convey a story visually. The presence of these objects in the *Kuunmonmg* screens function not merely as backdrops, particularly when the image is designed not only to deliver the story but also to fulfill the general purpose of polychrome narrative paintings, that is, to reflect the viewers' wish for a good life.

These polychrome narrative screens were used initially in palaces but were spread further down in society.[183] Similarly, Kuunmong screens were popularised and these

[183] *Paek tongja-to* screens, for instance, were used at weddings for non-royal families; it was stated in *Kyŏngdo chapchi* 京都雜志 (Miscellaneous writings on the capital) by Yu Tŭkkong and *Imwŏn kyŏngje chi* 林園經濟志 (Writings of agricultural management) by Sŏ Yugu 徐有榘 (1764-1845) (Amore p'ŏsip'ik misulgwan 2018, 48).

As an auspicious image to wish for a good life, Kwak Punyang haengnak-to was used at

auspicious objects often continued to appear in non-palace folk art versions. One screen (minsok 민속 063586, Image 50), for instance, visualised white cranes as those in the screen from Asian Art Museum (one of early versions, Image 22). The scene depicts Soyu, disguised as a Daoist priestess, visiting the family residence of Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae, one of his future wives, and he plays the zither. The presence of cranes in the folding screens is not necessarily based on the episode in question, but they are related to the presence of older people and suggest longevity. Perhaps, considering the way in which a popular narrative was enjoyed in traditional Korea, not all viewers read the novel; perhaps, some listened to the story recited in the market, while others just knew about the story by hearsay. The fact that these symbolic elements were presented to audiences of Kuunmong screens regardless of their literacy leads us to think it likely that many Kuunmong screen viewers not only shared knowledge of the same story, but they also related the Kuunmong story to the same knowledge of auspicious objects and longevity symbols.

Other than formal celebrations in Soyu's life aforementioned, his most lavish and boastful moment is depicted in banquet with King Wŏl at the Nagyuwŏn. The significance of the banquet is more than that of a family gathering, because it is the epitome of Soyu's worldly success that precedes his awakening and return to Buddhism. In the novel, a legendary banquet at the residence of the Queen Mother of the West is aptly mentioned.[184] The festivity expressed in *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* and *Yojiyŏn-to* is thus translated into the scene of a banquet with King Wŏl. Festivity associated with two representative banquets, in particular, that of music and dance finds its way into the ninth panel of the Chasu Museum screen but not without consultation to the contemporaneous visual culture

festive events both in and outside of the palace (Amore p'ŏsip'ik misugwan 2018, 53).

[184] The textual descriptions of a banquet with King Wŏl at the Nagyuwŏn is provided in Appendix 3.

at the royal court (Image 20). The focus at the banquet is given not just to music and dance but also to martial performances. These performances are respectively presented by each of Soyu's four women: first Sŏmwŏl and Kyŏnghong and later Yoyŏn and Nŭngp'a.

The textual description informs us of the following. Two princess wives, i.e., Yŏngyang (formerly Kyŏngpa'e) and Nanyang, along with another lady of high social station, Ch'aebong, did not join the party. Their social status is considered probably not appropriate to accompany the hunting that leads to the banquet. Ch'unun also restrained herself from the gathering in an excuse of her lowly status. Sŏmwŏl and Kyŏnghong are involved throughout the event, whereas Yoyŏn and Nŭngp'a join the gathering only towards the end of the episode. It is because Yoyŏn and Nŭngp'a have become part of Soyu's family finally at the banquet at Nagyuwŏn. On King Wŏl's request, first Sŏmwŏl recites three winning poems that Soyu composed at the poetry competition in Chapter Three. Here, poetry recitation is followed by Kyŏnghong's sword dance, and later by Yoyŏn's mounted archery as well as Nŭngp'a's musical performance on the string instrument *sŭl* (Ch. se 瑟, an ancient Chinese plucked zither, 25-strings with movable bridges).[185]

Except the poetry recitation by Sŏmwŏl, the last three performances are visualized in the Chasu Museum screen (Image 20) and manifest visual considerations of audience expectation that was grown out of their relevant knowledge and viewing experience. This is also a piece of evidence that the visual reception of *Kuunmong* did not fully subscribe to the textual description while the image maintains its connection with the narrative. It is notable that the instrument *sŭl* by Nŭngp'a was replaced with a pear-shape lute called *pipa* 琵琶. She is plucking the *pipa* with her right hand, and the instrument is held by her hand

[185] The textual descriptions of a banquet with King Wŏl at the Nagyuwŏn is provided in Appendix 3.

in an almost upright position. The style of her playing the *pipa*, nevertheless, reflects the change that occurred in the Tang era,[186] the historical period in which the Kuunmong narrative is set. The inclusion of a sword dance by Kyŏnghong and Yoyŏn's mounted archery is relevant to the circumstance at the royal court where the sword dance was presented in the various royal banquets and a certain hunting scene gained favour from the late eighteenth century.

The history of the sword dance in Korea went back to the ancient hunting period, and the sword dance called Hwangch'ang kŏmmu 黃昌劍舞 (Hwangch'ang sword dance)[187] originated from the Silla period and continued through the Koryŏ period and into the Chosŏn era. In the Hwangch'ang sword dance, a boy dancer wears a facial mask. However, during the reign of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720), a major change was made to the sword dance. A female dancer, instead of a boy, performed the dance without wearing a facial mask, which is what is shown on the Kuunmong screen. The author of *Kuunmong*, Kim Manjung recorded this change in the performance of sword dance. In his *Sŏp'ojip* 西浦集 (Collected Writings by Sŏp'o, Sŏp'o being his pen name), he wrote a seven-character ancient style poem[188] entitled "Kwan Hwangch'ang mu 觀黃昌舞 (Watching the

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[186] The *pipa* was originally held horizontally, and the strings were plucked with a large triangular plectrum held in the right hand. The word *pipa* describes the plectrums plucking strokes: *pi*, "to play forward," *pa*, "to play backward." From "The *Pipa*" by J. Kenneth Moore (2003). Consulted on 12 September 2020

https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/pipa/hd_pipa.htm

[187] The origin of Hwangch'ang kŏmmu is attributed to the story of Hwangch'ang-rang 黃倡郎. For instance, in the chapter P'ungsok 風俗, *Tokyŏng chapchi* 東京雜記 (Miscelaneous writings on Tongyŏng edited by Sŏng Wŏnmuk 成原默, 1845), Tongyŏng is a reference to Kyŏngju, the capital of Silla, during the Koryŏ era. The story goes: 舞劒之戲: 黃倡郎新羅人也. 諺傳, 年七歲入百濟, 市中舞劍, 觀者如堵, 濟王聞之, 召觀, 命升堂舞劒, 倡郎因刺王, 國人殺之, 羅人哀之, 像其容, 爲假面, 作舞劒之狀, 至今傳之.

[188] Each line consists of seven characters. The number of lines is not regulated in the ancient style poetry *gushi* 古詩. A poem where each line is seven characters is called *qiyan*

Hwangch'ang sword dance), where he attested this change by mentioning that a girl with blue eye brows,[189] i.e., a beautiful girl, is performing the Hwangch'ang sword dance 翠眉女兒黃昌舞."[190]

The sword dance was established as a formal dance that was presented to create the air of festivity at royal banquets during the reign of King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800). This led to an increase in the scale, the splendor of dress, and more inclusion of female dancers (Ch'oe Yuhŭi 2010, 21). The sword dance performance at banquets was documented in *ŭigwe* 儀軌. The *ŭigwe* is a royal pictorial document that records and describes the major ceremonies and rites of the royal family in the Chosŏn dynasty. The first record of the sword dance at a royal banquet is found in one of the *ŭigwe* entitled *Wŏnhaeng ŭlmyo chŏngni ŭigwe* 園行乙卯整理儀軌 (pictorial records of the sixtieth birthday celebration of Hyegyŏnggung, King Chŏngjo's birth mother, 1797) (Image 51). The sword dance appeared in paintings of the royal banquets, for instance, *Kich'uknyŏn ŭi kungjung chanch'i* 기축년의 궁중 잔치 己丑進饌圖 (Royal banquet in the year of, kich'uk, 1829) (Image 52). The sword dance is presented at the bottom left in detail.

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gushi 七言古詩.

[189] A well-known metonymic phrase that references a beauty. See more detail in the description of eight fairies, 2.2. Encounter scene in Chapter One from the Kuunmong story.

[190] The entire poem is as follows: 繁絃欲停催撾鼓。翠眉女兒黃昌舞。短後之衣頭虎毛。頗似木蘭行負羽。長袖洋洋拂地起。欻驚腰下秋蓮吐。左盤右旋勢轉焉。風雨颯颯雷霆怒。弓彎舞袖眞嫌俗。公孫劍器何足數。吾聞海東昔三分。日尋干戈相侵侮。惠文好劍風俗成。黃昌十四勇如虎。洗國深羞報君王。功成身死名萬古。項莊鴻門謾掉箭。荊卿遺恨在銅柱。舞陽色變秦王宮。唉彼豎子非爾伍。 聖代昇平文敎敷。故國遺民齊變魯。庠序絃誦達四境。巍峨章甫委蛇步。烈士風聲久寂寞。賴有此舞傳樂府。奉化賓館開勝宴。北客初看毛髮豎。願見北地傅介子。杜陵老儒心良苦。如今鬚眉男子且巾幗。嗚呼黃昌之舞竟何補。

In the early nineteenth century, the sword dance for a formal banquet was also performed at the local governor's celebratory occasions (Yi T'aeho 2016, 319). The transmission of royal sword dance to the local centre is demonstrated, for instance, in *Chinju kŏmmu* (sword dance of Chinju, the major city in the south-western part of Chosŏn society).[191] In the meantime, various types of sword dance continued to be performed for audiences outside the palace. *Ssangkŏm taemu* 雙劍對舞 (A dance duet as if fighting with swords, Image 52) by Sin Yunbok 申潤福 (1758-?), for instance, exemplifies the sword dance performance spread in society, here enjoyed by the *yangban*. Sin Yunbok is well known for his folk paintings, and *Ssangkŏm taemu*, one of his representative works, depicts two female entertainers performing a dance duet to the music of *samhyŏn yukkak* 三絃六角. The *samhyŏn yukkak* refers to an ensemble of five players with one string instrument (haegŭm 奚琴), two different reed instruments (*daegŭm* 대금 and two *p'iri* 피리), and two different percussion instruments (*changgu* 장구 and *puk* 북). The music by the *samhyŏn yukkak* was played to accompany dances, parades, banquets and other stage performances including *gut* (ritual) by shamans and theatre both in and outside the palace (Im Hyejŏng 2016, 162-164). Two dancers look as if they are fighting with swords while one is wearing a red skirt and the other is wearing a blue skirt. This style of sparring is a form of sword dance that was widely circulated in 1810s (Yi T'aeho 2016, 319).

In addition to the case of a sword dance by Kyŏnghong, other visual references are noted in the depiction of Yoyŏn's mounted archery. For instance, it is one painting from *Yi Chaegwan p'il Sŏnin-to* (李在寬筆仙人圖, Painting of a Daoist immortal by Yi Chaegwan) by Yi Chaegwan (1783-1838), a court painter (Image 53). While on horseback, a woman turns her back and pulls her bow at two peasants flying in the sky. A bow is held

[191] For more detail, see Kim Misuk (2006).

in her left hand, with a quiver of arrows on her back. She is a female Daoist immortal and is performing mounted archery. It is similar to what Yoyŏn is putting on in the scene of Kuunmong screen. She can be also related to a Daoist immortal, as she is a reincarnation of one of eight fairies.[192]

Another reference to mounted archery is what was commonly depicted in the *horyŏp-to* 胡獵圖 (painting of barbarians hunting).[193] Although the term *ho* 胡, as a derogatory appellation like barbarian, was associated with the Manchu, the ethnic group who founded the Qing dynasty, the *horyŏp-to* paintings gained favour at palace and then among the broader audience from the nineteenth century in Korea. Kim Hongdo, a court painter, pioneered the *horyŏp-to* in the reign of King Chŏngjo (Cho and Chŏng 2017). Women horse riders were also found in the *horyŏp-to,* although it is not a factual representation of the social convention imposed to the formal hunting in the late Chosŏn era (Chin Chunhyŏn 2016, 267).

This babarian hunting scene was often produced as a folding screen, and one of these screens is *Horyŏp-to* 胡獵圖 (Image 54). The popularised version of horyŏp-to screens (usually eight panels) were circulated among commoners, and visual display of the vigorous spirit of Qing warriors in the hunting scene was considered as auspicious imagery and put in use for the protection from evil spirits (Cho and Chŏng 2017). This appreciation of the *horyŏp-to* may contribute to popularity of the festive Nagyuwŏn scene. Fifteen Kuunmong screens depict the scene of Soyu family's banquet with King Wŏl at the Nagyuwŏn and include Yoyŏn's mounted archery.

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[192] As discussed already, the *sŏnnyŏ* 仙女 (female Daoist immortals) was first translated as a fairy by James Scarth Gale, and this translation was not changed by later translators.

[193] *Horyŏp-to* is the painting that depicts the imperial hunt of the Qing at Mulan Weichang 木蘭圍場 (the imperial hunting grounds), which began in 1681 and then continued every autumn from 1683.

Festive family scenes of Kuunmong screens share some elements and iconography with polychrome narrative screens such as *Kwak Punyang hangnak-to* and *Yojiyŏn-to*, as well as other relevant paintings, for instance, sword dance paintings and the *horyŏp-to*. The auspicious imagery in festive scenes thus prevailed in the visual reception of the novel *Kuunmong*. Apart from the first encounter scene, as discussed so far, a majority of scenes in Kuunmong screens are from the Confucian scholar-official Soyu's life. What dominates the visual narrative of Kuunmong screens is his rendezvous with eight women and thereafter his family events. This scene-arrangement reflects the change in the theme of the novel that marked the commercial publication of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, another persona of the protagonist, Sŏngjin, is essential part of the narrative while the significance of Sŏngjin as the protagonist fluctuates among different versions of *Kuunmong*. Thus, it is a meaningful to investigate whether the religious scene was associated with Sŏngjin and how it was visually translated onto Kuunmong screens. The association of religious scenes with Sŏngjin is often implied rather than explicit. This rendering of religious scenes of Kuunmong screens may be related to the fact that the religious metaphor is less expressive in popularized versions of the novel *Kuunmong* than what is described in non-abridged versions of the text. Now the following examination turns to Buddhist symbolism of Kuunmong screens to discuss what can be told about the relation of textual reception and visual reception, with a focus on religiosity of the narrative.

4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening

Kuunmong is a Buddhist monk Sŏngjin's romantic dream narrative, but also arguably a Buddhist parable of the *Diamond Sutra*. So far, few religious aspects of the narrative have been discussed. This section examines religious scenes including Soyu's

last family gathering and his subsequent return to the monastery. A comparative analysis of textual descriptions and visual presentations of relevant episodes reveals religious elements that comprise the narrative and then examines ways in which they were accepted into Kuunmong folding screens. The visual acceptance of religiosity onto screens boils down to a choice of which moments in the relevant religious episode has been made. The visual rendering of these moments on screens reflects their expected viewers' tastes and interests. The way in which these moments were treated, thus, tells us about the type of audience that Kuunmong paintings sought. In what follows, first, comparative analysis of textual and visual rendering of episodes in question will be conducted. Then, religious scenes will be examined in relation to Buddhism in Korea, with a focus on Mahayana principles. In particular, symbolism associated with Buddhist monks' garments and staffs will be discussed. Lastly, in the context of late Chosŏn screen culture, as well as in the popularization of the Kuunmong narrative, the little presence of Buddhist preaching scenes that is featured in Kuunmong screens will be discussed.

Religiosity in the narrative of *Kuunmong*

Chapter Two discussed the change in the textual reception of *Kuunmong* in the process of popularizing the narrative. The Kuunmong text went through contractions and rewritings, which often involved the diminishment of religiosity as a result of the shift in the values put forward in the narrative. Nevertheless, this trend in the textual reception did not necessarily forstall the survival of early versions; various versions of Kuunmong, new as well as old, were altogether available in the nineteenth century. The textual examination of *Kuunmong* for the analysis of religiosity will be thus given to early unabridged versions; they were also foundational to later abridged editions.

Some scholars evaluate *Kuunmong* entirely as a Buddhist tale. Just a half-century after Kim Manjung's generation, Yi Chae (李縡, 1680-1746) stated, in his *Samgwan-gi* (三官記, Facts and Stories (known and felt to me) through Three Sensory Organs of Eyes, Ears and Heart), that *Kuunmong* would be largely a Shakyamuni fable 釋迦寓言 (Chŏng Kyubok [1974] 2010, 294). Shakyamuni, which literally means "the Sage of the Shakya people," is the most commonly used name for the historical Buddha.[194] Among modern scholars, notably, Chŏng Kyubok asserts that the novel is a literary representation of *Diamond Sutra* (Chŏng Kyubok 1967, 310-328). Francisca Cho Bantly approaches *Kuunmong* as an example in which philosophical investigation is advanced in a form of narrative, in particular, in a work of fiction. As the nature of fiction encourages imagination unshackled from the conventional way in which we actually do things, *Kuunmong* may have been written and would be thus read to self-reflect upon the question of certainty largely problematized in the tradition of Daoism and Buddhism. To be specific in the context of Korean Buddhism, fiction was engaged as a form of practice in Chan (K. Sŏn) Buddhism[195] that critiques scholastic exegesis and further attempts to reconstruct existing Buddhist practice. Thus, *Kuunmong*, a work of fiction, enables the "revalorization of Buddhist philosophy" (Bantly 1996, x-xi)

Buddhism is truly an important religious ideology that affected early editions of *Kuunmong*. In particular, in the beginning and the ending of the narrative are more visible references to Buddhism, specifically *Diamond Sutra*.[196] The story begins, introducing

[194] The word is a compound of Shakya and *muni*, as Siddharta Gautama was born to a family from the Shakya clan, and *muni* is an honorific title used for any outstanding religious teachers in India. In Buddhist texts, it refers specifically to the historical Buddha (Baroni 2002, 230 and 290).

[195] Chan Buddhism will be discussed in detail later in relation to religious scenes of Kuunmong screens.

[196] *Diamond Sutra* will be discussed in detail later in relation to religious scenes of

Master Yukkwan as an Indian monk, and he was preaching Mahayana Buddhism to his disciples with one Buddhist text entitled *Diamond Sutra* in his hand. It was *Diamond Sutra* that led Sŏngjin and eight nuns, i.e., eight fairies, to awakening. In the Kyujanggak edition of *Kuunmong*, one of the *sagu-ge* (gatha of four lines)[197] from *Diamond Sutra* was transcribed, "All dharmas are like a dream, an illusion, a bubble, a shadow, the dew, or like lightning. You should discern them like this 一切有爲法 如夢幻泡影 如露亦如電 應作如是觀 (last line in section 32)." Most of the *sagu-ge* is taken from the last phrase of a section where the gist of the main conversation is located.[198] Ultimately, the story's closure comes with Yukkwan's master-disciple ceremonial act of giving away that signals his departure for the world beyond, where Buddhist symbolic objects including *Diamond Sutra* are involved. Upon the master noting that a fully-awakened Sŏngjin was ready to

Kuunmong screens.

[197] The *sagu-ge* (Ch. *siju-ji* 四句偈) is a *gatha* of four lines, and the *gatha* in Sanskrit means a type of metered and often rhythmic poetic verse or a phrase.

[198]Although not mentioned in the novel, three other gatha of four lines from the *Diamond Sutra* are as follows.
"All things that have a form are false illusions. If you see all form to be non-form, then you see the Tathagata 凡所有相 皆是虛妄 若見諸相非相 卽見如來 (last line in section 5)."

"You should not make your thoughts arise while they dwell in form. You should not make your thoughts arise while they dwell in sound, odour, taste, touch, and dharma. You should make your thoughts arise while they have no place to dwell 不應住色生心 不應住聲香味觸法生心 應無所住 而生其心 (in section 10)"

"If someone tries to discern me in form or seek me in sound, this person is practicing non-Buddhist ways, so he/she will not see the Tathagata 若以色見我 以音聲求我 是人行邪道 不能見如來 (last line in section 26)" This line was introduced with actual mention of gatha 偈, "Then the World-honoured One spoke in a verse: 爾時世尊而說偈言."

take over his place, he passed on his belongings such as *kasa*,[199] bowl, water bottle, staff,[200] as well as *Diamond Sutra* to Sŏngjin and left the monastery.

Buddhist thoughts attributed to *Kuunmong* in the current comparative analysis of text and image, nevertheless, are focused on Soyu's last family gathering and his return to the monastery. These are the only scenes where the master Yukkwan appears in the Kuunmong screen. Yukkwan is by all means a religious figure in the story; he is even considered as a living Buddha. These closing scenes thus embody the religious message and symbolism of Mahayana Buddhism.[201] However, the religious message is only suggestive so that its delivery may be limited to viewers who understand Buddhist principles, in particular, from the *Diamond Sutra*. Nevertheless, this scene recurs in most

[199] The *kasa*, Buddhist monks' robe, will be discussed in detail below in the section entitled Symbolism associated with accouterments of Buddhist monks.

[200] The staff will be discussed in detail below Symbolism associated with accouterments of Buddhist monks.

[201] Mahayana Buddhism advocates the principle that anyone can aspire to achieve awakening. To this end, recitation would serve as an accessible means to offer a way to awaken wider audiences. The *Diamond Sutra*, for instance, was intended for "memorisation and reading aloud 受持讀誦" as explicated by the Buddha in section 15 of the sutra. The recitation and concomitant understanding of the sutra should not be just kept to an individual or be exclusive to cloistered circles but rather be shared with others outside as much as possible. Those who recite and teach at least sagu-ge, i.e., a verse of four lines, is laudable and thus greatly rewarded, "if there were a good son or a good daughter who make the bodhisattva's aspiration arise, they hold onto this scripture, and take just a four-line verse from there, and then memorise it, recite it, and teach it to others, then, this person's merit would exceed that of others. 若有善男子 善女人 發菩薩心者 持於此經 乃至 四句偈等 受持讀誦 爲人演說 其福勝彼 (in section 32)." It was thus encouraged to make the text available to people beyond Buddhist monks. This feature of the sutra came to the fore as a result of the promotion of the Mahayana branch in India and was intensified in East Asia where Mahayana tradition became dominant.

Additionally, other various means were arranged to assist non-elite people with their advance to awakening. These means often take the form of visual cues that are found in Buddhist statues and other artifacts and that are meant to facilitate an understanding of the true nature of reality for ordinary people.

of the Kuunmong screens. This visual religiosity is the main argument of this chapter and will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Soyu's last family gathering

Soyu's last family gathering at the pavilion to the west of Soyu's Ch'wimi Palace (Ch. Cuiwei Palace, 翠微宮 a temporary Tang palace, located in the south of the capital, built in 647) is not just a festive event. It was also the very last moment of Soyu's life that immediately led to Soyu's sudden recall to a Buddhist monk's life. This scene, therefore, is rather a scene of religious awakening than of plain worldly festivity. The gathering at the Ch'wimi pavilion is the main episode that discusses religious moments in the narrative, and it was frequently visualised. A textual description of the episode, based on the 1725 edition, is provided in the Appendix 3.

Soyu and eight ladies enjoyed the view of the capital from the pavilion Ch'wimi and appreciated the beautiful scenery on one fine autumn day. With all the enjoyment of eating and drinking delicacies, Soyu was already intoxicated from a lot of chrysanthemum wine. Intoxication, here, in contrast with the mythical wine at the Dragon Palace that led Sŏngjin to fall into desire, brings sobriety back to the mind of Soyu, which had been so far clouded by worldly desire. The flute music was, thus, not at all convivial when Soyu played tunes on his six-holed flute. It turns out to be "the sound, like weeping, choked with sadness, resentment, or pleading." The music drastically changed the mood at the gathering. They all became saddened. Soyu, then, confessed that he had realised the vanity of success as a Confucian scholar-official and he announced his decision that he would leave his family and turn to Buddhist teachings. It is at this moment that they heard a staff tapping on the stone passage leading to the pavilion as Master Yukkwan appeared there. The screen captures this moment as if it were a cinematic screenshot.

Religiosity of the dialogue and its non-duality visualised

Soyu's last family gathering at the pavilion is frequently depicted (nine times), and its religiosity central to the dialogue of Soyu and the master Yukkwan is visually translated. The visual festivity associated with their family excursion on the Climbing Heights Day that followed the Full Moon Festival and subsequent Soyu's days-long birthday celebration is expected from the textual description but in fact, absent in the screen. This absence contrasts with the opulent visual depiction of festivity in the scene of Nagyuwŏn gathering.[202] As we can see from the Chasu Museum screen (Image 55), it usually contains an Indian monk, i.e., Master Yukkwan from the Buddhist monastery on the Lotus Peak, walking up the stairs to the pavilion to awaken his disciple, Soyu (Sŏngjin now reborn as Soyu in his dream). The master banished his disciple Sŏngjin from his monastery and now came back to Soyu to remind him of the fact that the Confucian statesman Soyu is actually the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin. The scene pins down a pivotal moment that is at the hinge of Soyu's and Sŏngjin's worlds. The duality of the protagonist's both worlds is negated in the principles of Buddhism, in particular, here in the meditation school. The following discussion of the family gathering is focused on its delicate visual rendering of the non-duality acknowledged in the tradition of Chan Buddhism, which features dialogue-based meditation training.

Once the Indian monk Yukkwan was introduced, the monk conversed with Soyu. This dialogue between Soyu and the master over "who is this Indian monk" was not literally represented but visually implied on the screen. This may reflect the limitation of a painting as a space-based medium for carrying a dialogue. The dialogue, in fact, conveys

[202] There is sumptuously visualised a variety of food, wine, music, dance, as well as horsemanship and archery in the Nagyuwŏn gathering.

utmost religiosity in the episode that reveals the core teaching of meditation Buddhist discipline, i.e., Chan (K. Sŏn; J. Zen) Buddhism.[203] The notable means of practicing meditation in Chan Buddhism is known as *gong'an* (K. kongan; J. kōan 公案, public case, which means a case for everyone) that usually takes a form of seemingly absurd statements, questions, or anecdotes. Since Chinul 知訥 [204] championed meditation on

[203] The Chan refers to sitting meditation (dhyāna in Sanskrit) and originated in India. Chan Buddhism, however, was established in Tang China, in the process in which Buddhism was transformed into a Chinese religion, and the religion was transmitted widely among non-elite people beyond the elites. One major feature of meditation practice in Chan Buddhism makes it differs from the Indian tradition: the acknowledgement of the Buddha-nature 佛, which is immanent in all sentient beings including humans. The goal of meditation practice is thus to rediscover the Buddha-nature that has been obscured by the human tendency towards craving, which brings about a range of consequent defilements (Chinul and Buswell 1991, 64).

Chan Buddhism developed, and its dominance reached beyond China. Followed by the First Chan Master Bodhidharma (菩提達磨, active in the sixth century), in the beginning of the Tang era, two different schools emerged. The northern school of Chan Buddhism maintained the Indian tradition of meditation where awakening was understood achievable through gradual cultivation (漸悟). However, sudden awakening (頓悟) was pursued in the southern school. It was the sixth Chan Master Huineng (慧能, 638~713) who proposed the tenets of the southern school. Since five schools (Weiyang 潙仰, Linji 臨濟, Caodong 曹洞, Yunmen 雲門, Fayan 法眼) subsequently inherited the legacy of Master Huineng, it was from the Song era that the southern school of Chan Buddhism became mainstream.

Although Chan Buddhism was introduced to Silla Korea in late seventh century, it gained popularity only when two Buddhist monks, Toŭi 道義 and Hongch'ok 洪陟, who were influenced by Master Huineng, the pioneer of the southern school, returned to Silla in 821 and in 826 respectively. The acceptance of Chinese Chan Buddhism (K. Sŏn Buddhism) in late Silla resulted in the formation of sŏnmun kusan (禪門九山, Nine Mountain Meditation Schools). During Koryŏ and Chosŏn, one of the five Chan schools as mentioned above, Linji, was most influential (Yi 1996).

[204] The adoption of meditation on gong'an into the Korean Sŏn tradition was made by Chinul (知訥, also known as Pojo Chinul 普照知訥, literally Shining Universally, Knowing Reticence, 1158–1210). To be specific, Chinul adopted the *hwadu* 話頭 that was used in the method "questioning meditation" (看話禪 Ch. kanhua Chan; K. kanhwa Sŏn) developed by Dahui Zonggao (大慧宗杲,1089–1163), an influential Song Chinese Chan master in the Linji School.

"Pojo Chinul" in The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism edited by Robert E. Buswell,

kongan or *hwadu* as the best method of practice, this type of meditation continued to prevail in Korean Buddhism (Yi Chongik 1997; Chinul and Buswell 1991, 68).

A question-answer format of the dialogue above is a type of *gong'an*. The questioning with a central topic *hwadu* "who is this Indian monk" goes beyond the logic of analytical words, and is formulated to facilitate an intuitive outcome (Yi Chongik 1997). In other words, this method promotes a direct grasp of reality in the process of practicing meditation that is non-egotistical and non-dualistic, with no differentiation of me as opposed to others (Chin 2019, 85). The frequent question involves "what is…? or who is…?" as exemplified above in the textual description. Here in the dialogue between Soyu and the master, division of self and others becomes blurry. The initial questioning of identity was not directed towards Soyu but instead pointed at the master. However, their conversation eventually leads to the disclosure of who Soyu is. Subsequently what matters is that no definite self is established in the question about who has known the Indian monk

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Donald S. Lopez, and Juhn Ahn (2017). Consulted online on 25 July 2020

https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2518/view/10.1093/acref/9780190681159.001.0001/acref-9780190681159-e-3258?rskey=OFaaE0&result=1

The *kanhwa Sŏn* literally means investigation of the meditative topic. The *hwadu* 話頭, "head of speech," simply means "topic," the primary topic of an entire gong'an. However, as a means of meditation practice, the *hwadu* is best illustrated as "apex of speech" or "point beyond which speech exhausts itself (Chinul and Buswell 1991, 68)." Chinul advised an eclectic approach to Buddhist practice that, along with the training through meditation, also embraces scriptural and doctrinal study. His approach differs from the dominant trend in Chinese Chan Buddhism that normally focused only on meditation practice. He also advocated sudden awakening followed by a gradual cultivation that was proposed by Chinese Ch'an master Tsung-mi (宗密 780–841).

"Chinul" in A Dictionary of Buddhism by Damien Keown (2004). Consulted online on 25 July 2020

https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2518/view/10.1093/acref/9780198605607.001.0001/acref-9780198605607-e-409?rskey=LRBoDu&result=2

and how it happened in whose dream or whose real life: whether or not it is Soyu or Sŏngjin. In an effort to recognise a person (the master) who has been allegedly known to Soyu (or Sŏngjin) all his life, here and now, Soyu looked back at his life path as far as he could reach and rummaged through his memories only to find one occasion when Soyu met an old monk preaching in his dream. However, it may be rather Sŏngjin who has known the monk all along up to this point as Sŏngjin lived with the master in his real life. Sŏngjin's life may be again only what happened in Soyu's dream.

This non-dualistic and non-egoistical view of identity featured in the dialogue may further intend to showcase what is elaborated in teachings of the *Diamond Sutra* (Sanskrit. Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, literally means "The Diamond-cutter Perfection of Insight Sutra"), one of the core Chan Buddhism texts.[205] The 32 sections of the sutra take the form of a conversation between a senior monk, Subhuti and the Buddha and express

[205] The sutra, originally written in Sanskrit in the second century, was first translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva (鳩摩羅什, 343-413) in 402 CE, with the full title *Jingang bore boluomi jing* (金剛般若波羅蜜經), but the title is often shortened as *Jinggang jing* in Chinese and *Kŭmganggyŏng* in Korean (金剛經). Prince Zhaoming (昭明太子 蕭統, 501-531) in the state of Liang 梁 broke down the sutra into the current 32 chapters. In Chan Buddhism, the sutra gained significance since the Fifth Master Hongren (弘忍, 602–675). For instance, Master Huineng was inspired from hearing this sutra recited and left his family to become a Buddhist monk.

Diamond Sutra was one of the most widely transmitted and well-known Buddhist texts in Korea (Yi Kiyŏng 1996; Kwon Kijong 1996). The prevalence of *Kŭmganggyŏng* was indebted to Chinul in the mid Koryŏ, one of the two most influential monks in the history of Korean Buddhism (along with Wŏnhyo 元曉 617-686), who required this sutra be read by all trainees on entrance to Buddhism (Kwon Kijong 1996). The sutra is also one of the texts that was selected for translation into Korean in early Chosŏn. The first Korean translation of the sutra, *Kŭmganggyŏng ŏnhae* (Korean Translation of Diamond Sutra 金剛經諺解, 1464), was commissioned by King Sejo (世祖 1455-1468), who atypically promoted Buddhism as a Chosŏn king and established Kan'gyŏng togam (刊經都監 Office for Scriptures Printing, 1461-1471) where both Chinese and Korean Buddhist texts were printed. *Kŭmganggyŏng ŏnhae* was translated from Master Huineng's annotated version of the sutra.

emphasis on the illusory nature of phenomena.[206] The Buddha's responses boiled down to the wisdom of *kong* (Ch.; K. *kong*, J. *ku*, 空, emptiness) that extends the absence of the self in persons to all things in the world that even includes Buddhist teachings (一切法無我). The Buddha elaborated on the wisdom of *kong*, but never directly referred to the word *kong*, while he was resorting to multiple contradictory statements.[207] As succinctly phrased in "the selflessness of all dharmas (in section 28)," the sutra represents the idea of emptiness or *kong*.

Diamond Sutra illustrates that nothing has an essential self, and the existence of everything is interdependent, thus, even nirvana has no substantiality except with reference to the ordinary real world and vice versa. In other words, there is no essential difference between transmigration and nirvana, hence, no difference between the life of Sŏngjin the

[206] In fact, their dialogue revolves around what dharma is. Dharma, which was translated as *fa* 法 in Chinese, has multiple connotations. In Buddhism, dharma is the ultimate truth of the world or Buddha's teachings about the ultimate truth. The term in the plural (dharmas, also translated as *fa* 法 in Chinese), however, is used to describe all things, all the interrelated elements that make up the world.

[207] For instance:

"you should not take dharma, but also you should not take what is not dharma 不應取法 不應取非法" (in section 6)

"you should make your thoughts arise while they have no place to dwell in 應無所住 而生其心" (in section 10)

"dharma, as the truth that tathagata (who achieved awakening, i.e., Buddha) has attained, has no substance but also is not empty either 如來所得法 此法無實 無虛" (in section 14)

"those things we say all dharmas are not all dharmas. Thus, they are called 'all dharmas' 所言一切法者 卽非一切法 是故 名一切法" (in section 17)

"Subhuti, you must not think that I (Buddha) should lead people into awakening 我當度衆生 須菩提 莫作是念" (in section 25)

"when realised that the selflessness of all dharmas or phenomena 知一切法無我" (in section 28)

monk and that of Soyu the Confucian statesman. The awakening to emptiness, that everything—even the Buddha's truth—is illusion, ironically leads to the wisdom that both lives should be acknowledged. Although the *gong'an*-like dialogue immanent in the novel was not literally translated onto the religious scene in the Kuunmong screens, the non-dualistic and non-egotistical nature of the questioning between Soyu and the master, or even between Subhuti and the Buddha from *Diamond Sutra*, is aptly visualised. That is why in this awakening scene, visually co-present is Soyu's triumphal life as well as the Buddhist path of life that is signalled by the master Yukkwan.

Soyu's return to the monastery and Yukkwan preaching

As opposed to frequent visual presentation of Soyu's family gathering at Ch'wimi pavilion where Soyu's awakening is only foreshadowed, Kuunmong screens rarely depict the scene where Master Yukkwan gave Sŏngjin a straightforward instruction of what should constitutes awakening. The master's elucidation of the nature of awakening was made once Soyu returned to be the monk Sŏngjin, while it shows that in fact, the monk had never left the monastery but all the while had been seated in his humble cell.

In the textual description (Appendix 3), on Sŏngjin's report of his return, the master recounted a butterfly anecdote from *Zhuangzi* and explained to Sŏngjin what should be achieved with awakening. There is no way to discern whose dream it is, whether Zhuangzi's dream or the butterfly's; likewise, whether Sŏngjin or Soyu is in the dream. Compared with the previous dialogue of the master with Soyu in the pavilion where his disciple was to find his own way out of enigmatic puzzling routes in the quest for wisdom, at the monastery Yukkwan directly implicated his lesson.

Detailed preaching of *Diamond Sutra* was promised to deliver later in due course but not actually narrated in the text. Instead, a few words from the sutra were claimed to

describe the preaching, “the light from a white hair (between the eyes of the Buddha) shines out to permeate the world, and sky flowers flutter down like a chaotic rain 白毫光射世界 天花下如亂雨.” However, there is no such sentence in any of the 32 sections of the sutra. Anyhow, at the end of the preaching by the master, Sŏngjin and the eight Buddhist nuns (previously eight fairies) recite *sagu-ge* (Ch. *siju-ji* 四句偈, or a *gatha* of four lines, *gatha* in Sanskrit means a type of metered and often rhythmic poetic verse or a phrase) and then they all attained sudden awakening. It is understandable from the history of Korean Buddhism that this religious scene reflects Chan Buddhism, and in particular, the southern school of Chan Buddhism in which the sudden attainment of awakening was prioritised by Master Huineng.[208]

Only the Kuunmong screen at Sosŏng Museum depicts Master Yukkwan preaching *Diamond Sutra* to Sŏngjin and eight Buddhist nuns (Image 11). Yukkwan is seated on the raised floor of the building whereas Sŏngjin and eight nuns are kneeling on the ground. The hierarchy between the master and his returning disciples is clearly demarcated. The elevation of the master in the scene from Sosŏng Museum contrasts with the scene in the Chasu Museum screen (Image 55), where Yukkwan is situated hierarchically below Soyu and his family as he is walking up the stairs to the pavilion where he will pay respect to them. The master preaching scene will be further discussed for its implication in the context of screen culture in late Chosŏn in the section “Buddhist preaching scenes in Kuunmong screens.”

With these religious scenes explained, eleven screens including the Chasu Museum screen aforementioned, will be further compared for religious symbolism. The analytic attention will be given to various visual devices deployed in the screens to convey

[208] Master Huineng was briefly discussed in the footnote 167.

principles in Mahayana Buddhism. Religious symbolism is associated with, in particular, a Buddhist monks' *kasa* and staff, and thus pronounced in Kuunmong folding screens.

Eleven screens

Religious scenes are recognized from eleven screens. The major group includes the Chasu Museum screen and amounts to nine screens. These nine screens convey similar visual renderings of Soyu's last family gathering, unlike the two screens that will be examined later. The dominant group includes screens from Chasu Museum,[209] Haengso Museum (Keimyung 1519), Asian Art Museum, National Museum (sinsu 신수 14114), Onyang Folk Museum, Hangul Museum, Portland Art Museum, Chosun Minhwa Museum, and National Folk Museum (minsok 민속 039692). Respective images are listed in Image 55 to 64.[210] Despite slight variations, all of these scenes similarly feature Soyu

[209] When there are more than one Kuunmong folding screens from the same museum, the catalogue no. for the screen is added in brackets.

[210] Images are provided in 4.3.4. Religious symbolism: Awakening, Appendix 2 as follows:

Image 55: Sixth panel of ten-panel folding screen at Chasu museum (167×37cm, embroidery on silk, 19th century)

Image 56: Tenth panel of ten-panel folding screen (89x26cm. ink and colours of green, blue, and red on silk, 1868, keimyung 1519 at Haengso Museum)

Image 57: Eighth panel of eight-panel folding screen (86.4x39.4 cm, Ink and colours on paper, approx. 1800-1900, 1997.21 at Asian Art Museum)

Image 58: Third panel of eight-panel folding screen (56.1x 33.1 cm, sinsu 신수 14114 at National Museum)

Image 59: Eighth panel of eight folding screen (73.0x35.8cm, ink and colours on paper, late 19th century, 6903 at Onyang Folk Museum)

Image 60: Tenth panel of ten-panel folding screen (78.8x37.5 cm, Ink and colours on paper, han'gu 한구 833 at Hangul Museum)

Image 61: Tenth panel of ten-panel folding screen (66.04x33.02cm, ink and colours on silk, Portland Art Museum)

surrounded by eight of his women in the pavilion and the master Yukkwan walking up the stairs to approach them. Soyu is dressed formally as a high-rank noble man with a formal headdress, which resembles the *samo* 紗帽, a black hat with two wing-like flaps (Image 55 Detail 1). Soyu is wearing an official robe with the *tannyŏng* 團領 in black (Image 55 Detail 1). The *tannyŏng* is the upper strip around the neck on the front of an official robe.[211]

Soyu's formal outfit exemplifies his imposing status. All of his military success made him a prime minister with his own taxable territory awarded by the emperor. Soyu stands and casts a gaze toward the master in the scene from the Chasu Museum screen (Image 55), and from the National Folk Museum (minsok 민속 039692, Image 63). This shows visibly Soyu's intention to get a better view of the master approaching him. In Image 55, Soyu is even leaning his upper body to the left and stretching his head in that direction along with several women near him. However, besides these two screens, in a similar scene from all the other seven screens, Soyu is centrally seated while all the women stand around him. This composition creates a more dignified image for Soyu. While seated, Soyu is holding a flute in the scene from several screens, Haengso Museum (Keimyung 1519, Image 56), National Museum (sinsu 신수 14114, Image 58), and

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Image 62: Eighth panel of eight-panel folding screen (Ink and colours on paper, sŏlhwado 설화도 122001 at Chosun Minhwa Museum)

Image 63: Sixth panel of eight-panel folding screen (82x34cm, ink and colours on paper, minsok 민속 039692 at National Folk Museum)

[211] The *samo* originated from Chinese *futou* 幞頭 and appeared as part of formal attire for officials from late Koryŏ and throughout the Chosŏn era in Korea (Cho 2017). Chŏng Mongju (鄭夢周 1337-1392), as King Hyojong (孝宗 r. 1649-1659) states, brought the wearing of *samo* and *tannyŏng* 團領 when Chŏng returned from China 前朝鄭夢周還自中原, 始傳紗帽團領之制 (from the record on the tenth day of the first month in 1657 in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*).

Onyang Folk Museum (Image 59). This reflects the textual description where Soyu blew a six-holed flute after enjoying the view from the pavilion.

The marginalized group includes screens from the Sosŏng Museum and the Songam Gallery. These two screens narrate what may or may not have occurred after the Soyu's family gathering in the pavilion ended. It is the screen from Sosŏng Museum that depicts eight fairies and Sŏngjin, who has returned to the monastery after the gathering (Image 65).[212] In contrast to the nine screens aforementioned, all of the main characters in this screen are kneeling to pay full respect to the master Yukkwan. Instead of Soyu, the master is centrally seated on the raised floor in the imposing building there. The screen preserved at Songam Gallery further deviates from the main group as it exhibits a specious rendering of religious episodes (Image 64).[213] Sŏngjin dressed in a Buddhist robe stands alone in the pavilion while eight fairies are flying away from him up into the sky. The scene seems to represent the ending moments of Soyu's family gathering in the pavilion when Soyu transforms into Sŏngjin, perhaps some moments before he awakens in the monastery. However, the presence of Sŏngjin, as a Buddhist monk, in the pavilion is incongruent to the textual description of the episode where the symbolic message of this religious scene is manifest, largely related to Mahayana Buddhism, specifically from the *Diamond Sutra*. As Sŏngjin is personified as Soyu throughout his dream, he cannot be Sŏngjin until his dream ends. The protagonist in the pavilion is in his dream, so he must be Soyu. The pavilion is the space for Soyu in Sŏngjin's dream. In aadition, Soyu went back to the monastery, while eight fairies saw him off; then, they returned to join Sŏngjin for the master's preaching. He can't be left behind and watch over eight ladies flying back to

[212] Image 65: Eighth panel of eight-panel folding screens (ink and colours on paper, Kyonggi 경기 1309 at Sosŏng Museum) in 4.3.5. Religious symbolism: Awakening, Appendix
[213] Image 64: First panel of eight-panel folding screen (ink and colours on paper, Songam Gallery) in 4.3.5. Religious symbolism: Awakening, Appendix

the monastery. More importantly, Sŏngjin realizes "selflessness of all dharmas" that he is also Soyu only after listening to *Diamond Sutra* expounded by the master at the monastery and reciting some key verse lines from the sutra. Thus, Soyu cannot be presented as Sŏngjin in the pavilion, because he did not yet regained his identity of Sŏngjin while he remained in the pavilion.

Despite these discrepancies, the nine screens, among which the Chasu Museum screen is representative, as well as the remaining two screens, all present at least one Buddhist monk in the religious context. In the group of nine screens (Image 55 to 63) the Buddhist monk is the master Yukkwan, whereas it is Sŏngjin in Image 64. Both the master and Sŏngjin, along with the master's other disciples, are featured in Image 65. The depiction of the master Yukkwan and Sŏngjin will be discussed to examine symbolic connotations associated with accouterments of Buddhist monks, with a focus on details of their *kasa* and staff.

Symbolism associated with accouterments of Buddhist monks

The *Kasa*, Buddhist robe

In the scenes discussed above, Master Yukkwan travelled to the capital to meet Soyu (Image 55 to 63), and he was preaching (Image 65). The master is thus expected to wear the *sanghati* (grand *kasa*), and it is often elaborate and decorative both in colour and pattern. In order to unpack religious implications associated with the *kasa* featured in the Kuunmong screens, preliminary observations of the *kasa* are required. These include what is the *kasa* and how it was worn by Buddhist monks, as well as how it was rendered in Buddhist paintings.

The robe of a Buddhist monk *kasa*,[214] along with the sutras, travelled to China through central Asia[215] and then to the rest of East Asia, while it went through changes in its form due to differences in the climates as well as in the Buddhist principles. In addition to being a robe, the *kasa* began to be worn as an outer layer over clothes to withstand cold weather in East Asia. Symbolic connotations associated with the *kasa* were also sophisticated. It is because the principles of Mahayana Buddhism, which prevailed in East Asia, endorsed that awakening is attainable by ordinary people as well as Buddhist monks. In addition to convoluted text-based instructions, Mahayana Buddhism executed these principles and adopted various means of visual symbolism that would offer ordinary people an easy approach to Buddhist teachings. The *kasa* thus served as a visual emblem and became particularised in the format.

The Buddha initially instructed that the *kasa* may be made by putting together shreds of cloth. The current form of patchwork resembling the Chinese character 田 was established in the Tang era (Kim and An 2005, 29). The pattern was further elaborated and sometimes combined in a variety of colours or embroidered with text or visual symbols in

[214] The name of the Buddhist garment is *kasa* (袈裟, Ch. *jiasha*; J. *kesa*, transliterated from the Sanskrit term *kasaya*) from an anecdote written in the *Lalitavistara Sutra* that Gautama Sidharth exchanged his luxurious royal clothes for a tattered *kasaya* worn by a hunter. This sacred Mahayana Buddhist sutra tells us about the life of Gautama Buddha and was translated in Chinese and entitled *Fang guangda zhuangyan jing* (方廣大莊嚴經, 12 volumes) by Divākara (地婆訶羅, 613-687) in 683. The anecdote appears in the fifteenth chapter "Leaving Home (Chujia-pin 出家品)" (Kang and Pak 2018, 7). *Kasaya* refers to the colour, neither clear nor beautiful, in which their robe was dyed. The colour was used to differentiate the nascent Buddhist group from other contemporaneous competing religious groups in India.

[215] Buddhism originated in the north west of India, and Buddhist scriptures were sent to Central Asia first and then to China by merchants via the Silk Road. For instance, Kumarajiva, who translated various sutras into Chinese, was a central Asian Buddhist monk born in Kucha.

China and then in Korea, and later in Japan. During the Three Kingdoms era in Korea (traditional dates 57 BCE to 668 CE), although it may be due to a scarcity of surviving evidence, the *kasa* was not patchworked (Kim and An 2005, 44-51). Several surviving *kasa* from the Koryŏ period and more from the Chosŏn period exhibit a patchwork pattern. For instance, Sŏnam Temple Museum possesses *Taegak kuksa kŭmnan kasa* (大覺國師 金襴袈裟 Greatly Awakened Kuksa's Golden Kasa, 59×230 cm, silk, Image 66).[216] The *kŭmnan kasa* is a *kasa* of patchwork that was made of golden fabric or highly decorated with embroidery and multiple hues adopted in the fabric.

Types of *kasa* are named after the number of rows. For instance, the most basic type is called 5 *cho* as it has five rows while each row consists of one long strip and one short strip to amount to ten strips in total. Similarly, a 9-*cho kasa* has nine rows with each row having two long strips and one short strip (Image 67). Only odd numbers of rows from 5 to 25 are taken to make a *kasa*, because odd numbers are considered auspicious in

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[216] The golden *kasa* (kŭmnan kasa) was awarded to the highest-rank monk, *kuksa* (國師, literally meaning the teacher of the state) or the one in the second-highest rank, wangsa (王師, literally meaning the teacher of the king). This *kŭmnan kasa* was known to have been given to Taegak kuksa Ŭichŏn (義天 1051-1101) by King Sŏnjong (宣宗 r. 1083~1094) in 1087. On the back of the kasa was written "Granted by King Sŏnjong of Koryŏ to Taegak kuksa in the second year of Yuanyou of the Northern Song (高麗宣宗賜于大覺國師 北宋元祐 2 年丁卯)." However, the current kasa was made in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century.

This kasa was made of fabric warped in red silk thread and wefted in yellow silk and consists of 125 stripes with 25 rows, i.e., a type of 25 cho kasa (Image 66). Onto the fabric were embroidered names of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and titles of sutras, along with visual emblems for the sun and the moon. On the second left row from the centre of the kasa is depicted a three-legged bird in the sun and a rabbit pounding a pestle in the moon (Image 12 Detail). Beneath the sun, as well as the moon, is a fully blooming lotus flower signifying enlightenment. In Buddhist art, the light of the sun and the light of the moon are symbolised as two bodhisattvas, Suryaprabha and Candraprabha, as attendants accompanying Bhaiṣajyaguru (Ch. and K. 藥師如來; J. 薬師如來), the Medicine Buddha, one of the important bodhisattvas worshiped in Mahayana Buddhism. Bhaiṣajyaguru vowed to heal his devotees before he would become a Buddha.

traditional East Asia. It is also noted that there is always only one short strip in a row regardless of the number of rows, whereas a range of long strips from one to four are used (Image 67). In the 25-*cho kasa* pattern (Image 66), one short strip in each row is marked. The principle of keeping short strips down to only one per row demonstrates how the *kasa* functions as a visual means in Mahayana Buddhism where the possibility of awakening is extended to ordinary people. Short strips signify ordinary people while long strips signify those awakened (Kim and An 2005, 33). As anyone who is aspiring and makes efforts can attain awakening, the number of ordinary people decreases while the number of those awakened increases. Thus, by limiting short strips to a minimum, it signifies that the percentage of ordinary people will continue to dwindle in the world where Mahayana principles are rightly practiced.

A complete set of *kasa* may be worn two or three-fold, which is made up of *antarvasa* 安陀會, *uttarasanga* 鬱多羅僧, and *sanghati* 僧伽梨.[217] The *sanghati* is the grand garment, which literally means 'preaching Buddhist principles to ordinary people,' and is worn to display authority when a monk sits in a raised platform to preach. It is also worn when a monk travels to the capital or goes out begging for food in the village. From 9 *cho* up to 25-*cho* are the *sanghati,* of which the higher number of *cho* is assigned to the higher rank of monks. In addition, the wearing style of these *kasa* is bifurcated. When situated to show respect, for instance, to the Buddha or the master, a monk leaves his right

[217] The *antarvasa* is an inner robe that is worn alone when a monk stays inside the monastery while working or sleeping. The *uttarasanga* literally means 'worn when a monk practices together with ordinary people', so it is worn over the *antarvas* when a monk participates in Buddhist rituals including formal offerings and sutra recitations. Among eleven types of *kasa*, 5-*cho kasa* is the *antarvasa*, and 7-*cho* is the *uttarasanga*.

Conventionally in East Asia, the *kasa* refers to the *uttarasanga* or *sanghati* instead of the *antarvasa*. It is because, as discussed above, the *kasa* was worn as a symbol of status and the official garment of a Buddhist monk.

shoulder bare but his left shoulder is covered with the *kasa*. Rather than covering the shoulder, the *kasa* is also fastened with a strip over the shoulder. Conversely, when a monk deserves authority, for instance, while seated for preaching, both shoulders are covered with the *kasa* (Kim and An 2005, 22). However, the latter wearing style is rarely witnessed in the portraiture of a Buddhist monk in Korea.

Kaleidoscopic versus monochrome

The fine craftsmanship of *kasa*-making prevailed in the Koryŏ era and produced most of the *ch'ŏpsang kasa* 貼相袈裟 in Korea, but none of them survived. The *ch'ŏpsang kasa* (貼相袈裟 adorned *kasa*) is the *kasa* with the *yŏp* added in colours different from that of the main fabric. The *yŏp* is where one strip joins with another horizontally as well as vertically. A horizontal juncture is called the short *yŏp*, whereas a vertical juncture is the long *yŏp*, as shown in the 9-*cho kasa* with details (Image 67). Based on archival records and examples that survived in China and Japan, Kang Sŏnjŏng from Sŏngbo Museum at Hwaŏm Temple and Pak Ch'unhwa, Hanbok (Korean traditional costume) Master of Korea no. 611, reconstructed the *ch'ŏpsang kasa*: one is in red with the green *yŏp* (Example 1 in Image 67); the other is in blue indigo with the light blue *yŏp* (Example 2 in Image 67). The *ch'ŏp* is a little square at the corner, and it is often added in a different colour. The allegedly reconstructed version of *Taegak kuksa kŭmnan kasa* (Image 66) was made of fabric woven in red and yellow threads and exhibits the *ch'ŏp* in blue (2cmx2cm).

The *kasa* depicted in Buddhist paintings from the Koryŏ era, varying in colours that include grey, sky blue, light green, and red, is the *ch'ŏpsang kasa* with the decoratively patterned black *yŏn* (Kang and Cho 2014, 20). Red and green colours prevailed in the *kasa* depicted in the portraiture of Koryŏ Buddhist monks (Kim 2018, 23). The *kasa* produced in the Chosŏn era, however, was usually of fabric in a single colour

(Kim and An 2005, 60) and in the late Chosŏn, the *kasa* made of red fabric was usual (Kang and Cho 2014, 21). The reduction of colours may be related to the state project to shrink the scope of Buddhism that was launched early and completed in the mid-Chosŏn.[218] As a result, few Buddhist sects but the Sŏn school was viable, and the master's *kasa* in the Sŏn school signifies authority of the master. For instance, a master handed over his *kasa* when he gave authorisation to his disciple to be the recipient of his teachings: Master Yukkwan bestowed his *kasa* to Sŏngjin above. The red may have been chosen, because the colour emblematises the dignity that the *kasa* deserved (Kang and Cho 2014, 21).

Although the *kasa* in monochrome, mostly in red, was worn in real life by Chosŏn Buddhist monks, the Buddha or a monk in Buddhist paintings from the late Chosŏn was dressed in the multihued *kasa* that resembles the *ch'ŏpsang kasa*. For instance, *Portrait of Master Sŏsan* (西山大師, also known as Hyujŏng 休靜, 1520-1604) exhibits an example that emulated the *ch'ŏpsang kasa* (Image 68). The *yŏp* and *yŏn* of Master Sŏsan's red *kasa* was adorned with light-yellow fabric that carries the pattern of golden-and-silver honeysuckle. A lotus blossom is visible on a respective *ch'ŏp* (little square at the corner). A portrait of Master Sŏsan was the most extensively produced along with that of Master Samyŏng (四溟大師, also known as Yujŏng 惟政, 1544-1610), because they made a great contribution to defeat the Japanese invasion of 1592 to 1598 (Kim Hyŏnjŏng 2012, 194-195). The portraiture of old masters in general were increasingly produced, because respect and reverence for designated old masters was selectively promoted in the development of Sŏn Buddhism since the unification of various schools into a single Sŏn

[218] The five doctrinal and nine meditational schools 五敎九山 from the Koryŏ were condensed to seven schools (1405-6), then to two schools, one doctrinal and one meditational (1424), and eventually reduced to one single Sŏn school that resulted from the abolition of monk examinations executed in 1550.

school in the mid-Chosŏn (Kim Hyŏnjŏng 2012, 199). Thirty-eight portraits of Buddhist masters survived from the eighteenth century (Kim Hyŏnjŏng 2012, 183).

Enhanced visibility of kaleidoscopic *kasa* in late Chosŏn

Additionally, in *Yŏngsanheo kwaebul t'aeng* (영산회괘불탱, Buddhist Hanging Banner Painting of the Vulture Peak Assembly, 1653, Image 69),[219] the Buddha is dressed in the *ch'ŏpsang kasa* and centrally seated on a lotus pedestal with two attendant bodhisattvas, Manjusuri (Bodhisattva of Wisdom and Insight) on his left and Samantabhadra (Bodhisattva of Great Conduct) on his right. The *yŏp* and *yŏn* of the Buddha's red *kasa* are adorned with highly intricate patterns in different fabrics. The *yŏp* is patterned with yellow *mandara* or *mandarava* flowers (曼陀羅華, Sanskrit *mahamandara*, also *mahamandarava*), one example of blossoms that bloom in the sky and rain down from the sky when a Buddha is preaching or when other wonderful events occur. As discussed above, in *Kuunmong*, during the master Yukkwan's preaching of *Diamond Sutra*, sky flowers flutter down like in a chaotic rain (天花不如亂雨). The *yŏn* was decorated with iridescent stylized lotus vines.

The association of *Yŏngsanheo kwaebul t'aeng* with outdoor rituals requires examination, because it showcases ways in which Buddhist paintings were exposed to

[219] 1,195cm×776cm, hemp fabric, at Hwaŏm Temple, Sŏngbo Museum.

The *Yŏngsanheo* painting portrays the scene of Sakyamuni Buddha's lecture at Vulture Peak that was given to his disciples for forty-five days after his attaining awakening under the sacred Bodhi fig tree. The Buddha's hand gesture with his right hand reaching down toward the ground and his left hand resting on his lap indicates his defeat of worldly desires and his attainment of spiritual enlightenment. The scene of the Buddha's lecture at Vulture Peak is thus typically hung behind the statue of Sakyamuni Buddha in the main building at a Buddhist monastery, as well as for outdoor rituals.

wide-ranging audiences in the late Chosŏn. The form of this painting is called *kwaebul t'aeng*. The *t'aenghwa* (탱화 幀畵) or simply *t'aeng* is a Buddhist hanging painting (scroll or frame) as opposed to murals and was established as a main form of Buddhist painting in the late Chosŏn. It was preferred because the making of a hanging painting was more manageable, both in the cost and in the process, when compared to murals. In addition, a hanging panting fits better when the limited space is rearranged to perform rituals (Chŏng Myŏnghŭi 2016, 91-92). A large-scale Buddhist hanging scroll is called the *kwaebul*, i.e., hanging banner. Hanging banner paintings are displayed outdoors on special occasions such as the Buddha's birthday, outdoor rituals,[220] and the funerals of eminent monks.[221]

The practice of Buddhism in the Chosŏn era was generally remarked in the form of indoor as well as outdoor rituals rather than through the pursuit of doctrinal investigations (Chŏng 2004, 161). This tendency was furthered by Sŏn Buddhist monks in the late Chosŏn (Chŏng Myŏnghŭi 2004, 160). In the seventeenth century, following Chosŏn's two massive wars with the Japanese and the Qing Chinese, the reconstruction of Buddhist monasteries was proposed and executed. Rituals that used to be led by the royal court in earlier days were then organized and carried out by an individual monastery (Chŏng

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[220] Rituals of significance included the *kiuje* (祈雨祭, rainmaking), *suryukchae* (水陸齋, liberation rite of all beings of water and land), and *yŏngsanjae* (靈山齋, ritual representation of the Vulture Peak Assembly for the consolation of the bereaved).

In Buddhism, the "chae/jae 齋" refers to a ritual in which offerings and prayers for the cultivation of virtue are offered (Ku 2014, 627-629). The Chinese *suryukchae* (Ch. *shuiluzhai*) was first held during the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (502~549) of Liang 梁. It is known that a renowned Koryŏ monk, Hyegak kuksa 惠居國師, initiated the *surykchae* at Karyang Temple 葛陽寺 in 971. The state-level *suryukchae* was held in the early Chosŏn until banned in 1515 (Hong 1997). Nevertheless, the ritual continued throughout the Chosŏn era. The persistence and even increased occurrence of the *suryukchae* corroborates the characteristic of Buddhist practice in the late Chosŏn.

[221] "T'aenghwa." In *Wolgan misul* 월간미술. Consulted online on 17 June https://monthlyart.com/encyclopedia/%ED%83%B1%ED%99%94/

Myŏnghŭi 2016, 86). The emphasis on rituals resulted in the expansion of participants. To accommodate a large assembly, rearrangement was first made to indoor space that had been reserved for enshrining the statue of Buddha and of which admission was limited to a small number of people (Chŏng Myŏnghŭi 2016, 90). However, large-scale rituals eventually had to be moved outside of buildings. This led to the production of large hanging scrolls for outdoor rituals (Chŏng Myŏnghŭi 2016, 98). The earliest surviving *kwaebul* is stored at Chungnim Temple 竹林寺 and it dates back to 1622. The *kwaebul* epitomizes the function of Chosŏn Buddhist painting as a ritual medium (Chŏng Myŏnghŭi 2011, 127). Each Buddhist temple in late Chosŏn attempted to be equipped with a large ritual painting (Jeong 2020, 269).

The function of Buddhist painting for the practice of Buddhism was thus intensified as a ritual medium rather than only as a means of visualising the one who was worshipped or of narrating Buddhist principles. With the increase in and expansion of indoor and outdoor rituals, the visibility of Buddhist paintings that had been held in reserve for worship spaces was greatly promoted to a diverse spectrum of people. The large-scale *yŏngsanheo* hanging paintings exemplified this tendency of late Chosŏn Buddhist art.[222] This context in which iridescent robes in Buddhist paintings were viewed openly may have contributed to the presentation of the Buddhist monk's robe in the Kuunmong screens that resembles the *ch'ŏpsang kasa*.

[222] It is also notable that large *yŏngsanheo* hanging paintings were most popular and extensively produced throughout the period. Not just the *yŏngsanjae* ritual, where the *yŏngsanheo* (Vulture Peak Assembly) was ritually represented for the consolation of the bereaved and thus directly associated with *yŏngsanheo* paintings, but also most other rituals began by hanging *yŏngsanheo kwaebul* to transform outdoor space into a symbolic place for the Vulture Peak Assembly. This was evidenced by Buddhist ritual manuals that were printed in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries (Chŏng Myŏnghŭi 2004, 166-167).

The symbolic implications of *kasa* in Kuunmong screens

The kaleidoscopic strips are largely illustrated in the depiction of *kasa* as seen in the following Kuunmong screens: Image 55 and Image 57 to 59, as well as Image 61 and Image 62, along with Image 64 and Image 65. These multi-hued strips may echo the *ch'ŏpsang kasa.* Except for three screens (Image 56, 60 and 63),[223] the patchwork of *kasa*

[223] The master in Image 63 is not wearing the *kasa* but the *changsam* 長衫, which is what is worn beneath the *kasa*. The *changsam* is a Korean development of inner garments for Buddhist monks from India and then China. When the *kasa* was introduced to China, a chief monk from the Northern Wei 北魏, Huiguang (慧光, 466-538), made the *bianshan* 褊衫 by adding sleeves to the *samghati*, inner top garment worn beneath the *kasa* in India. The *bianshan* was usually worn by Chan Buddhists (Yu Yŏngja 1995). In the late Tang era, the *bianshan* was combined with a sort of long skirt called the *nivasana* (Ch. *niepanseng* 涅槃僧, *xiaqun* 下裙, or *qunzi* 裙子) to make the *zhizhui* 直綴 (Yu Hyosun 2009). The *zhizhui*, as well as the *bianshan* and the *nivasana*, was worn by Buddhist monks from the Koryŏ (Pak Ch'unhwa 2016, 16-21). The *zhizhui* is called *changsam* 長衫 in Korea, and the *changsam* first appeared on the nineteenth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of King Sejong (1423) in *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄 (Pak Ch'unhwa 2016, 1). After the Imjin Wars, the form of *changsam* shifted from the *zhizhui* to the *top'o* 道袍 or the *chuyi* 周衣 (also known as *turumagi* 두루마기). It is thought that the garment *top'o* was worn by Buddhist monks and then became "clothes for going out" for men from the ruling class when they were not dressed in official robes. In the eighteenth century, the *top'o* was established as the norm for formal dress (Yi Ŭnju 2017). The *turumagi* was originally worn beneath an outer robe such as the *top'o*, and served as an outer garment only for commoners as they were banned to wear the *top'o* (Song Migyŏng 2017). In King Kojong's edict (1884), however, the *top'o* was prohibited along with other garments that required the wasteful use of textiles for overly wide sleeves. Instead of the *top'o*, the *turumagi* was ordered to be worn by all regardless of social status and gender. Portraits of Buddhist monks show that a fusion of wide-sleeved *top'o* 道袍 and slit-less *turumagi* was established as the *changsam* from the 1800's (Im Rin 2017).

Here, a screen from the National Folk Museum shows a form of *changsam* that looks like a *turumagi* with wide sleeves. It also demonstrates that the *changsam* of this style was worn as an outer robe generally in the late nineteenth century. The *changsam* is worn not only by the master but also by Soyu: Soyu's outfit, if not wearing the *samo*, looks the same as that of the master. Unlike other screens (Image 55 to Image 62, Image 64 and Image 65), Soyu is not dressed in imposing lavish robes. It indicates that the screen was made after 1844, which is when wearing of the *turumagi* was encouraged as an outer robe, regardless of social status.

For more details, see the *changsam* (Yu Yŏngja 1995, Yu Hyosun 2009, and Pak

is also visible in most of these scenes (Image 55, Image 57 to 59, and Image 61 and 62, as well as Image 64 and 65). For instance, at least seven rows mixed with strips in rose and jam[224] are depicted in the Chasu Museum screen (Image 55), and the screen from the National Museum shows about thirty strips in multiple colours including yellow, olive, pine, tiger, and red (Image 58). The *kasa* in the former is at least of 7 *cho*, whereas that in the latter is most likely of the 11 *cho* and above. The *kasa* of 9 *cho* above is *sanghati*, the grand *kasa* and it is reserved for a great master who visits the capital or conducts preaching. Here, the grand *kasa* worn by the Master Yukkwan thus suits his status as he is visiting Soyu, the prime minister to deliver his implicit preaching. In addition, the hem of the strips that constituted the master's *kasa* on the screen at the Asian Art Museum were embroidered with golden thread (Image 57). This golden embroidery on his *kŭmnan kasa* elevates the dignity of the master.

In the patchwork of the *kasa*, however, the contrast of long strips and short strips is not visible. This means that the depiction of *kasa* in these Kuunmong screens is not articulating the symbolic significance associated with the size of strips. In the Mahayana principles, only one short strip is allowed in each row despite the increase in the number of rows to signify the principle that long strips (the awakened) will continue to grow. In other words, while kept low in quantity, short strips become more and more marginalized. It is because the expansion of those enlightened would be expected as ordinary people would advance to awakening with the help of Mahayana teachings and practices. This Mahayana principle was not visualized in the *kasa* seen in the Kuunmong screens

Ch'unhwa 2016); the *top'o* (Yi Ŭnju 2017); and *turumagi* (Song Migyŏng 2017)

[224] These colour shades are closest descriptions to what they currently look like, although the original colour shades may have been different. The same rule applies to the rest of colour shades attributed to the *kasa* in the Kuunmong screens.

Ways in which the *kasa* is worn by the master Yukkwan vary from one screen to another in the Kuunmong screens. Only two screens (Image 57 and Image 59) exhibit similar depictions of the strapping of the *kasa* over the right shoulder. As Yukkwan is approaching Soyu, who is the prime minister as well as the prince of Wi, the master should be wearing his *kasa* appropriately to show respect to the noble man by not covering both of his shoulders (Image 55 to 62). Most screens, except the screen from the National Folk Museum where the master is not wearing the *kasa* (Image 63),[225] thus depict the *kasa* as covering one shoulder (Image 56) or strapped over the shoulder (Image 55 and 57 to 62). In contrast, the screen from the Sosŏng Museum (Image 65) shows that the master's *kasa* is covering both his shoulders as that of the Buddha seen in *Yŏngsanheo koaebul t'aeng* (Image 69). This is not only because Yukkwan is preaching at the monastery as explained above. The master's style of *kasa* also symbolises his status as elevated to the awakened, i.e., a Buddha.

The screen at the Sosŏng Museum (Image 65) also depicts Sŏngjin, the protagonist as Buddhist monk, along with the master Yukkwan. The *kasa* worn by Sŏngjin is made up of multihued strips and is covering his left shoulder. It is because Sŏngjin pays respect to Master Yukkwan and his preaching. It is also noted that this is the only case where the correct side is covered with the *kasa*. Sŏngjin's left shoulder is duly covered whereas his right shoulder is exposed as prescribed in the protocol of wearing the *kasa*. When the master's *kasa* covers his shoulder partly, his *kasa* is not illustrating the proper style of covering the shoulder (Image 55 to 63)

In traditional Korea, an outer robe normally accompanied a sort of headdress indicating the status of a person. Buddhist monks were no exception. In most screens

[225] This oddity will be discussed later.

above, except Image 56 and Image 63 to 65, the master Yukkwan's travelling outfit is complemented with a hat. In a supplementary volume to the *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* (練藜室記述, Narratives of the Yŏllyŏsil,[226] predating 1776) by Yi Kŭng'ik (李肯翊 , 1736-1806), the *obokkwan* 五福冠 and the *pirogwan* 毗盧冠 were assigned to Buddhist monks to be worn. Additionally, the *pangnip* 方笠 or the *songnak* 송낙 that were allowed for low-level monks were mentioned (Im Rin 2017, 486-488). The master depicted in the screen from the Chasu Museum (Image 55) is wearing the *songnak,* which signifies his humble position in relation to Soyu, the reincarnation of his disciple Sŏngjin. In contrast, the *pirogwan* is featured in Image 57 to Image 61. In the scene from Chosun Minhwa Museum, his head is covered with a head rag (Image 62). This headdress may be related to the worship of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva (K. Chijang Posal 지장보살 地藏菩薩) as the significance of the Chijang Posal was enhanced in the late Chosŏn. The Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva in Buddhist paintings and statues from the Koryŏ was often depicted as a humble figure, rather a mere monk with a shaved head (Image 70), or sometimes with his head covered with cloth (Yu and Kim 2005, 55). This tradition continued in the late Chosŏn (Image 71 and Image 72).

Thus, the *kasa* worn by the master and Sŏngjin serves as a visual cue to illustrate Buddhist principles and to demonstrate religious or social hierarchy between the protagonist Soyu or Sŏngjin and the master Yukkwan. The hierarchy between the master

[226] The Yŏllyŏsil was the name of his study given by his father and was used as one of Yi Kŭng'ik's pen names. The name references an old story that Liu Xiang 劉向 in the state of Han 漢 was editing ancient writings and there appeared Xianren 太一仙人, who then kindled a fire from his cane to goosefoot and lit up the scene around Liu to help him with his editing work (Yi Chonhŭi 1997). The *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* was written in the *kisa ponmal* style (紀事本末體, topical-annalistic style). Edward W. Wagner and Edward J. Shultz translated *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* as *Narratives of Yŏllyŏsil*, (1984, 237), but it literally means "accounts written by Yŏllyŏsil,"

and the protagonist is largely well presented on the screens. The master wears the grand *kasa* on his visit to Soyu, and his strapping of the *kasa* is accordingly arranged to show his respect to the high official. The master changes his strapping when seated in an elevated seat for preaching. The symbolic implication of the *kasa* as Buddhist robe is acknowledged, but the depiction of the *kasa* in the Kuunmong screens is not exhaustive in observing the set protocol of wearing the *kasa* and in discerning the differentiation of long and short stripes in the patchwork of the *kasa*. The pattern of the master's *kasa* varies. His headdress also varies from the lowly head rag through *songnak* to *pirogwan*. It is not just the master but also Sŏngjin who is robed in the *chŏpsang* kasa. These variants may be resulted from the painter's liberty or lack of familiarity to Buddhist art.[227]

The staff *sŏkchang*

Whether or not the master is wearing any sort of headdress, and whatever *kasa* is worn by him, he is holding a staff in his hand (Image 55 to 63 and Image 65). The staff is called *sŏkchang* (Ch. *xizhang* 錫杖, Sanskrit. *khakkhara*), an important Buddhist symbolic object that originated from India but gained further significance in East Asia (Kieschnick, 2003, 113–115). The *sŏkchang* literally means "tin staff" and is usually topped with metal rings to make a jingling sound. The sound is meant to get small sentient beings such as insects away from the path of a monk when he is travelling. No matter what kind it is, killing sentient beings is prohibited in Buddhist principles. In addition, the symbolic connotation of the sound is to awaken those who are unaware of reality and veiled in illusion. Thus, it is notable that the master is carrying his staff on his way up to Soyu as

[227] Screen painters in the late Chosŏn were not those who were mainly trained to produce Buddhist art. This will be discussed in detail later in "Buddhist preaching scenes in Kuunmong screens."

their encounter is a decisive occasion in which the imposing Soyu is led back to be the humble Sŏngjin seated in a small room at the monastery.

It is the sound of a staff by which Soyu and the eight women in the pavilion are made aware of the master approaching them. The symbolic significance of the sound became explicit when the master made the sound again and for the last time at the end of the master-disciple dialogue that had begun once the master was seated. The sound may have been necessary because the enigmatic dialogue failed to penetrate Soyu's consciousness. Soyu only managed to remember his old master as the one whom he met once in his dream. On his way back from his conquest of Tibet as a military general, Soyu had a dream where he climbed the South Peak and observed an old monk preaching to his disciples there. However, he was not able to recollect that he had been Sŏngjin as one of those disciples who constituted the assembly for the master's preaching at the South Peak. He had lived there for eight years after he came to the master at the age of twelve. After all, what serves as a catalyst to Soyu's awakening is the sound from the master's staff. The master's last triple tapping of his staff brought Soyu back to be Sŏngjin.

This symbolic significance associated with the *sŏkchang* is the reason why, his staff, along with his *kasa*, is spotlighted while the master is depicted solely by himself rather than blended among people in the pavilion. This composition also features the master from the back, so that his staff and the *kasa* become more emphatic and noticeable. The *sŏkchang* is displayed as well when the master is preaching *Diamond Sutra* to Sŏngjin and the eight fairies. The presence of *sŏkchang* in this context may indicate not only the master's authority as the abbot of the monastery but also his role to usher in the complete awakening. It signifies that the master's preaching finalises Sŏngjin's awakening, and once his preaching ended, Sŏngjin took over his post, which was a common practice in Sŏn Buddhism. The text describes that the master granted his staff as well as his other

belongings, including *kasa*, bowl, water bottle, and the *Diamond Sutra*, to Sŏngjin and leaving the monastery for good.

In the Kuunmong screens above, nevertheless, the master's *sŏkchang* is not uniformly visualized and is not always matching up with the details of an actual Bushiest monk's staff. Some show rings of the staff, but others do not. The number of rings also varies. A different number of interlocking rings are visible in three screens. The scenes from the screen at Haengso Museum (Keimyung 1519, Image 56) show a series of three rings hung on either end of the head of a shaft, six rings altogether. The head of *sŏkchang* depicted in the screen at Asian Art Museum (Image 57) is similarly figured but portrays four rings on each side, amounting to eight rings. In the scene from the National Folk Museum (minsok 민속 039692, Image 63), the head of the shaft is also similarly formed but with nine rings on each end. A *sŏkchang* with nine rings was not commonly witnessed. In fact, the *sŏkchang* usually consists of four, six, and twelve rings, and the most frequent was the one with six rings (Yi Chisu 1996).[228]

[228] The number of rings signifies several fundamental Buddhist doctrines (Kieschnick, 2003, 113–115). Four rings, for instance, represent the Chattari-ariya-saccani in Pali, or Chatvari-arya-satyani in Sanskrit, commonly translated as the Four Noble Truths, but to be faithful to the original Pali and Sanskrit, "four truths for the (spiritually) noble." This is because those who understand the truths are noble, not the truths themselves. As the Buddha stated in his first sermon, during his meditation under the pothi tree, he intuitively came to understand the four truths, and then he achieved enlightenment.

"Four Noble Truths." in *Britannica*. Consulted online on 12 July 2020 https://www.britannica.com/topic/Four-Noble-Truths

The four truths define suffering and clarify how it originates and can be ended. The first three constitute the truth of suffering (Pali *dukkha*; Sanskrit *duhkha*), the truth of the origin of suffering (Pali and Sanskrit *samudāya*), and the truth of the cessation of suffering (Pali and Sanskrit *nirodha*), what is commonly called *nibbana* (Sanskrit *nirvana*). The fourth is the truth of the path to the cessation of suffering (Pali; Sanskrit *marga*) and is identified with the Eightfold Path (Pali *atthangika-magga*; Sanskrit *astangika-marga*).

Most surviving *sŏkchang* in Korea exhibit a metallic head with six rings, where rings are divided in half to each side and hung at the bottom of the oval-lined form.[229] A stupa (a container for relics) is often centrally situated inside the oval form (Image 73). A stupa can be replaced with Buddhist statues. For instance, in a painting that presents the Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva from the Gahoe Museum (Image 74), a *sŏkchang* is held in the right hand of the Kṣitigarbha, and the head of the *sŏkchang* features a statue at the centre of the oval form. The head of the *sŏkchang* at the National Museum dates back to the Koryŏ era and portrays both a stupa and a Buddhist statue (Image 75). A little five-story stupa is visible at the tip of the head while the head is formed in the shape of three petals. At the centre is Avalokiteśvara (觀自在菩薩, 觀世音菩薩 or 觀音菩薩), a bodhisattva who embodies the compassion of all Buddhas. Below is a hole to fix a wooden shaft securely in place.

Despite the prevalence of surviving six-ringed *sŏkchang* in Korea, however, among ten screens above (Image 55 to 63 and Image 65), only one Kuunmong screen from the Asian Art Museum (Image 57) portrays a *sŏkchang* with a head of six rings, while there is

[229] The dominance of six rings hung on the head of the *sŏkchang* may be because the number six represents the Six Perfections that are found throughout the early Mahayana sutras (Wright 2009, 4) and was established as a standard set of virtues that are expected to be fully developed by a bodhisattva (Buddha-in-training) to become a Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism.

"Perfections (Six and Ten)" in *Oxford Bibliographies*. Consulted online on 13 July 2020 https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195393521/obo-9780195393521-0034.xml

The Six Perfections comprise (1) generosity (*dāna*), (2) morality (*śīla*), (3) patience (*kṣānti*), (4) vigor (*vīrya*), (5) concentration (*dhyāna*), and (6) wisdom (*prajñā*). In Korea, they are usually called the Six Paramil (6 波羅蜜, six Paramitas), and six constituents are translated into *posi* 布施, *chigye* 持戒, *inyok* 忍辱, *chŏngjin* 精進, *sŏnjŏng* 禪定, and *panya paramil* 般若波羅蜜.

no ornamental object attached to the head. Thus, the *sŏkchang* as one of the Buddhist symbolic objects was visually well translated to deliver its significant religiosity to the audience of folding screens, and it is almost as expressed in the textual description. In this delivery of religious message, hawever, the actual form of *sŏkchang* was not well accommodated in the visual configuration of the staff for the viewership of Kuunmong screens.

Some elements of seminal Buddhist art from the late Chosŏn have been so far discussed in relation to religious symbolism expressed in Kuunmong screens. However, the influence of Buddhist art on the Kuunmong imagery is not significant. It may be because Buddhist paintings were produced as worship paintings or as a ritual medium, notably, in the case of *kwaebul*. The sense of place associated with Buddhist paintings, along with their function of facilitating religious practice, is not congruent to that of folding screens.[230] These differences may lead to the little presence of outright Buddhist imagery on the Kuunmong screens, which results in the scarcity of Buddhist preaching scenes and their stylistic irrelevance to Buddhist art. In this line of thought, below will be contextualized the imagery of Buddhist preaching scenes on the Kuunmong screens in the context of screen culture, as well as the textual reception of the novel *Kuunmong* in the late Chosŏn.

Buddhist preaching scenes in Kuunmong screens

The only preaching scene depicted in the Kuunmong screens (Image 65) under current review exhibits little consonance with those seen in Buddhist paintings. Among religious scenes above, only the Kuunmong screen from the Sosŏng Museum (Image 65)

[230] For discussion on the function of folding screens, see 4.1. Folding Screens in Korea.

depicts a scene that directly evokes Buddhist imagery, where Master Yukkwan is preaching the *Diamond Sutra*. The other ten screens (Image 55 to 64) exhibit the Soyu family gathering in the Ch'wimi Pavilion with a visitor (Master Yukkwn) approaching there. The composition of the pavilion gathering scene in these ten screens complies with the style of a screen. Despite some slight variations, diagonal compositions in the majestic buildings are commonly featured. The diagonal composition prevalent in Kuunmong screens was discussed in 4.3.2. Composition of images: Buildings and gardens in the rendezvous scene, and this pavilion gathering scene is not deviating from there. Even the scene from the Sosŏng Museum (Image 65), although it is a sutra-preaching scene, conforms to the convention of screens but diverges from Buddhist paintings.

In the composition of the Buddha preaching scene from Koryŏ,[231] for instance, the Buddha is given empathic presence by being centrally situated alone in the upper half of the painting. The Buddha is also relatively enlarged compared to his attendants depicted below. This composition exemplifies the hierarchy between the Buddha and his attendants and further underlines differences of social status between the noble and others in the secular world (Yu and Kim 2005, 33). In contrast, circular compositions are apparent in Chosŏn Buddhist paintings, and these characteristics reached maturity from the mid seventeenth to late eighteenth century (Yu and Kim 2005, 80-81). For instance, in *Yŏngsanheo kwaebul t'aeng* (Image 69) in 1653 portrays the scene of Sakyamuni Buddha's lecture at Vulture Peak in a circular composition. The circular composition depicts the main figure surrounded by a group of his followers, and it is also symmetric. Unlike what is expected from a long-lasting tradition of Buddha preaching imagery,

[231] Buddhism was the state-religion in Koryŏ, so there existed more than seventy Buddhist monasteries just in the capital, Kaegyŏng 開京. Luminous Koryŏ Buddhist art prospered with extensive support from the royal court. Numerous Buddhist paintings were on display both in monasteries and residences of noble families.

however, the diagonal composition is featured in the preaching scene from the Sosŏng Museum, and there is a majestic building situated along with various garden items such as pine trees.

The general lack of influence may be because polychrome screens were produced primarily by court artists and then by other professional artists, whereas Buddhist imagery was mainly made by monk-painters that was mostly financed by the *pulkye*[232] in the late Chosŏn. It may be also because polychrome screens were made for non-religious purposes, for instance, to create auspicious ambience on special festive occasions such as coronations and royal weddings.[233] Additionally, it may be because a Korean screen is usually made up of more than one panel and thus the composition of an individual scene tends to conform to the overall pattern of the entire screen for the sake of a comfortable viewing experience. The screen at the Sosŏng Museum carrying this preaching scene is an eight-panel folding screen (Image 76). The first encounter scene is followed by the scene of the poetry contest between Princess Nanyang and Ch'aebong, and five rendezvous scenes of Ch'aebong, Kyŏnghong, and Kyŏngp'ae, as well as Ch'unun and Yoyŏn. The scene of awakening is the last one that closes up the visual narrative. This conformity in turn helps to create its own fantasy space where auspicious imagery is narrated, and it thus optimizes the practicality of a screen that is put to use for special festive occasions.

Furthermore, in the socially repressive environment for Buddhist art in the late Chosŏn,[234] any religious occasion, if ever depicted on screens, could not afford any room

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[232] *pulkye* (佛契 Buddhist society, also called *sach'alkye* 寺刹契, Buddhist temple society) is a support system to maintain Buddhist monasteries and keep them in operation. It epitomises the financially battered situation of Buddhist monasteries, which was caused by the deprivation of state sponsorship

[233] For more detail on the use of screens, see 4.1. Folding screens in Korea and 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings

[234] Buddhist art practice was usually confined to the monasteries, which were remote and

for explicit Buddhist imagery. Only allusive and indistinct references to Buddhist thought were translated into the visual presentation of *Kuunmong*. Thus, it may not have been commendable to be directly associated with Buddhist paintings, at least in the form of a folding screen that was used for everyday decoration or symbolic effects on festive events. Folding screens were used for conventional affairs, and that may be the reason why, in the Kuunmong screens, there is a tendency to see more romantic occasions and festive events such as weddings and family banquets rather than religious occasions. The significance of Buddhism was not well translated onto Kuunmong folding screens, while textual references to Buddhism are abundant at least in early versions of *Kuunmong*. In effect, as a visual translation of a story, a Kuunmong folding screen minimally employed the Buddhist principles of the narrative.

Most importantly, contemporaneous versions of Kuunmong lost appeal to the religious values. Popularisation of affordable printed versions of the novel accompanied a shortening of the narrative. This contraction of text led to the cut-off of religious scenes and rendered the novel into a solely romantic narrative (Wurthner 2017, 46). This adjustment was made for the consideration of profitability. The abridged versions lowered the production cost, and the volume of sales increased with cheap copies. The turnaround of copies at the lending library was also expedited. All of these contributed to the availability of *Kuunmong* as a romantic narrative to a wide range of audiences. This change in the textual reception occurred when the Kuunmong screens were greatly produced beyond the palace and the noble households. The arrangement of scenes on the Kuunmong screens corresponded to this trend of textual reception of the novel *Kuunmong*. Thus, besides auspicious images and religious symbolism, an enjoyment of the Kuunmong

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thus isolated from the area of everyday life.

screens was greatly subject to the taste of the audience who desired solely entertainment available from short and fun reading materials, such as popularised short editions of *Kuunmong*.

In the following section, the complexity of ways in which the Kuunmong narrative is negotiated is further examined in the context of screen culture. Kuunmong screens were situated in the visual convention of polychrome screens, both narrative and non-narrative. The relation of Kuunmong screens with narrative polychrome screens was discussed in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings. Below is discussed polychrome non-narrative screens, with a focus on animal symbolism pertinent to the South Sea Prince scene on the Kuunmong screens. The rendition of animals on Kuunmong screens reveals non-linear interaction of the Kuunmong narrative with symbolic implications of animal imagery that prevailed in non-narrative screens. The depiction of animals is also a result of a negotiation with audience experience and expectation that was nurtured in the contemporaneous screen culture.

4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals

The symbolic implications of animals may affect whether or not animals take on visual identity and further the way in which they are rendered onto Kuunmong screens. The appearance of cranes and deer in the family celebration, in particular, the ninth panel of Chasu Museum screen (Image 20) was already discussed in relation to polychrome narrative screens. Kuunmong screens, however, also exhibit influence from polychrome non-narrative screens, in particular, (1) *sip changseang-to* 十長生圖, that is, paintings depicting ten animals and plants symbolic of longevity, (2) *hwajoto* 花鳥圖, namely flower-bird paintings, and (3) *ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖, that is, fish and crab paintings, or *ŏrak-to* 漁樂圖, referring to the joy of fish paintings. The rather markedly brief textual description of the protagonist Soyu's imaginary battle with the South Sea Prince 南海太子 is visually expanded with the added visual identity of sea animals. In addition, some animals are anthropomorphised while others not. These differences may be derived from the fact that symbolic messages associated with sea animals would vary as metaphors. They may also reflect conflicts between the power of the Kuunmong narrative and the influence from existing visual traditions of animal symbolism. The symbolism is not only mirrored but is also refracted in Kuunmong screens. In all of these considerations, the audience is variable. What is visualised from the narrative reflects what is expected for Kuunmong screens and what is interpreted from the Kuunmong story by various audiences. Audience expectation is often related to auspicious expression.[235] Below the main analysis of sea

[235] A folding screen is for daily use, not for rituals, but one type of screen was associated with auspicious expressions for a good life. Kuunmong screens are of that kind as discussed in 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.

animals depicted in the battle scene will follow the textual description and an examination of compositional elements comparable to those seen in *Sanguo yanyi* illustrations and folding screens.[236]

The textual description of Soyu's battle with the South Sea Prince

Soyu spent the night with Paek Nŭngp'a at the water palace, and when the day does not break, the palace was shaken by a thundering sound. It was the South Sea Prince who had positioned a large army at the foot of the mountain to fight with his rival, Soyu, for Nŭngp'a. Soyu emerges and discovers that the prince's army, surrounding the White Dragon Lake, are shouting in the fog of war. The prince drives his horse towards Soyu shouting, "what a rascal taking away someone else's wife! I will not share the world with him." Soyu shouts back, "The daughter of Tongjŏng Lake, Paek Nŭngp'a, is destined to be with me in previous, present, and future lives as written in the books of heaven. I only observe the heavenly order. You, a scaled monster, are insanely rude!" Soyu's army advances. Then, the prince orders a large number of sea creatures to fight. Admiral carp and the turtle as chief of staff bravely jump forward. However, once Soyu raises his banner, his soldiers cut the enemy's throats; once Soyu wields a white jade whip, millions of his brave soldiers kick and trample the enemy. Moments later, the ground is all covered with the scales and the skins of sea creatures. The prince is hurt more than once and he is now unable to command transformation magic. He ends up being caught by the Tang soldiers and dragged to Soyu's military camp. Exalted, Soyu orders an attendant to strike a *jing*, or gong in the centre with a mallet.

[236] The general explanation of *Sanguo yanyi* illustrations and folding screens can be found in 3.1. *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* (Illustrated Templates of Chinese Novels, 1762)

Visual presentations

The battle

Prior to an analysis of the visual depiction of animals, the characteristics of the battle as an entirety will be discussed. Sea creatures are called up by the South Sea Prince to battle and take back Paek Nŭngp'a, a daughter of the Dragon King, from Soyu. Although the battle occurs under the sea, Soyu and the South Sea Prince are fighting while on horseback. Soyu and his human warriors are armed with lengthy lances and swords. Foot soldiers are also engaging in the fight, pointing long spears at their enemy (notably in Image 81, 82, and 83). As the prince is a mythic sea creature, he is depicted with two horns on his head (Image 76 to 80 and 83), but he often appears as a human figure (Image 81, 82, 83, and 85). The prince also engages in the battle with lances or swords (Image 81, 82, and 83), and even his sea creature is depicted with spears (Image 83). In these visual presentations of the battle, there appear influences from *Sanguo yanyi* illustrations and folding screens: for instance, the ninth panel in the ten-panel folding screen *Samguk chi-to* 三國志圖 (*Sanguo yanyi* painting, Image 87)[237] and the fifth panel in the eight-panel folding screen *Samguk chi yŏnŭi-to* 三國志演義圖 (*Sanguo yanyi* painting, Image 88).[238] A warrior is chasing after his opponent, while he is running away but turns around to check on his chaser (detail in Image 87) or even to fight back (Image 88). Except for the scene from the National Folk Museum (Image 83) where two generals are facing each other,[239] the other seven Kuunmong screens depict the South Sea Prince running away and

[237] 143.0cm×445.0cm, one panel 115.3× 40.0cm, ink and colours on paper, ku 구 9387 at National Museum.

[238] ink and colours on paper, minsok 민속 39653 at National Folk Museum

[239] In another screen from the National Folk Museum (Image 86), the South Sea Prince is not depicted; only Soyu appears in the scene.

turning to look back while Soyu is chasing after him. In general, his defeat seems to be definitive, although the prince raises up his left arm with an antler-like mystic tool (Image 77, 78, 79, 80, and 85) and even his magic wand in his right hand towards Soyu (Image 80). In screens from the National Museum (Image 81) and Seoul History Museum (Image 82), the prince is depicted as scared enough to drop his lance or sword into the water. Moreover, in the imagery of the South Sea Prince battle, the depiction of waves (Image 78, 81, and 82) and his soldiers drowning in the water (Image 81, 82, and 86) is most likely adopted from *Sanguo yanyi* illustrations in *Chungguk sosŏk hoemobon* 中國小說繪模: in particular, the thirty-first illustration "Chŏkpyŏk taejyŏn 젹벽ᄃᆡ젼 赤壁大戰 (The battle at Red Cliff)" (Image 89) and the thirty-fourth illustration "Syuŏm ch'ilgun 슈엄칠군 水淹七軍 (Drowning seven armies)" (Image 90).

Sea animals in nine Kuunmong screens

The Chasu Museum folding screen, the most elegant among the thirty-six screens examined in the current research, does not carry the South Sea Prince battle scene, but it is not a rare imagery and appears frequently in other screens: nine times altogether.[240] These nine screens are consisted of three disparate groups. The first group presents a similar look with anthropomorphic crabs, carps and often shrimp[241] (Image 77 to 80). The Portland

[240] Portland; Keimyung 1791; Gahoe 1-013; National museum ku 5526; Choson Sŏlhwa-to 122001; the Hangul Museum screen; Seoul History Museum Sŏ 15561; National Folk Museum minsok 063586; and National Folk Museum minsok 067950.

The four animals present in Kuunmong screens were used both for palace scenes and elsewhere. The Portland screen was arguably commissioned for the royal household (Yi Chŏnghŭi 2015), whereas other screens discussed above come under the category of folk paintings.

[241] Except in Image 80.

screen is one of the early dated screens and it has the scene (Image 77). The most vivid battle scene is, however, presented in the Keimyung 1791 screen (the fourth panel, Image 78). In both of these screens, among the army of the South Sea Prince, a turtle, as a stubbornly less anthropomorphic figure, swims about, whereas a carp, a crab, and a shrimp are all humanlike, running with two long human legs and arms. The three semi-humans have crab, carp or shrimp heads and backs. These anthropomorphic figures are also found in other screens. However, a dream motif was added to the Keimung screen: the battle scene was combined with Soyu's dream scene of Paek Nŭngp's place. In the Portland screen, the dream bubble scene (the seventh panel) is independent of the battle scene (the eighth panel). These two scenes become one scene in the Keimyung screen, and this composite scene recurs in other screens. The scene (Image 79) in the Choson Sŏlhwa-to 122001 screen (the sixth panel) is entirely similar to that of the Keimyung 1791 scree, as their compositional elements are alike including the dream motif. In the Hangul Museum screen (the seventh panel, Image 80), a turtle, which is mentioned in the novel, is missing, but the scene follows the style of the Keimyung screen. While it was depicted with a modified dream motif, both a carp and a crab are human-like, whereas a shrimp is not (Image 80).

The second group depicts all soldiers in the army of the Prince humanlike but with fish heads (Image 81 to 83, and 86). The turtle is often left out of the scene, for instance, from the following screens of National Museum[242] (Image 81); Seoul History Museum[243] (Image 82); and National Folk Museum[244] (Image 86). Another screen (the fifth panel,

[242] the eighth panel; catalogue number: ku 구 5526.

[243] the fourth panel; catalogue number: Sŏ 서 15561.

[244] the eighth panel; catalogue number: minsok 민속 067950.

Image 83)[245] at the National Folk Museum also presents the scene similarly with the Prince's fish-head soldiers, but a grandiose turtle, not turning into a human figure, is placed far away from the battleground and is carrying a noble woman and her two maids away from the battle. The turtle resembles turtles in *sin'gu-to* 伸龜圖 (painting of a sacred turtle, for an example, Image 84) although the turtle was not described this way in the novel, and the noble woman may be Paek Nŭngp'a, a daughter of the Dragon King, whom Soyu is fighting to protect from the Prince. The last group is the Gahoe 1-013 screen, and the scen in the third panel shows a turtle, a carp, a shrimp, and seashells as all non-anthropomorphic figures (Image 85).

In textual descriptions of the battle, a turtle and a carp are mentioned. The turtle is the Prince's chief of staff, whereas the carp is the general of the Prince's forces. We would expect these animals to be depicted as most actively involved in the fighting with Soyu's army. However, while a carp is often anthropomorphised and actively engaged in the battle, a turtle rarely turns into a human figure. The turtle merely swims about, although considering his title he should be heavily involved in the fighting. At the same time, a shrimp and a crab frequently appear in the visual presentation of the battle, although absent in the textual description. Thus, anthropomorphisation of sea animals in Kuunmong screens is not commensurate with the significance of their roles stated in the narrative. Both the turtle and the carp had a higher ranking, but only the carp was depicted humanlike,[246] whereas the shrimp and crabs were not mentioned at all but sometimes taken anthropomorphic (shrimp in Image 77 to 79 and crabs in Image 77 to 80). This discrepancy between the visual image and the narrative may be related to visual tradition

[245] the fifth panel; catalogue number: minsok 민속 063586.

[246] With the exception of Image 85 where all sea aniamls are not anthropomorphic no matter what kind of sea animals they are.

and conventions in the contemporaneous screen culture that were shared with Kuunmong screens.

Why and how in depiction of four sea animals

The reason why these sea animals were chosen in Kuunmong screens, regardless of whether or not they are described in the novel, may be because they are often depicted in auspicious paintings such as *sip changseang-to* 十長生圖, paintings depicting ten animals and plants symbolic of longevity. These animals are also presented in *hwajoto* 花鳥圖, namely flower-bird paintings, as well as *ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖, that is, fish and crab paintings, or *ŏrak-to* 漁樂圖, referring to painting on the joy of fish. A turtle, like a crane, is a highly familiar figure in *sip changsaeng-to*. Carps do not live in the sea but were frequently depicted in auspicious paintings of sea animals, as well as of flowers and birds. Crabs and shrimp are also sea animals often encountered in *ŏhea-to*, *ŏrak-to*, and *hwajo-to*, so they would naturally be expected to appear as well, even if not in the text. In an examination of similar polychrome non-narrative paintings of *sip changsaeng-to*, *ŏhea-to*, *ŏrak-to*, and *hwajo-to*, the various symbolic implications of these animals will be discussed as their symbolic message may tell us about these animals' uneven level of anthropomorphisation visualised in Kuunmong screens.

Turtle and *sip changsaeng-to*

A turtle, like cranes appearing in Kuunmong screens, may not be turned into a human figure in any South Sea battle scenes because a turtle is firmly established as an auspicious creature in the hardened tradition of *sip changsaeng-to* 十長生圖. Visual imagery wishing for a long, good life is common in East Asia, but *sip changsaeng-to* paintings depicting ten animals and plants symbolic of longevity were produced as an

independent category of *ch'aesaekhwa* 彩色畫 (polychrome paintings) in Korea (Pak Chŏnghye 2012, 55). Since the time of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), *sip changsaeng-to* were made as *sehwa* 歲畵 (Korean counterpart to Chinese *nyanhua* 年畵), a celebratory painting for the New Year made to chase away evil spirits. Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-1396), a scholar from Koryŏ, wrote ten poems entitled "*sehwa sip changsaeng* 歲畫十長生," preserved in volume 12 of *Mogŭn sigo* 牧隱詩藁 (Verse manuscripts by Mogŭn, Mogŭn being Yi Saek's pen name). In a brief preface to the poems, he identifies ten symbols of longevity: the sun, clouds, water, rocks, pine trees, bamboo, ganoderma mushrooms, turtles, cranes, and deer 日雲水石松竹芝龜鶴鹿. He continues to state, "my family has got a *sip changsaeng-to* at the beginning of this year. It is already in the tenth month, but the painting looks new. When you are not well, there is nothing more than a long life that you desire for. So I write a long eulogy of the painting 吾家有歲畫十長生 今茲十月尙如新 病中所願無過長生 故歷敍以贊云" (Image 91). Although the theme was established already in the Koryŏ period, the ten subjects for *sip changsaeng-to* were sometimes interchangeable (Kim 2018, 270).

Turtles were usually included in the ten symbols of longevity. Several turtles are usually swimming in water and often breathing out streams of vapours that are sometimes coloured in red or blue (Image 92). These vapours are symbolic of auspiciousness, which indicates that a turtle was rendered not as an ordinary turtle. A turtle is also regarded as one of four sacred beasts 四靈獸 (dragon, phoenix, turtle, and giraffe), because when it gets to be five thousand years old, it becomes sacred (Cho Esther 2015, 371 and 373). A sacred turtle is depicted alone apart from the other three sacred beasts as *sin'gu-to* 伸龜圖 (Image 84), separate from *sip changsaeng-to*, but its symbolic message is longevity. Here in Image 84, the auspicious breath of the turtle is coloured in red.

Folding screens of *sip changsaeng-to* were displayed at coronations and at birthday celebrations, particularly the sixtieth birthday, for the royal family initially, but the custom spread to other classes later. The *Sip changsaeng-to* was painted on the doors of buildings in the palace as well. By the nineteenth century, the imagery of auspicious animals had spread to commoners, and animals symbolic of longevity were favoured by all classes (Chŏng Pyŏngmo 2015, 368-9).

Sea animals in *ŏhea-to* or *ŏrak-to* and in *hwajo-to*

The other three animals (carp, crab, and shrimp) also take on symbolic meanings in the *ŏhea-to* or the *ŏrak-to* and in the *hwajo-to.* Paintings of *hwajo-to* are literally flower-bird paintings but often include other beasts and fish (Image 93, 94, and 95). In the second and fourth panel of *Hwajo-to* 花鳥圖 (Image 93),[247] other than flowers and birds, deer appear in the bottom area. The third panel of *Hwajo-to* 花鳥圖 (Image 95)[248] depicts two large carps. In Chosŏn, the *hwajo-to* was loved from the royal household down to commoners and were used widely to decorate interior space or to be displayed at various events (Amore p'ŏsip'ik misulgwan 2018, 118). The *ŏhea-to* literally means a painting of fish and crab but generally covers all creatures residing in the water. Fish, in general, in Korea, have been regarded as a symbol of having many children as they give birth to numerous eggs, but there are other meanings. The frequent appearance of sea animals is noted in the *ŏhea-to*, so it will be discussed in detail. The *hwajo-to* will be discussed mainly in relation to the addition of fish to the imagery.

[247] Catalogue number: ch'angdŏk 창덕 6491; at Kogung Museum.

[248] Catalogue number: minsok 민속 17461; at National Folk Museum.

The symbolic implications of *ŏhea-to* are historically diverse as the symbols often go through changes over time.[249] From the turn of the nineteenth century, an earlier metaphor of fish—adopted for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the king—did not suit the interest of literati and commoners. They accepted only symbols related to their wish for successful government careers or other auspicious messages (Cho 2014, 265). In particular, a carp signifies a successful career as a government official. Moreover, earlier fish paintings were small in size, but in the nineteenth century, professional painters created big scale *ŏhea-to* in response to the increased demand for decorative paintings to express the viewers' wish for good luck in their lives (Amore p'ŏsip'ik misulgwan 2018, 123-124; Kye 2012, 20-23).

Realistic representations of fish contributed to diversify interests in fish paintings,[250] which led to the prominence and sophistication of symbolic messages

[249] Some paintings of fish from China that were introduced to Korea maintained symbolic messages while others were developed into new versions. Fish in the water 魚水 originated from *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (History of Three States of Wei 魏, Chu 蜀 and Wu 吳) by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297) where the relations between Liu Be 劉備 and his master, Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, is described as "fish in the water." The allusion means that vassals must be under the authority of the king to survive just as fish cannot survive outside the water. In China, for instance, fish paintings such as *youyu-tu* 游魚圖 (paintings of fish enjoyment) and *zaoyu-tu* 藻魚圖 (paintings of water plants and fish) were made to symbolise the absolute authority of Ming emperors. A carp, in this context, signifying the emperor, is depicted with a trout in *zunli-tu* 鱒鯉圖 (paintings of carp and trout). A trout (鱒) is pronounced *zun* the same as "to respect" (*zun* 尊). In other words, *zunli-tu* or paintings of carp and trout mean "respect a carp, that is, the emperor." The same metaphor appears in *qunxian chao li-tu* 群鮮朝鯉圖 (a group of fish have audience with the emperor). In the early days of the introduction of Chinese fish paintings to Chosŏn, during the reigns of King Yŏngjo and King Chŏnnjo, fish paintings were produced at the royal court for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the king.

[250] Fish gained more popularity as interest in fish increased with the emergence of an encyclopaedia of fish, *Uhae yiŏbo* 牛海異魚譜 (Reports on strange fish near Uhae, in 1803) by Kim Ryŏ 金鑢 (1766-1822) and *Chasan ŏbo* 玆山魚譜 by Chŏng Yakchŏn 丁若銓 (1758-1816) in 1814. With the better knowledge of various fish, more detailed depictions of fish became possible.

associated with fish. As fish gained more momentum as a symbol, fish appeared in flower and bird paintings (Image 95); fish paintings in turn accommodated flowers and birds (Image 96). In *Hwajo-to* 花鳥圖 (Image 95),[251] in the third panel, are depicted two large carps (Detail in Image 95). In *Ŏhae-to* 魚蟹圖 (Image 96),[252] a variety of flowers appear in the first,[253] second (lotus), fourth (chrysanthemum), six (lily), seventh (plums), and eighth[254] panels, whereas birds are flying in the second, seventh, and eighth panels. Even a couple of butterflies are seen in the fourth panel (details in Image 96). The confluence of subject matters in both paintings further developed in the combination of *hwajo-to* and *ŏhea-to.* For example, an eight-panel folding screen *Hwajo ŏhea-to* 花鳥魚蟹圖 (Image 97)[255] illustrates these developments. The first four panels consist of the *ŏhea-to,* while the second four panels are of the *hwajo-to.* In the late Chosŏn era, thus, the presence of fish was not confined to the *ŏhea-to*.

A turtle established its metaphor as a symbol of longevity from the *sip changsaeng-to* and maintained this metaphor when it appears in the *ŏhea-to* (Cho 2014, 271). This may be true for the *hwajo-to* as well. In an eight-panel folding screen *Yŏnhwa-to* 蓮花圖 (Painting of lotus, Image 98),[256] for instance, it depicts two turtles in the seventh panel, and they resemble those in *sip changsang-to* with auspicious breath soaring in upward spirals. However, the symbolic significance of carp, crab, and shrimp is different;

[251] Catalogue number: minsok 민속 17461; at National Folk Museum.

[252] Catalogue number: minsok 민속 31235; at National Folk Museum.

[253] It looks like the fern is flowering.

[254] Flowers are not recognizable as colours are washed out.

[255] ink and colours on paper, hwajo 화조 0-214 at Gahoe Museum.

[256] Catalogue number: minsok 민속 45404; at National Folk Museum.

it tends to be less dominating and unstable. Below is examined the particular symbolic implications of carp, crab, and shrimp and then the overlap and shift in implications associated with these three sea animals.

Carp

Fish became the image of the growth and success of children after the Song period, when the system of government examinations became stabilised. A carp, in particular, signifies passing the government examination to become an official in the tradition of *yueli-tu* 躍鯉圖 (paintings of a carp leaping over waves) or *yu biancheng long tu* 魚變成龍圖 (paintings of a carp turning into a dragon).[257] Here, a carp successfully leapt over rough streams through the gorge called *longmun* 龍門 (dragon gate) in the Yellow River and became a dragon. It was commonly said of examination passers that they had leapt over the *longmun* (dragon gate) and had ascended to become statesmen. Korean versions of these paintings depict the carp with the sunrise in the East Sea or carrying the pattern of *taichi* 太極 (Great Ultimate or Neo-Confucian ground of being) instead of the Chinese motif of a dragon in the background (Cho Esther 2015, 372). The examples can be seen in *Yangni-to* 약리도 躍鯉圖 (Painting of a carp leaping over, Image 99)[258] and *Ŏbyŏn sŏngryong-to* 魚變成龍圖 (Painting of a carp turning into a dragon, Image 100).[259] In the background in both paintings, the sun is on the rise. A carp has long

[257] The *yueli-tu* 躍鯉圖 is based on the episode of Li Ying 李膺 in the Chinese history *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (Book of Late Han).

[258] Catalogue number: kyŏnggi 경기 1412; at Sosŏng Museum.

[259] 87×52cm; at Guimet Museum.

been known from the *longmun* story and depicted most frequently in the late Chosŏn period. The carp occupies 24.16% of all fish among 505 paintings (Cho 2014, 289)

When three carps are depicted, the painting is called *samyŏ-to* 三餘圖 (Ch. sanyu-tu, Painting of three kinds of spare time).[260] Three carps symbolise three kinds of spare time that should be enough for studying. The *samyŏ-to* carries the message for studying hard that would lead to success in examination. Two examples are Image 101 and 102. In Image 101, three carps are swimming in the same direction, whereas in Image 102 two carps are leaping upward and one is already in the air, similar to that of *Yangni-to*.

Crab

A crab was considered a *junzi* (k. *kunja*) 君子, a man of virtue in the sea, because its hard cladding is associated with an uncompromising mind. In the *ŏhae-to*, however, the symbolic message of a crab is mostly related to a good wish for the government examinations. In a painting of lotus and crabs, the crab symbolises success in the examination to become a government official, whereas the wish for prosperity and numerous offspring, which is associated with fish in general, is relegated to the lotus as the roots of the plant are all connected (Kishi 2015, 337). When two crab are depicted with reeds, this type of painting is called *Yi kap chŏllyŏ-to* 이갑전려도 二甲傳臚圖 (Painting of two crabs and congratulatory food to the first rank examination passer given by the king, Image 103).[261] The crab is clad in armour, and the pronunciation of armour 鉀, *jia* in

[260] The story originated from Wang Su chuan 王肅傳 (Biography of Wang Su) in Wei zhi 魏志 (History of State of Wei) of *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (History of Three States) where Dong Yu 董遇 addressed three kinds of spare time for studying. The three are rainy day, night, and winter.

[261] 32.2×86.2cm, ink and colours on paper, 10183 at Jeonju History Museum.

Chinese (K. *kap*), is the same as that of 甲, referring to the first rank of examination passers. Two crabs indicate achieving the first rank both in the first round and second rounds of examinations 二甲, that is, *sokwa* 小科 (literally small examination) and *taekwa* 大科 (main examination). The reeds mean congratulatory food given to the first rank examination passer by the king, because *lu* 蘆 (reeds) in Chinese is pronounced the same as reeds, *lu* 臚 (congratulatory food). In Image 103, two crabs in purple move upwards above the dark and light green reeds as they are depicted in the lower half of the painting. On the other hand, when a crab is depicted with a shrimp as well as reeds, the painting is called *haero-to* 蟹蘆圖 (Painting of a crab and reeds). The word referring to crab and reed, *haero* 蟹蘆, has the same pronunciation in Korean with the word for a married couple living long and happily together *haero* 偕老. In *haero-to*, thus, a crab is not related to success in examination but to the long and good life of a married couple. One example is *Ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖 (Painting of fish and crab at Yŏju Museum, Image 104) by Chang Hanjong 張漢宗 (1768-1815), who was known for his crab paintings. A big crab is in the upper half, and a shrimp is just below the crab, while reeds are scattered around the bottom with three little seashells.

Shrimp

A shrimp was regarded as an old man in the sea because its back is bent over. The word for an old man in the sea is pronounced *haero* 海老 in Korean or the same as the word for a married couple living long and happily together *haero* 偕老. When a shrimp is coupled with seashells, this imagery signifies marital harmony because the pronunciation

of both shrimp and seashell is *hahap* 鰕蛤 similar to that of harmony 和合 (*hwahap*).[262] An example is shown in the eight-panel folding screen *Ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖 (Korea National Maritime Museum, Image 105). In the upper image in the eighth panel, a shrimp is presented above eight seashells.

The overlap and shift in implications

Both carp and crab, as explained above, share the same symbolic implications: success in examinations to become a statesman. Likewise, crab and shrimp are involved in the same symbolic message of long and happy married life. All of these sea animals also connote affluence and having many children, which is associated with fish in general. Additionally, based on Yule 漁樂 (The Joy of Fish), the seventeenth episode of Chapter Qiushui 秋水 (Water in the Autumn) in *Zhuangzi*, fish also signify a joyful and unconstrained life. Paintings called *ŏrak-to* depicting a group of various fish swimming in a comfortable and relaxed way, in particular, reflect this symbolic value of a free life attached to the fish. Two examples entitled *Ŏrak-to* 어락도 魚樂圖 (Painting of the joy of fish) are shown from Gahoe Museum (Image 106)[263] and Sosŏng Museum (Image 107).[264]

The shift in the symbolic implications of sea animals also occurred. The majority of animal symbolism in the *ŏhae-to* concerned success in examinations. A good number of

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[262] To Hwijŏng 도휘정. "Minwa hwaje ŭi ŭimi 민화 화재 (畵材) 의 의미." *Chŏnbuk ilbo* 전북일보. 3 September, 2008. http://www.jjan.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=280893

"Ŏhae-to 어해도." In *Munhwa k'ont'enchŭ tatkŏm* 문화콘탠츠닷컴. http://culturecontent.com/content/contentView.do?search_div=CP_THE&search_div_id=CP_THE007&cp_code=cp0311&index_id=cp03110512&content_id=cp031105120001&print=Y

[263] ink and colours on paper, ŏhae 어해 0-211 at Gahoe Museum

[264] ink and colours on paper, kyŏnggi 경기 983 at Sosŏng Museum

fish paintings expressed good luck on examinations. The symbolism, however, tended to shift from examinations to family life, when success in the examinations became less possible for reasons of social status and politics towards the end of the Chosŏn period. Among those who were eligible and sat for the examinations, in practice, only members of influential yangban families in the politics successfully entered the officialdom. In this situation, for instance, a carp in the *yangni-to* came to symbolise giving birth to a son rather than success in the examination (Chŏng 2012, 108). A crab in the *haero-to* signified marital harmony, but that symbolism of the crab extended even to the *chŏllyŏ-to* that had been a representative imagery of success in examinations. This change in the symbolism is more expressive in big scale paintings, for instance, folding screens. The eighth panel in Image 107 has four crabs compete to grab the reed. This may be due to competition in the examinations, but it was probably more about having many children and marital harmony (Cho 2014, 281). This change in the symbolism becomes evident in Image 108 and 109 where reeds are blooming. In the eighth panel of *Ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖 (Painting of fish and crab, Image 108),[265] four competitive crabs are approaching reeds while blossoms are clearly delineated under the moonlight. The first image of *Ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖 (Painting of fish and crab, Image 109)[266] markedly shows that one of the three crabs wins the competition and grabs the blossom of reeds.

As marital harmony became dominant, fish were often depicted as a couple regardless of their kind. A couple of fish is associated with harmony.[267] Toward the end of

[265] 40×113cm, ink colours on paper, 237 at Ansan ŏch'on minsok

[266] ink colours on silk, ŏhae 어해 0-221 at Gahoe Museum

[267] This association is derived from a story of the legendary *bimuyu* 比目魚 living in the East Sea. The fish has only one eye, so it can swim only if a couple of male and female fish join together. The symbolic message of a couple of fish, linked up with the concept of *yinyang* 陰陽—two seemingly contrary but actually complementary forces make up all

Chosŏn, the concept of being coupled dominated *ŏhae-to* and *hwajo-to* screens. As in the third panel of the eight-panel folding screen *Hwajo-to* 花鳥圖 (Image 95)[268] and the second image of *Ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖 (Painting of fish and crab, Image 109), a couple of carp, which had been a symbol of success in the examination, became a typical choice for this symbolism of harmony. Not limited to the carp, other fish as well were depicted for this symbolic purpose. In the third and fourth panels of the ten-panel folding screen *Hwajo ŏhea-to* 花鳥魚蟹圖 (Painting of flowers and birds as well as fish and crabs, Image 110)[269] depicts other couples of fish. Both in the third and fourth panels of *Hwajo ŏhea-to*, a couple of fish are featured under the flower plants. Further to this, the theme of fish swimming in a couple is dominating all panels in *Ŏhea-to* 魚蟹圖 (Painting of fish and crab, Image 111);[270] in each panel, at least one couple of fish appear as a symbol of harmony. In the sixth panel, for instance, two crabs are depicted with two large blossoms of lotus, and additionally two different fishes in a couple are swimming about in the middle. A couple of crabs, here, indicates harmony in addition to success in examinations. Similarly, in the second panel of the eight-panel folding screen *Yŏnhwa-to* 蓮花圖 (Painting of lotus, Image 98),[271] a couple of shrimp as well as a couple of crabs are depicted underneath lotus blossoms and fruit. A couple of shrimp carry the same symbolic message of harmony.

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aspects and phenomena of life—later expanded to symbolise harmony in general.

[268] minsok 민속 17461 at National Folk Museum.

[269] ink and colours on paper, hwajo 화조 0-27 at Gahoe Museum

[270] minsok 민속 51119 at National Folk Museum

[271] minsok 민속 45404 at National Folk Museum

The overlap and shift in symbolic implications of these fishes show that the way an audience relates themselves to a certain animal imagery is not always stable. It sometimes fluctuates even when the audience probably have similar expectations when viewing similar types of "good life" polychrome screens. Compared to a turtle in non-narrative polychrome paintings such as *sip changaseng-to* and even *hwajo-to* as well as *ŏhae-to*, symbolism associated with carps, crabs, and shrimp in fish-themed screens often overlapped with little clear-cut individual connotation. Below we will examine how this difference of symbolic association with the four animals as seen in non-narrative polychrome paintings relates to the rendition of these animals in Kuunmong screens.

Narrative and Symbolism

Auspicious animals are depicted expecting to help enact viewers' desires. In Kuunmong paintings these animals perform their roles in complex ways. Animals serve as auspicious symbols, but also respond to the narrative and additionally exhibit varied levels of agency in the process. A turtle is rarely turned into a human. This may be because a turtle was firmly established as a symbol of longevity in the hardened tradition of *sip changsaeng-to* and carried over the same symbolic association into other polychrome paintings. In all Kuunmong screens depicting the battle scene, the turtle, if depicted, is slightly anthropomorphised and less actively involved in the narrative. A turtle may be considered as a more autonomous animal, because it stays away from the influence from the narrative but sticks with the imagery of longevity. A turtle in the Kuunmong screens is very similar to that from *sip changsaeng-to* as examined above. However, this autonomy is not based on a turtle as an animal in nature but was derived from a symbolic metaphor.

Anthropoid animal-warriors of the South Sea Prince, that is, a carp, a crab, and a shrimp, in contrast, are more actively involved in the narrative as they are humanlike and

fighting with Soyu's human army. Compared to a turtle, these three other animals carry less definitive and often shifting symbolic messages in polychrome paintings such as *hwajo-to* and *ŏhae-to*. This may let them be divorced further from the conventional animal symbolism and be more anthropomorphized in Kuunmong screens. In this sense, these humanlike animals may acquire some level of agency not assigned from auspicious "good life" paintings. It is undeniable, however, that their active humanlike behaviour resulted from the human-oriented imagination of the episode as it originated from the novel. To make it more complex, it is also true that the visual presentation of the episode is not entirely based on the novel. In all seven authoritative textual editions of *Kuunmong*, the battle with the South Sea Prince is very briefly mentioned, and if stated,[272] only a carp and a turtle are named among all the fishes of the sea that the South Sea Prince called up to do battle with Soyu.

Besides the turtle and the carp, other fishes including crabs and shrimp are commonly depicted as well in Kuunmong screens. The presence of crabs and shrimp in Kuunmong screens is an evident influence from similar auspicious paintings discussed above. A carp and a shrimp are the fifth and sixth frequent subjects in the *ŏhae-to* (Cho 2014, 289). In contrast to the anonymity in the novel (simply "sea animals"), thus, identities were granted to a crab and a shrimp in the screen. The addition of a crab and a shrimp to the battle scene were most likely made from the expectations of painters or viewers of the Kuunmong screens. Viewers may have desired to see similar auspicious imagery on the screen instead of faithful depictions of the episode, whether or not they had a thorough knowledge of the story.[273]

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[272] Beside early editions of *Kuunmong*, a carp and a turtle was identified in the Chŏnju Korean edition (1862).

[273] Popular novels in traditional Korea were often enjoyed regardless of literacy. See 1.1.4. Enjoyment of popular novels in multiple ways.

The way animals are visually rendered onto Kuunmong screens is not always faithful either to the specific episode or to visual conventions set in other paintings. Their depiction may be derived from the general context of the story. In other words, the level of influence of the original textual narrative on Kuunmong screens is diversified in relation to the different backgrounds of different audiences with an uneven affinity to the novel. Regardless of their knowledge of the narrative, the textual influence is also mediated in the way in which audiences accommodate sea animals based on their varied interest and preference, as reflected in their use of Kuunmong screens but not entirely subscribed to relevant visual conventions of the times. Nevertheless, relevant visual imagery of sea animals is by no means dismissable. Sea animals in Kuunmong screens may be approached, thus, not only for their symbolic messages but also in audiences' negotiation with the narrative on their part, for the sake of their purpose and use of Kuunmong imagery: "sense of place" with regard to Kuunmong screens. In this complex process, some animals happen to appear more human-like than others, while some of their textual anonymity is elevated to visual identity. A particular depiction of these animals results from an audience's act of "poaching" the Kuunmong narrative as well as the relevant visual conventions. Thus, the animals' proximity to the realm of the Kuunmong narrative was contested in relation to the novel, in relation to a common visual culture, and most importantly in relation to the expectations of the audience, as the message in a work of art is eventually understood or expected by the audience.

The rendition of animals in the South Sea Prince battle scene is a good example in the visual reception of *Kuunmong* that demonstrates the complexity of intermedial engagements. Intermedial engagements refer to various medial relations in which the literary text *Kuunmong* makes with the visual medium of folding screens. While text is connecting to image, there is also intermedial distancing demonstrated in Kuunmong

screens. Not just text being visualised, the Kuunmong text can be also literally carried over onto the screen, usually in a form of a textual summary or excerpt. The final section is dedicated to further considerations of intermedial relations, with a focus on the alienation of image from the textual description, as well as the intrusion of the text into the image.

Chapter Five: Intermedial considerations in the visual reception of *Kuunmong*

This research is a study of the textual and visual reception of a popular narrative *Kuunmong* composed in seventeenth-century Korea. Kim Manjung's original manuscript did not survive. All existing editions are an anonymous re-composition of the novel that demonstrates textual reception of the story. For the purpose of linking text to visual image, seven significant texts were evaluated: the oldest Korean edition at the Kyujanggak Library, the most influential Chinese edition (1725) in the Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl private collection, the best lending library edition in the Korean language preserved at Ewha University (1907), and the oldest English translation (1922) by James Scarth Gale, as well as three nineteenth-century abridged woodblock printed editions. The main sources for the investigation are thirty-six Kuunmong folding screens of different styles.

In Chapter Four, the visual reception of the novel was examined, to begin with, by discussing media differences of text and image in forming the narrative. Then, various symbolisms associated with the Kuunmong narrative and imagery were investigated. Influences from the contemporaneous visual culture on Kuunmong screens were also examined. The Kuunmong narrative is thus negotiated in the context of screen culture. In this section, various intermedial relations featured in the visual reception of *Kuunmong* will be brought to the fore. Intermedial relations refer to medial engagements that demonstrate the tension between the literary text *Kuunmong* and the visual medium of folding screens. These disparate media aspire to establish a connection but also intend to be divergent. The alienation of image from the textual description is prominent in the popularised versions of Kuunmong screens for broader audiences. Calligraphy is also examined as one example of intermedial relations that is made between the novel and the screen.

5.1. Text-image relations in the popularisation of Kuunmong screens

Like most polychrome paintings, Kuunmong screens were first made by royal court painters and then copied for aristocrats and then again for common people (Kim Hongnam 2009, 524). Yi Chŏnghŭi argues that the change in the style of landscape in the Kuunmong screens supports this progression hypothesis (2015, 107). The earlier a screen is, the more proximity to ink landscape paintings is revealed. Earlier examples are images from the Chasu Museum (no. 1),[274] Portland Art Museum (no. 31), Asian Art Museum (no. 30), Musée national des Arts asiatiques – Guimet (no. 32), and the Onyang Folk Museum (no. 17), while other examples in Table 1, Appendix 1, are those that came later (no. 2 to no. 16, no. 18 to no. 29, and no. 33 to no. 36). For example, earlier pieces, such as the Chasu Museum screen, provide a fairly faithful description of the Kuunmong story, while later ones tend to be only suggestive of the story. Even when the image on the screen somehow conveys a faithful description of the story, as these earlier, palace screens do,[275] the image may be there just to recall the story. Those later screens follow the visual tradition shared with screen users and artists in general, not specifically screens of polychrome narrative paintings, and in the end, the images are only loosely connected to the story.

In addition, the style of the image of the earlier screens as opposed to the later, popular screens is different in the balance of the composition. The earlier examples, such as the Chasu Museum screen (Image 20), presents the entire scene in which the background, middle-ground, and foreground are equally distributed and treated. The nine figures are positioned slightly lower than the middle of the image and depicted neither

[274] The number as listed in Table 1, Appendix 1.

[275] There is no solid evidence that all earlier examples were used at the palace, but their high quality and well-kept condition tell us that some of them may well have been.

enlarged in scale nor more sophisticated in detail than any other elements in the scene. The actions of the characters are not the focus. All elements in the scene are given equal weight to the significance that they deliver to a viewer. Master Yukkwan's monastery on the Lotus Peak, surrounded in clouds of various colours, is in the background with a bit of downscaling, but it is depicted with the same level of detail. The rock in the foreground is enlarged and invites the viewer to experience a sense of closeness versus distance; in other words, the foreground is closer to a viewer than the background. There is a tendency to enlarge objects in the lower part of the scene in a few panels, including the fifth panel, but this tendency is not the overarching rule for the entire screen (Image 20). The compositional balance is similarly noted in other earlier screens (no. 1, no. 17, no. 30, and no. 31), and it offers a rather faithful visual representation of the textual description.[276]

In contrast, the compositional balance is weakened in later examples. They tend to minimize the background, where details of auspicious objects can diminish to the point that there remains only a trace. They also often enlarge figures sometimes to the extent that they occupy almost the entire scene. This tendency is evident in the case of those screens commonly called *minhwa* 民畵 (folk painting)[277] and usually produced in the late

[276] Image 112 for no.17; Image 113 for no.30; and Image 114 for no. 31.

[277]The "folk painting" (*minhwa*) has been an overarching category to include anything but ink painting by literati; it referred to any painting that contains colours to a great extent, mostly of bright and intense colours. The images in all of the Kuunmong screens have long been called folk paintings. Recently, however, scholars propose that the "folk painting" is too broad to be a category and also misleading when considered who painted them. The "folk painting" implies production by unskilled amateur painters, which is an assumption for folk art in general ("Folk art," *Britannica*). Thus, this term is particularly isleading when Western audiences encounter some exquisite paintings that are labeled "folk painting" (Paek Kŭmja 2015, 359), although these paintings were done by professionals. In fact, many polychrome paintings were produced by professional artists, who worked for the royal court. Recently, the "folk painting" is thus reserved for polychrome paintings (*ch'aesaek hwa*) that was broadly circulated beyond the royalty and the nobility. Those paintings used in palace are called *kungjunghwa* 宮中畵, and they are now separated from folk paintings. Some Kuunmong screens may have been used in papace, but others may

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, on the screen Keimyung 1520 (no. 3 in Table 1, Appendix 1), the encounter scene shows us much enlarged figures of Sŏngjin and the eight fairies, while the details of other elements, including the monastery, valleys, and the bridge, are significantly diminished, both in the sophistication and in the intensity of colouring (Image 115). In keeping with the tendency to lose details in general, the background of the story is domesticated more in the later screens produced outside the court. Although the novel is set in China, the costumes of characters are often changed to Korean clothing. We can see this in the following screens from National Folk Museum 051267 (no. 10, Image 116); National Folk Museum 039692 (no. 13, Image 117); Jeonju Museum of History (no. 27, Image 118); Kim Sejung private collection (no. 28, Image 119 and no. 29, Image 120); and Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Art Museum (no. 33, Image 121 and no. 34, Image 122). Sometimes it is hard to see which episode is taken for an image, such as can be seen in no. 33 and no. 34 at Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Art Museum (Image 121 and Image 122). When the image on the screen becomes more distant from the story, it may lose the function that narrates a Kuunmong story fully and serve only as a general screen.

It is notable that no. 29 (Kim Sejung private collection, Image 120) is one panel of one eight-panel screen. This screen is *Kosa inmul hwajo-to* 古事人物花鳥圖, a painting of old stories (*kosa inmul*) and birds and flowers (*hwajo*). With the popularity of Kuunmong screens, a representative scene—the first encounter—floated around other screens. Here, the first encounter scene from *Kuunmong* was visualized in the fourth panel, while the screen is in effect a composite of two different types of screens. A very similar but a more

not; therefore, the Kuunmong images are here called polychrome paintings, an umbrella term that encompasses both folk painting and court painting. For more detail, see 4.3.3. General symbolism: Polychrome narrative paintings.

sophisticated image is found in the National Folk Museum screen (no. 10, Image 116). Although the screen is entitled *Kuunmong Folding Screen*, it is, in fact, also a painting of old stories and birds and flowers (*kosa inmul hwajo-to*). The only scene recognizable as a Kuunmong story is the fourth panel, while half of the screen (the first, fifth, and sixth panels) depicts flowers and birds only.

Furthermore, in these two screens, the key element comprising the content of the encounter image does not follow the story. It is Sŏngjin who plucks a peach blossom branch to make them into jewels. However, two screens depict that Sŏngjin does not hold flowers, and instead two fairies are holding, supposedly, peach blossoms (Image 116 and 120).[278] Moreover, in these screens, particularly in the case of no. 29 (Kim Sejung private collection), the image is so flat and stylized. Such a flat depiction delivers no sense of depth, and it is so stylized and decorative that it barely represent those objects: trees, flowers, mountains, buildings, doors, walls, and what appear to be cushions. There is also the clear division in the middle of the image. This style of description increases the level of fantasy and points towards the heightened function of wishing for good luck, characteristic of polychrome paintings in general, while there is a significant decrease in connection to the novel. In other words, these later examples tend to serve as only a polychrome screen in general terms, rather than as a specific type of polychrome narrative painting.

5.2. Calligraphy in the visual reception of Kuunmong screens

In addition to the change in the style of composition, the popularisation of Kuunmong folding screens often exhibit textual elements embedded in the image, such as

[278] The first encounter scene was discussed in detail in 2.2. Encounter scene in Chapter One from the Kuunmong story

calligraphy. For example, calligraphy appears in screens of nos. 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 26, 27, 28 and 31 in Table 1, Appendix 1. Some Kuunmong text was rendered in calligraphy and travelled to popularised versions of Kuunmong screens. The content of calligraphy is usually a brief description of the corresponding chapter and is written in a prosaic phrase with no poetic flavour. Three different ways of textual referencing are noted: direct quotation, short summary, and complementary text. The first type of calligraphy takes on direct quotation, which is a short excerpt from a Kuunmong episode, while the text is not exactly capturing the image. One example of this type of calligraphy is the fifth panel of a screen (no. 14)[279] at the National Folk Museum (Image 123).

> 天宮之所簿 眞人之所知
>
> It is what is documented by an officer at the royal court in the sky, and is what is known to a Daoist deity.
>
> (My translation)

This phrase is from Chapter Nine of the 1725 edition where Soyu asserts that Paek Nŭngp'a is his woman, arguing against the South Sea Prince, who claims that Nŭngp'a is his wife.[280] It goes that the documents in the sky and Daoist deities are addressed as evidence to confirm Soyu's destiny with Nŭngp'a. The painter of the screen is mentioned at the end of the text, "painted playfully by Songam 松庵 戲墨." The text, however, does not rightly reflect the scene. Soyu's this remark was made prior to the engagement of the battle with the prince, while the scene depicts that they are already in the middle of fighting on horseback with a lance.

[279] Catalogue number: minsok 민속 063586.

[280] This episode was discussed in detail in 4.3.5. Narrative and symbolism: Animals.

The first type of calligraphy is also exemplified in the fifth panel of the screen (no. 18)[281] at the National Museum (Image 124). The passage shown in a form of calligraphy concerns later developments of Ch'unun episode, and it is found in Chapter Six of the 1725 edition. Although the text is arranged like a poem, with the alternation of a long line (five or six characters) and a short line (three or four characters), it is not a verse. The calligraphy goes:

昔神女朝爲雲 In ancient times, a mysterious woman becomes a cloud in the morning

暮爲雨 and becomes rain in the evening.

今春雲朝爲仙 In the present time, Ch'unun becomes a Daoist immortal

暮爲鬼 and becomes a ghost.

雲與雨雖異 Although a cloud and rain are different from each other,

一神女也 both of them are the same mysterious woman

仙與鬼雖變一 Although a Daoist immortal and a ghost are different from each other

春娘也 (both of them) are Ch'unun.

(My translation)

The calligraphy is likely expected to tell about the scene, but it is not actually capturing the scene. It is similar to the example from the National Folk Museum above; the text is temporally further apart from the visual image. The text concerns Soyu's realization that Ch'unun played a woman of fictitious identities while the fifth panel, however, depicts the

[281] Catalogue number: ku 구 5526.

beginning of Soyu's rendezvous with Ch'unun (in Chapter Five in the 1725 edition). It is the scene where Soyu is approaching Ch'unun deep in the valley, unaware of the fact that she is camouflaged as a faux Daoist immortal (Chang Yŏrang in banishment). Soyu is in the middle of finding his way in the valley, and a maid is reporting his imminent arrival to her mistress, Ch'unun, who is inside her house. What is said in calligraphy, however, comes from later than Soyu's encounter with Ch'unun in the valley, and even later than Ch'unun's visit as a ghost to Soyu's room at night, which is several days afterwards. It is in Chapter Six in the 1725 edition when Soyu realizes that the woman he met is in fact Ch'unun and that she only pretended to be Yŏrang first as a Daoist immortal and later as a ghost.

In Kuunmong screens, the most frequent type of calligraphy appears in a succinct phrase that summarizes the corresponding episode. Examples of the second type are as follows: the Gahoe Museum (no. 6 and no. 7); the National Folk Museum (no. 16); the Seoul History Museum (no. 20); Horim Museum (no. 22); the Busan Museum (no. 26); and the Jeonju Museum of History (no. 27). For instance, a screen at the Gahoe Museum (no. 6)[282] carries one or two lines of text in each panel (Image 125). The first panel depicts the scene where Soyu is disguised as a woman and meets Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae. The calligraphy in the scene delivers the gist of the episode.

鄭司徒宅楊少由 In the residence of the Chŏng family, Yang Soyu

女服彈琴 dressed like a lady, is playing tunes on the *kŭm* (Ch. *qin*, an ancient Chinese string instrument).

(My translation)

[282] Catalogue number: inmul 인물 2-013.

The name of our hero Soyu is 少游, but here the second syllable *yu* is replaced with a simpler character 由. The screen from the Jeonju Museum of History (no. 27) also carries the text that articulates two main events at the bridge where it depicts the first encounter scene of Sŏngjin and the eight fairies (Image 126).

石橋春風弄 (Eight fairies) are playing in the spring breeze.

借前路 (Sŏngjin, Buddhist monk) is asking to let him cross the bridge

The first line mentions that eight fairies are enjoying the springtime scenery at the bridge before Sŏngjin approaches them. The second line illustrates a dispute over who should yield the way as the bridge is too narrow to allow Sŏngjin to pass while the fairies are sitting there.

The brief textual description sometimes takes a form of cartouche, a phrase in which the name of a hero or heroine is often mentioned. This way of introducing an episode was familiarised with audiences most likely through *Samgang haengsil-to* series, the well-known illustrated didactic books in the Chosŏn period. Each episode in *Samgang haengsil-to* is entitled with four Chinese characters, where the first two refer to whose story it is and the last two represent the main event. The text in a screen from the Seoul History Museum (no. 20) features names of Soyu's women in the summary of respective episodes (Image 127). The names are underlined below.

Panel 1. 酒樓逢蟾月 Meet Sŏmwŏl in the pavilion for drinking

Panel 2. 逢秦彩鳳 Meet Chin Ch'aebong

Panel 3. 宮中逢鄭瓊貝 Meet Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae in the palace

Panel 4. 鄭府彈琴 Play tunes on the *kŭm* in the Chŏng residence

Panel 5. 龍宮破陰兵 Defeat a strange and mysterious army in the Dragon Palace

Panel 6. 軍中逢沈梟煙 Meet Sim Yoyŏn in the military camp

Panel 7. 春雲爲佥乍爲鬼 Ch'unun becomes a Daoist immortal and becomes a ghost

Panel 8. 驚鴻乍陰乍陽 Kyŏnghong becomes a woman and becomes a man

(My translation)

Except two panels (fourth and fifth), the name of a woman whom Soyu meets in the respective rendezvous scene is articulated in calligraphy. In particular, calligraphy for the panel 7 (春雲爲佥乍爲鬼) and the panel 8 (驚鴻乍陰乍陽) adopts the title of Chapter Six in the 1725 edition, that is "Ka Ch'unun becomes a Daoist immortal and becomes a ghost whereas Chŏk Kyŏnghong becomes a woman and becomes a man" (賈春雲爲仙爲鬼 狄驚鴻乍陰乍陽).

The emphasis on the identity of the woman with whom Soyu becomes romantically entwined would make calligraphy only partially illustrative of some scenes. The scene in the third panel depicts the grandeur of Soyu's wedding with two princesses, i.e., Nanyang and Yŏngyang (formerly Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae). Nevertheless, calligraphy in the panel describes the wedding just as an occasion when Soyu meets Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae at the royal court 宮中逢鄭瓊貝. It is a dramatic moment; the name of Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae should be thus hightlighted, because Soyu marries Kyŏngp'ae, unaware of her identity as he thinks that she is already dead. However, a summary of the scene should relate the whole event as an important ceremony where families both of Nanyang and Yŏngyang are involved.

It also occurs that a certain phrase of summary becomes so established that it travels across different Kuunmong screens. Calligraphy for half of a six-panel screen from the Busan Museum (no. 26)[283] is the same as what is shown on an eight-panel screen from

[283] Catalogue number: kuip 구입 6283.

the Gahoe Museum (no. 6).[284] The fourth panel (BM)[285] is the same as the first panel (GM);[286] the fifth panel (BM) is the same as the sixth panel (GM); and the sixth panel (BM) is the same as the fourth panel (GM). In one more pair, only one character is different but means the same: the second panel (BM) and the fifth panel (GM); The Chinese character for the number eight 八 of the Gahoe Museum screen is replaced with 捌, a synonym of 八, on the screen from the Busan Museum. Images of all panels of both screens are presented in Image 128, and below is the comparison of corresponding scenes of two screens. The difference is underlined.

First panel at Busan: 楊少遊作楊柳詞藍田山; Third panel at Gahoe: 楊少遊作楊柳詞

(Yang Soyu composes willow poems, Mt Namjŏn; Yang Soyu composes willow poems)

Second panel at Busan: 石橋上性眞逢捌仙女; Fifth panel of Gahoe: 石橋上性眞逢八仙女

(Sŏngjin meets eight fairies at the stone bridge; one character different but the same in meaning)

Third panel at Busan: 蘭通笛和曲鶴舞; Eighth panel of Gahoe: 蘭通笛和曲

(Princess Nanyang blows a reed, and a crane dances to the tune; Princess Nanyang blows a reed)

[284] Catalogue number: inmul 인물 2-013.

[285] Busan Museum

[286] Gahoe Museum

Fourth panel at Busan: 鄭司徒宅楊少由女服彈琴; First panel of Gahoe: 鄭司徒宅楊少由女服彈琴

(In the residence of Chŏng family, Yang Soyu, dressed like a lady, is playing tunes on the *kŭm*, a string instrument; the same)

Fifth panel at Busan: 越王爭楊少遊技校; Sixth panel of Gahoe: 越王爭楊少遊技校

(King Wŏl is engaging a skill contest with Yang Soyu; the same)

Sixth panel at Busan:月夜沈梟煙爭楊少由; Fourth panel of Gahoe: 月夜沈梟煙爭楊少由

(In the moonlight, Sim Yoyŏn is challenging Yang Soyu; the same)

Even for the remaining two panels of the Busan Museum screen are noted only small discrepancies from those of Gahoe Museum. “Mt Namjŏn 藍田山” is added to the first panel of the Busan Museum screen. “A crane dance 鶴舞” is added to the third panel of the Busan Museum screen. Except for these additions, the rest of calligraphy is identical in these two pair-ups.

The comparison of calligraphies on these two screens also illuminates additional significant intermedial relation of text and image. While a set-phrase is travelling across different screens, an erroneous match-up of calligraphy with the scene may becomes perfunctory once it has been made. The calligraphy for the first panel of the Busan Museum screen and the third panel of the Gahoe Museum screen illustrates one of these

occasions, resulting in a misguided text attached to the image. Both screens depict the scene where Soyu meets Sŏmwŏl at a pavilion near the Ch'ŏnjin Bridge. However, the calligraphy of "Yang Soyu composes willow poems (楊少遊作楊柳詞)" in the both screens reminds the audience of Soyu's first rendezvous with Ch'aebong. Soyu recites his willow poems, his voice reaches Ch'aebong's place, and then she wakes up to encounter him. The calligraphy on the screen from the Busan Museum further elaborates the Ch'aebong episode by adding the place Mt Namjŏn 藍田山. It is where Soyu fled from the social turmoil immediately after his encounter with Ch'aebong.[287]

The briefest way of inscribing an episode onto the screen is to address the place of action, as exemplified in the screen from the Horim Museum (no. 22) and the Gahoe Museum (no. 7).[288] The calligraphy relates "the Ch'ŏnjin Bridge in Nagyang (Ch. Luoyang) (洛陽天津橋)" to refer to Soyu's rendezvous with Sŏmwŏl at a pavilion near the Ch'ŏnjin Bridge in Nagyang (Image 129). Sometimes, in this type of summarizing text, audience interpretation of the narrative is added to the content of calligraphy. One example is a screen from the Haengso Museum (no. 4). For instance, the calligraphy in the first panel goes as follows (Image 130):

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[287] The Ch'aebong scene that the willow-poem calligraphy illustrates is absent in the Busan Museum screen.

The mismatch of text and image is further noted in the Gahoe Museum screen. The Ch'aebong episode is visualised in the second panel of the Gahoe Museum screen where calligraphy for the panel (從路作行自角峰) refers to the Ch'unun episode (Imae 128). The calligraphy seems to describe Soyu walking up the valley to meet Ch'unun disguised as a Daoist immortal. In addition, the calligraphy for the Sŏmwŏl episode is "(Soyu) composes poetry at a pavilion for drinking near the Ch'ŏnjin Bridge (酒樓作風月天津橋);" however, it is found in the seventh panel where the scene depicts Soyu's rendezvous with Ch'unun (Image 128).

[288] Thes two screens depict the same scenes although the arrangement of the scenes are different.

弄琴非本意 It was not the original intention to play tunes on the *kŭm,* a stringed instrument

無奈天假緣 but there is no other way to go when we are destined to be together. The second line is audience interpretation that Soyu is destined to meet Kyŏngp'ae, because it is only implied in the narrative.

Lastly, calligraphy is deployed to complement the scene where the visual image offers only small clues to recall the episode. This type of calligraphy appears in Kuunmong screens where the original temporal and spatial background of the narrative is significantly diminishing. A screen from the National Folk Museum (no. 13)[289] is an example (Image 131). For instance, the fourth panel of the screen carries the text above the image. The calligraphy describes Soyu's wedding, "Today, Yang Soyu marries the moon fairies, and there are those honorable figures formally dressed with official hats and belts (楊蘇柳 今日與月仙對結婚時 冠帶先生座下)." Two elderly couples are seated above and are formally dressed. However, Soyu and two women do not seem to have a wedding ceremony because he is handing over a note to one of the women while the other seem to be her maid. Even a playful dog is depicted among them.

In addition, the text was clearly pasted over the image; calligraphy is framed with a different texture from that of the image. This indicates that the calligraphy was added later to the screen. This indicates that some calligraphy, as part of the popularising process of the screen, may have been added later by somebody other than the original painter. An ill-informed posthumous addition could lead to an incorrect match-up of text and image. Calligraphy in the Portland Museum screen is a good example (Image 114). Considered that the screen is an early version of Kuunmong screen, textual description of the image is most likely a posterior addition. Only three panels of the ten-panel screen confirm

[289] Catalogue Number: minsok 민속 039692.

affiliation between text and image: Ch'aebong scene (second panel), first encounter scene (third panel), and Soyu's last family gathering scene (tenth panel). Although it is sometimes irrelevant and post-scripted, calligraphy was added to the Kuunmong imagery to describe, summarise, and complement the visual narrative. Calligraphy is thus one conspicuous element that embodies various relations of text with image in Kuunmong screens in the context of reception of *Kuunmong*.

5.3. Conclusion

This research is a study of the reception of a popular narrative composed in seventeenth-century Korea. The novel *Kuunmong* 九雲夢, written in Chinese, or 구운몽, written in Korean, was produced in 1687-88 by Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637 - 1692). The presence of two different language editions of *K uunmong* is not exceptional. It was a common practice in the composition of Korean popular novels before the twentieth century when the Korean readership was divided into two, often discrete but not necessarily exclusive, groups based on their ability to read either the Chinese or the Korean text. The three Chinese characters as well as Korean in the title mean nine, cloud, and dream. The story has been rewritten, painted, embroidered on silk, and illustrated, while it has appeared in fifteen languages.

The main question of the thesis is why and how certain forms and contents of the Kuunmong story have been adopted in the context of visual reception of the novel. The main sources for the investigation are thirty-six Kuunmong folding screens (Appendix 1) made in Korea mostly before the twentieth century. Although the main analysis focused on the visual reception of *Kuunmong*, the textual reception of the novel was discussed in relation to episodes that would complement the analysis of the visual reception. The

textual reception of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century accompanied the diminishment of religious episodes and influenced the scene arrangements on the Kuunmong screens.

Kim Manjung's original manuscript did not survive. All existing editions are anonymous re-compositions of the novel that demonstrate textual receptions of the story. For the purpose of linking text to visual image, seven significant texts were evaluated: the oldest Korean edition at the Kyujanggak Royal Library, the most influential Chinese edition (1725) in the Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl private collection, the best lending library edition in the Korean language preserved at Ewha University (1907), and the oldest English translation (1922) by James Scarth Gale, as well as the 1803 Chinese edition and two of nineteenth-century popularised Korean versions from Seoul and Chŏnju.

Chapter One has addressed the general literary and social context where *Kuunmong* was composed and enjoyed in late Chosŏn. A popular novel written before the twentieth-century in Korea often existed both in Korean and Chinese, because the majority of extant traditional novels were translated and re-rewritten back and forth by the original author as well as anonymous writers. Additionally, numerous copies of both Korean and Chinese versions were hand-copied. In traditional Korea, hand copying was the main way of producing a personal copy as well as circulating popular novels. A copyist was not necessarily producing an exact copy of the source but was usually engaged in a bit of creative writing by enlarging some parts and reducing others. For this reason, copyists also comprised anonymous writers. *Kuunmong* is not an exceptional case in this regard.

The growth of a publishing environment, in conjunction with market demand, made possible the publication of a Chinese version of *Kuunmong* in 1725. The 1725 edition of *Kuunmong* was a harbinger that foreshadowed the coming of more publications of popular novels that entertained a wide range of audiences in late Chosŏn society. Popular novels were heterogeneous compositions, i.e., a mixture of various forms of verse

and prose. When being read out by a professional reciter, poetry and prose were probably recited in different styles to create theatrical effects for a performance. The relation that the novel *Kuunmong* held with a good number of visual presentations thus reflected a prevailing way in which traditional Korean cultural activities were performed. That is, stories were often read aloud to groups, paintings often contained poetry and calligraphy, and art forms were integrated to create images and stories.

Chapter Two showed that there is similarity featured in the descriptions in four different texts (Kyujanggak, the 1725, Ewha, and Gale's) of Sŏngjin's encounter with eight fairies (Appendix 3). As a signature episode, it showed consistency among different texts. This means that, in general, consistency in the textual description of the first encounter scene has been fairly well maintained over time. The 1725 edition, nevertheless, is most descriptive, with feelings of Sŏngjin about the fairies elaborated. The Ewha edition diverges the most from the other three. Details are often left out, notably, details of the fragrant scent that leads Sŏngjin to the eight fairies. This lack of illustrative details noted in the Ewha edition points to two important but contrary aspects of an early twentieth-century lending-library edition. One is that the Ewha edition conveys the first encounter scene as the one that is quite faithful to what has been stated in early editions. The other is that the Ewha edition showcases what changes have been made in the nineteenth-century popularized versions of *Kuunmong*. The latter aspect of the Ewha edition is more evident in the rendering of poetry.

Poems appear on a range of occasions in the novel. Poetry composition was considered not just a personal literary activity but was also practiced as a means to communicate in various social, cultural, and political contexts in traditional East Asia. That function of poetry composition is reflected in *Kuunmong*. Different types of poetry thus engaged in the course of Soyu's life journey. Among these instances of poetry

composition, poems are featured in the formation of romantic relationships of Soyu and three women. These are poems from three rendezvous scenes where Soyu meets with Ch'aebong, Sŏmwŏl, and Ch'unun, that is, three women among the eight fairies reincarnated as women. In contrast to the rather uniformity of the first encounter scene kept in place, the rendering of poetry featured in three rendezvous scenes exhibits much more difference among the four editions. Gale's translation, in particular, reflects his consideration of an early twentieth-century English-speaking audience and demonstrates poetic liberty. He focused on the versification of translated poetry to carry over the metrics of the Chinese regulated verse into his English poems, rather than simply dealing with the content of the verse. His sweeping reformulation of the verse intended to accommodate his English speaking audience

Consideration of the audience's varying literary interest is as well revealed to a certain extent in other three editions. The disparity in the composition of poems that is featured in these editions tells about audiences' general unfamiliarity to Chinese verse (the Ewha edition), as well as to specific sensitivity to Chinese literary references (the Kyujanggak and the 1725 edition). Abundance of Chinese references may not necessarily indicate that readers of the Kyujanggak Korean edition were equipped with more sophisticated literary taste than those of the 1725 Chinese edition. However, that may be the case because the Kyujanggak edition was supposedly circulated among a rather limited audience, which was mainly among women at the royal court. The 1725 edition, nevertheless, seems to reflect as well a high level of Chinese literary expertise in readership in other episodes. The description of tunes played on the *kŭm* by Soyu at Kyŏngp'ae family's residence, for instance, is more complex while drawing on ample Chinese references, compared to that section in the Kyujanggak edition. It is also true, however, when a narrative became popularised, it often encompassed a significant amount

of stock Chinese literary references at the superficial level as mostly noticed in *p'ansori* (a Korean traditional narrative musical performance that may be equivalent to an opera). The 1725 edition is known as the edition widely circulated and was influential to later popular versions of *Kuunmong*.

The Ewha edition lacks Chinese poems in episodes of Ch'aebong and Sŏmwŏl, but carries a short verse by Ch'unun, Soyu's another woman. The word order of the poem, nevertheless, demonstrates disorderly application of a grammatical rule, and it further corroborates the audience's laxity in relation to poetry appreciation. The diminution of poetry in the Ewha e dition (1907) suggests that there was a significant change in the textual reception of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century. The novel *Kuunmong* became widespread while being circulated not only in early editions but also in newly created various popularised editions. Considered that Gale's translation (1923) is an effort to reconstruct early editions of Kuunmong, poetry started to lose appeal to the Kuunmong audience in the process of popularization. Two willow poems by Soyu and one of his winning poems at the poetry competition appear in the Chŏnju Korean edition (1862). However, the nineteenth-century Seoul Korean edition lacks most of poetry except the short verse by Ch'unun. This curtailment of poetry continued in the Ewha edition. The change in the *Kuunmong* text may be the reason why none of the poetry is presented in the contemporaneous Kuunmong screens.

The major rework of the narrative that occurred in the nineteenth century, however, concerned the theme of *Kuunmong*. The diminishment of religiosity marked the textual reception of popularised Kuunmong narrative, although religiosity was intended by the author Kim Manjung and kept in early editions of *Kuunmong*. This momentous change in the character of the Kuunmong narrative has a bearing on the production of Kuunmong screens. This change in the arrangement of episodes made *Kuunmong* merely a love story

or hero story of Soyu (reincarnation of Buddhist monk Sŏngjin) where his worldly success was highlighted at the expense of Sŏngjin's part. The role of Buddhist monk Sŏngjin diminished while religiosity associated with Buddhism was erased from the narrative. The depletion of Sŏngjin's awakening scene was first noted in the 1803 woodblock-printed edition, and the momentum of the religious scene continued to be extenuated as seen from subsequent nineteenth-century woodblock-printed Kuunmong texts. Further reduction of religious elements in other episodes, as well as the discard of unrealistic descriptions, is also marked in abridged commercial versions of *Kuunmong*. Here, beside the 1803 edition, two well-known nineteenth-century woodblock printed versions were discussed. These two nineteenth editions represent the change in the character of Kuunmong narrative: Seoul Korean edition (early nineteenth century) and Chŏnju Korean edition (1862). Seoul and Chŏnju, as two main centres for the book market in the late Chosŏn, locally tailored Kuunmong texts to their customers but similarly modified their production to weaken religiosity of the narrative.

Although the concluding scene in the 1803 edition is similar to those of the early editions, the absence of initial moments leading to religious awakening damages the role of Sŏngjin in conveying the Buddhist principles. The beginning passages embodies the physical change of the protagonist from Soyu to Sŏngjin and thus vividly visualises confrontation of the protagonist's identities. The spatial juxtaposition of Soyu's palatial pavilion and Sŏngjin's simple room represents the two worlds of the protagonist. In the 1803 edition, however, the master's comment on the poor memory of Soyu connects straight to the master's question to Sŏngjin. Since the magical transition that occurred to the protagonist is not articulated, the relevance of Zuangzi's butterfly episode to Sŏngjin is muffled. The imbalance in the enunciation of the two identities, Soyu and Sŏngjin, curtails the core Buddhist thought that there is no division to the two worlds of the protagonist.

This non-duality is the gist of *Diamond Sutra* that is promoted in the early versions of *Kuunmong*.

The further shrinkage of religiosity is noted in an early-nineteenth-century Korean version from Seoul. In this version, Zhuangzi's butterfly episode was entirely unloaded. The discard of Zuangzi's butterfly episode in the master's remark significantly impaired the religiosity of the Kuunmong narrative. Emphasis in the narrative is given to a secular success story of Soyu. The story thus ends by commenting on Soyu's life: a human life is a mere dream no matter whether their life would be glorious and successful. The lesson of the story fails to reach out to religious teachings that are beyond secular affairs. In addition, occasional references to Sŏngjin no longer appear in this early-nineteenth-century Seoul woodblock print, for instance, the reason for why Soyu looked young even in his old age. His young look is attributed to the fact that he originally was a disciple of a Buddhist master and he also received secret teachings from a Daoist master. This lack of Soyu's previous background further dismantles the contribution of Sŏngjin to the narrative formation.

Similarly, from the Chŏnju Korean edition (1862) was also cleared the reference to Zhuangzi's butterfly. The omission of Zhuangzi's butterfly dream episode again leads to the interpretation that is limited to the world of Soyu: Soyu's life in the human world is a futile dream. The message has no religious connotations. Moreover, in contrast with the Seoul Korean edition, several passages describing the master's preaching on *Diamond Sutra* and thereafter nine of the main character's completion of religious awakening were entirely left out. The following is excluded: once the master's preaching finalized Sŏngjin's awakening, Sŏngjin took over the master's post; and this succession took place as a ceremonial act in Sŏn Buddhism where the master granted his staff as well as his other belongings, including *kasa* (Buddhist robe), bowl, water bottle, and the *Diamond Sutra*, to

Sŏngjin and left the monastery for good. All of these religious acts is bereft. Thus, while the length of narrative (105 leaves) exceeds that of the Seoul version (32 leaves), religiosity of the narrative is much more eradicated in the Chŏnju version.

Not just Buddhist metaphor, but also the overall deletion of supernatural events throughout the narrative is noted. This may be signaled in the 1803 edition by the erase of magical moment when Soyu turns into Sŏngjin. It was accelerated in the Seoul Korean edition as it constitutes only thirty-two leaves. The short length of the narrative was a result from a business decision to produce cheap copies, but the act of contraction also required consistency. The consistency was achieved by minimizing unrealistic events and diluting the supernatural quality of such events, if any trace of those in the narrative. Supernatural qualities were often associated with Daoist immortals, masters or practitioners. Thus, unrealistic elements from various events were trimmed where Daoist figures were involved: for instance, illustrative conversations between Sŏngjin and the Dragon King in the World of Shadow Spirits (Chapter 1), unrealistic descriptions appearing in Soyu's meeting with a Daoist master in the mountain (Chapter 2), and Daoist or supernatural references in the context of Soyu's encounter with his women (Chapter 4, 5, 6, and 9). The Seoul woodblock print thus turned a Kuunmong narrative into Soyu's romantic adventure where his rendezvous with eight women dominates the narrative. Similarly, in the Chŏnju edition, Soyu as an upholder of secular morals overshadows Sŏngjin and women characters. As a result, this Chŏnju version of Kuunmong narrative approximated a hero story, in particular, a type of hero story that gained popularity among novels produced and circulated for contemporary audiences in the Chŏnju area (Ŏm T'aeung 2012, 125-127).

Gale's translation (1922) postdates the Ewha edition (1907), but its content is rather closer to early versions of *Kuunmong*. Gale's translation is similar to the 1725

Chinese edition except for his references to Christianity and occasional personal interpretations added in a somewhat flowery language. This is because not only Gale had his translation based on *Sinbŏn Kuunmong* (1913), a good translation of the 1803 edition, but he even further approached early versions of *Kuunmong* and incorporated Sŏngjin's awakening scene from the 1725 edition. The 1803 edition is already what has been largely copied from the 1725 edition. Gale's preference for *Kuunmong* versions shows that he desired to reconstruct *Kuunmong* and make his translation approximate the lost original manuscript by Kim Manjung. Gale disregarded numerous popularised versions of *Kuunmong* that had been prolific in the nineteenth century.

Gale's approach to the origin of the Kuunmong text echos those of Korean literature scholars in the early twentieth century, who founded the Kuunmong studies. Popularised versions were not considered in the process of cannonisation. However, they are the ones that were widely received by a range of audiences. These popular versions reveal how Kuunmong texts were subject to the taste of audiences in the nineteenth century and went through transformation accordingly. The gravity given to Kim Manjung's *Kuunmong* in the context of cannonisation has been in place to shape the field of Kuunmong studies. The current research expands the reception studies of *Kuunmong* and significantly contributes to complete the picture of Kuunmong audiences. These audiences include not only individual readers but also collective listeners of the Kuunmong story and even viewers of the Kuunmong visual narrative. Visual narrative of *Kuunmong* on folding screens is an extension to the textual reception, so these visualisations of *Kuunmong* offer ways in which to discover lost pieces to complete the puzzle of *Kuunmong* reception.

Chapter Three discussed the popular illustrated literature that influenced the visual narrative of *Kuunmong*. Three kinds of visual materials that were in wide circulation in the Chosŏn period were examined. A Korean collection of illustrations from Chinese popular

novels, *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* 中國小說繪模本 (Illustrated Templates of Chinese Novels, 1762) was first discussed. A popular Chinese novel entitled *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Romance of Three Kingdoms, 1522) was included in the collection. The great popularity of *Sanguo yanyi* led to the production of abundant folding screens that depicted the narrative. Among popular novels, *Sanguo yanyi* produced the biggest number of folding screens. Thus, the Korean folding screens based on *Sanguo yanyi* were also considered. Lastly, sutra illustrations, in particular, *Diamond Sutra* illustrations were addressed as the sutra is related to *Kuunmong*. These exemplary visual narratives had all been produced in Korea before the Kuunmong visual narrative emerged. Kuunmong folding screens were most likely influenced by these antecedent examples of visually presenting a story. The level of influence on the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* from these materials, however, varied.

Chinese illustrated novels at large show that regardless of the period and place in which the stories unfold, buildings from the Yuan and Ming period are frequently depicted while figures are usually dressed in Ming Chinese costumes. Scenes inside the building are also presented from a birds-eye view. These elements recur in domestic scenes in Kuunmong screens as expected from a broad impact by illustrated Chinese novels. To make the visual text sensible, the painter most likely employed familiar composition techniques that had been frequently used for previous relevant paintings. In this circumstance, the choice of composition made by the painter to illustrate *Kuunmong* was the kind of style familiar to viewers. It was thus taken either from illustrations collected in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* or from *Sanguo yanyi* paintings derived from *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*. In particular, the only battle scene in Kuunmong screens, which is the South Sea Prince's fight with Soyu's army, exhibits similar background renderings with

illustrations of the Red Cliff Battle, both from *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon* and from *Sanguo yanyi* folding screens.

There has been a long tradition of Buddhist narrative paintings since the Three Kingdom period in Korea. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, *Kuunmong* by Kim Manjung is based on Buddhist thoughts. Although this Buddhist message was not kept intact in all versions of *Kuunmong*, religiosity needs to be considered part of the Kuunmong narrative. Thus, it requires us to consider Buddhist paintings, at least sutra illustrations that are pertinent to *Kuunmong*, to see if there is a comparability between Buddhist illustrations and the visual narrative of *Kuunmong* stories. Despite the long and living tradition of sutra illustration and other Buddist preaching imagery, however, visual narratives of *Kuunmong* on folding screens display little relevance to Buddhist imagery at large. It is primarily because the literary text of *Kuunmong* went through the diminishment of religious scenes in the nineteenth century when most Kuunmong folding screens were produced. Only visual references to Buddhist symbolism were adopted where the marginalised depiction of implicit religiosity was performed on Kuunmong screens.

Chapter Four examined and analysed the visual reception of the novel by investigating thirty-six Kuunmong folding screens made in Korea mostly in the nineteenth century. A general explanation of folding-screen culture in Korea sets the context for a close reading of an image of the first encounter scene between the hero and the heroines. A close comparison of text with image reveals media differences in forming the narrative. Compared with a written text, an image is better suited for depicting an action scene than any other aspect of a narrative. Action in a single scene, however, is often multiple. In other words, one scene can contain several actions at once. The first encounter scene seems to depict those actions that began from before Sŏngjin and the women encountered each other all the way up to their argument over the right-of-way over the bridge. Here, the

action ends before the settlement of their argument, because Sŏngjin has not yet thrown the peach blossoms to the women to resolve the argument. We know this, because, although the peach tree appears behind Sŏngjin, the eight jewels that he transformed from the peach blossoms are not depicted in the scene. Various points of action, though, may be indicated by characters' gazing in different directions. Only four fairies in the group actually face Sŏngjin, while three are looking away in different directions, and one fairy has yet to stand up from her sitting position. These other four fairies may represent their engagement with the beauty of the spring scenery before they turn to greet Sŏngjin.

Besides the fact that the visual image is optimized for depicting action, different kinds of capacity for visuality or what can be added and what can be left out result from different modes of expression between literary texts and visual images. A written description affords many details of visuality, but ample amounts of visual elements are often left out of the novel but find their way into the folding screen. For example, the words "stone bridge," unless it is a metaphor, immediately brings forth an image of the referent, a sort of constructed bridge; that is, an image shared in the community of that language. Language is economic in this sense. Thus, there is no real need to mention what the bridge looks like in the novel. By contrast, in depicting a bridge in a visual medium, there is always a need to depict what shape, colour, and design go into the bridge. It has to be a certain bridge. These visual details are all the artist's rendering of the scene.

In addition to the visual elements, there are other sensory elements that figure prominently in the textual narrative but are rarely transferable to the screens, such as sound, smell, taste, and touch. The text has more capacity to suggest these sensory experiences. Taste, however briefly, is mentioned in the novel, as for example, the tasty food at the Dragon King's Palace. Touch is very rarely mentioned by itself but at pivotal moments touch is addressed, often in an association with sound and smell to link sound

and smell with touching experiences. The bridge scene in the panel is, nevertheless, only visually saturated without deploying any other sensory experiences. The important role of the fragrant scent and Sŏngjin's tactile experience in his nose are not translatable to the folding screens.

With the foundational comparative analysis of text and image, the discussion of rendezvous scenes of Soyu (the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin reborn as Soyu) with eight women, festivity scenes, religious scenes, and other fantasy scenes followed in later sections. The change in the composition of Kuunmong texts occurred in the nineteenth century, and the Kuunmong narrative concerned only Soyu's romantic adventure in the secular world. Thus, romantic episodes gained popularity while religiosity in the narrative was disfavoured. The selection of scenes on the Kuunmong screens most likely reflected the contemporary Kuunmong texts while the medial identity of a folding screen was also factored in. The nature of the folding screen as a medium should be also taken into account in the visual reception of the novel *Kuunmong*. A folding screen was a means of mounting paintings and was itself a piece of furniture. As a piece of furniture, it functioned to deflect the cold wind and decorate the room. Folding screens were also used on special occasions outdoors to create a space for ceremonies, for example, for a wedding ceremony or a celebration of longevity at the age of sixty or older. Scenes for Kuunmong screens were thus selected to suit such functions as expected by screen users. It signifies that the medial identity of a folding screen contributes to the selection of content for visualising the novel *Kuunmong*. Besides romantic scenes, depictions of festivity or non-human fantasy thus appeared on folding screens.

There are thus three different kinds of episodes from the Kuunmong narrative depicted onto folding screens: meet-ups of the protagonist with one or more of women, family gatherings, and other miscellaneous events. The first group is dominant while the

other two groups moderately occur. The first group includes the first encounter scene of Sŏngjin and eight fairies on the stone bridge, as well as Soyu's rendezvous with eight women. The second group depicts various occasions where Soyu family gathers together, such as Soyu's wedding, his mother's reunion with her son's family, a banquet of Soyu's extended family, i.e., Soyu's family and King Wŏl's family (King Wŏl is Soyu's brother-in law), and last gathering of Soyu's family in his majestic pavilion. The third group is eclectic where it encompasses Syou's imaginary battle with the South Sea Prince, religious awakening of Sŏngjin, the World of Shadow Spirits, and women's poetry competition in palace.

Three groups of the Kuunmong imagery largely maintained their ratio and constituencies to constitute the Kuunmong visual narrative over time. The arrangement of scenes that once appeared in early Kuunmong screens persisted to a great extent. For instance, all of the scenes from the Chasu Museum screen continued on other screens. Little adjustment to the proportion is noted while we see dominance of romantic scenes as well as depletion of religious scenes. Nevertheless, a few changes occurred in the select scenes as availability of the Kuunmong screens increased. Popularised versions of the Kuunmong screens show that family scenes tend to be reduced while a sea battle scene is added. There is also an increase in the scenes that may not be related to the Kuunmong story.

Besides the first encounter scene, other romantic meet-up scenes prevails on the Kuunmong screens. The eight rendezvous events are translated onto screens with varying frequency. Rendezvous scenes that frequently appear in the screens comprise Sŏmwŏl, Yoyŏn, Ch'aebong, Kyŏngp'ae, and Ch'unun whereas less frequent ones are of Princess Nanyang, Kyŏnghong, and Nŭngp'a. A comparative analysis of textual and visual reception of the rendezvous events showed which moments among the rendezvous were

selected for viewers of the screen and how visual tradition and conventions shared among screen users affected the elements that appear in the rendezvous imagery. Not all of the eight rendezvous moments migrated into visual presentation. In addition, while each rendezvous episode displays distinct details to a certain degree in the text, those visually translated onto the screens demonstrate a significant level of consistency in an approach capturing the episode of the rendezvous. All rendezvous scenes are depicted in the domestic or domesticated outdoor scenes. The domestic scene of these rendezvous scenes dominates the Kuunmong imagery and shows influence from contemporaneous visual culture, in particular, of illustrated literature discussed in Chapter Three. In addition to book illustrations in Chinese novels, analysis of domestic scenes considered visual allusions to non-narrative art, in particular, beauty paintings, a metaphor for a well-ordered garden, as well as visual quotations from *koesŏk-to* (ornamental rock painting) and *han'gung-to* (Korean palace painting).

There are at least two different types of rendezvous: one that is immediately completed; the other delayed. Regardless of intimacy and complexity involved in rendezvous scenes, the visual presentation of rendezvous tends to depict the starting point of romantic involvement of Soyu with each woman. Rendezvous scenes for Yoyŏn, Ch'unun, Sŏmwŏl, and Nŭngp'a, who are from the first group, as well as Ch'aebong, Kyŏngp'ae, and Princess Nanyang, from the second group, depict their first occasion whether or not their relationship is fully established from there. When a woman takes on more than one persona, it is the first one that is depicted on the screens. Ch'unun, for instance, appears first disguised as a Daoist immortal and then as a ghost. Her rendezvous with Soyu is always presented on the screens as a Daoist immortal. Soyu's rendezvous with Kyŏnghong is not directly rendered onto the screen. The prelude to their meeting is instead depicted. It is the meeting of Kyŏnghong with Sŏmwŏl over the fence, and Soyu

always appears in the scene. This scene of Kyŏnghong with Sŏmwŏl leads to the unveiling of Kyŏnghong's identity, which is followed by their first moment of romance, although this is only implied in the screen presentation.

These first moments of Soyu and the eight women are often introduced with music or poetry. They are also harbingered with fragrance or a change of ambience. Soyu is sometimes intoxicated before being led to the rendezvous. These non-visual elements in the event often fail to gain visibility but only hinted at in the visual presentation. However, musical instruments, for instance, the zither or *kŭm*, are usually depicted. Even if most non-visual elements are not visually represented on the screen, if the viewer has knowledge of the story, despite a range of different levels of their familiarity to the novel, they would infer visually covert elements contributing to the rendezvous episode.

Poetry is particularly rewarding in connecting Soyu with Ch'aebong, Sŏmwŏl, and Ch'unun. It is Ch'unun's poem written on a leaf floating down the stream that triggers Soyu's curiosity to explore that area further and eventually encounter her. Poetry is vocal music when recited. Other than in the case of Ch'unun, poems are usually recited in the novel. Vocal music, playing a pivotal role in the rendezvous episodes, turns out to be more effective than instrumental music. For instance, Soyu's voice in reciting his poem reaches Ch'aebong to wake her up to find him. Sŏmwŏl's recognition of Soyu is also achieved when she selects his poems as the winning pieces. She recites his poems, and that leads to further development of their relationship. Despite this great contribution of poetry to the development of the narrative, no poetry appears on the Kuunmong screens.

The absence of poetry in the Kuunmong screens as well as the presence of poetry in different *Kuunmong* editions tell us about the audiences for the novel and for the screens. Poetry significantly features in the rendezvous with Ch'aebong, Sŏmwŏl, and Ch'unun in the 1725 edition, the Kyujanggak edition, and Gale's translation, except the

Ewha edition where only a brief poem by Ch'unun appears in the rendezvous scene between Soyu and Ch'unun. Lack of poetry, in fact, reflects the significant shift that occurred in the textual reception in the process of popularisation of the Kuunmong text in the nineteenth century, and it was well illustrated in Seoul Korean woodblock print version, as well as in the Chŏnju Korean woodblock print edition (1862). This may be the reason why none of the poetry is presented in the contemporaneous Kuunmong screens. The absence of poetry in the Kuunmong screens also indicates that Kuunmong screens stand in a line of visual convention that is different from literati paintings. The viewers of Kuunmong screens encompassed people of varying cultural literacies, from the royal family to well-off merchants, but what they expected from the screens may not have differed much. Even the literati viewers of Kuunmong screens probably did not expect what they would have expected from literati screens where poetry often complements the image to create a sophistication of message. Kuunmong screens were commissioned to professional painters for practical use, whereas literati paintings were produced by painters themselves for scholarly engagement and the cultivation of the mind. These values are attached to literati art, and they are not usually associated with aesthetic appreciation or practicality.

Similarly, the way in which the zither (琴 K. *kŭm*; Ch. *qin*) is treated in the novel and in the screens tells us a great deal about the assumptions of audiences reading *Kuunmong* and viewing Kuunmong screens. The Chinese character for *kŭm* 琴 originally referred to a Chinese five- or seven-stringed instrument called the *qin*. The same character (*kŭm* 琴) was also used to indicate a Korean six-stringed instrument called the *kŏmungo* 거문고. The *kŏmungo* 거문고, a Korean domesticated version related to the *qin*, was made in the seventh century. A detailed description of the instrument, either as Chinese *qin* or as Korean *kŏmungo*, is not available in any of the four text editions. Nevertheless, in the

visual presentation of the musical performance, the instrument tends to be featured as a *kŏmungo,* the same as in the Korean vernacular editions of *Kuunmong*. These visual presentations of the instrument featured in Kuunmong screens indicate that the instrument was generally understood by the *Kuunmong* screen audience as the Korean *kŏmungo*. *Kuunmong* is a story from the Tang era, so the zither should be a Chinese instrument. However, the Kuunmong screens domesticated and familiarised the zither to fit the expectations of the local audience.

Unlike the non-visual elements discussed above, many visual components in the text are translated onto the screens. Visual narrative is, however, not an entirely faithful representation of the novel. Crucial and weighty elements are usually translated but may be replaced with something else. The artist's imagination is required to complete the scene by making up elements not specified in the text. Artists usually drew on conventional imagery available from paintings relevant to the Kuunmong narrative. Earlier Kuunmong screens, for instance, the Chasu Museum screen, demonstrate structures depicted in combination of straight and diagonal lines. These structures are mainly residential buildings, but also include temporary arrangements such as a military tent or a festival structure. The textual description provides little detail of structures. The garden in the domestic or domesticated outdoor scenes is not described in the novel. Artists most likely relied upon the relevant conventional imagery for this domestic scenery. They consulted familiar visual materials that were available in late Chosŏn while they were working on these domestic scenes. As a result, the relevant style of composition was applied to structures, and the familiar elements were featured in the garden. Immediate references to these structures and garden scenes may be found in contemporary visual narratives: illustrated Chinese novels, for instance, illustrations listed in *Chungguk sosŏl hoemobon*.

One major characteristic in the Chinese illustrations is the diagonal composition where buildings and figures are arranged along a line. The sideways front view of buildings conveys a sufficient spatial depth, and thus serves as a site for action often with the interior scene. In other words, it offers a good display space where an episode is visually presented. Such advantages to the diagonal composition of a scene can be comprehensively harnessed in the visualization of the Kuunmong narrative. A variety of diagonal presentations of buildings are hence witnessed in the Chasu Museum screen. However, use of the diagonal view of buildings is deliberately adjusted to the depiction of rendezvous scenes. Although the inner space of most diagonally arranged buildings are easy to see from outside, few of Soyu's meetings with his women is depicted as occurring inside the building. Several of their meetings are actually (in the novel) consummated inside a building or structure, for instance, when Soyu meets Sŏmwŏl, Ch'unun, or Yoyŏn. Nevertheless, respective rendezvous scene on the screen just depicts moments prior to their actual meeting: they are about to meet (Ch'unun or Yoyŏn) or plan on a proper meeting (Sŏmwŏl).

Such side-view presentations in these scenes thus function differently. It allows viewers to peep into the inner space only to imagine what would be subsequently occurring there. If they could recall an episode related to that building, they would narrate the story in their mind. The Ch'unun's place, for instance, is in the background where she receives her maid's reporting on Soyu's arrival. It is right before their rendezvous takes place in her room. The diagonal view of her residence thus helps a viewer to look into her room to find it equipped with musical instruments and piles of books and evisage how these items would be related to her rendezvous with Soyu. Such indications of literacy and cultural cultivation are usually associated with women characters of *Kuunmong*. A more

informed viewer would infer a rendezvous story from the scene as more approximate what is described in the Kuunmong narrative.

Even in other domestic scenes not pertinent to rendezvous, the same composition appears in the Chasu Museum screen. In contrast to the case of rendezvous, however, these scenes demonstrate what is occurring in the building. For instance, side-view of Soyu's palatial residence presents a scene where his mother receives due respect from Soyu's women in the fourth panel, and also depicts his wedding with Princess Nanyang and Princess Yŏngyang (Kyŏngp'ae) in the eighth panel. In addition, Soyu's pavilion is shown where he enjoys the last company of his women prior to his imminent awakening in the seventh panel.

Additionally, the reason why composition is significantly structured with rigid lines to form grand mansions for the Soyu family in the Chasu Museum screen is because *han'gung-to* (Korean palace painting) gained popularity for the royal household in the nineteenth century. The *han'gung-to* is a painting in the form of a folding screen where magnificent and luxurious palace buildings are imaginatively visualised in Chinese style. It is a type of *jiehua* where accurate outlining of buildings is applied with the use of a ruler. Unlike in China, *jiehua* was not established as an independent category of painting in Chosŏn. This makes *han'gung-to* significantly eye-catching to viewers. Even before the *han'gun-to* was in great demand, however, these imaginative palace buildings were already familiar to viewers through narrative screens such as *Yojiyŏn-to* 瑤池宴圖 (Ch. *Yaochiyan-tu*, The Banquet at Yaochi Pond, Image 31), *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* 郭汾陽行樂圖 (Ch. *Guo Fenyang xingle-tu*, Guo Fenyang's Enjoyment of Life, Image 32), and *paektongja-to* 百童子圖 (Ch. *Bai tongzi-tu*, One Hundred Children, Image 33). The clear rigid lines are there to delineate Xiwangmu's 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) Palace

in *Yojiyŏn-to*, and majestic buildings in Guo Fenyang's residence are displayed in both *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* and *paektongja-to*.

In several rendezvous scenes, visual allusions and references are noted, and they may have been derived from other visual materials. All of Soyu's women echo those figures featured in beauty paintings of Ming and Qing China. These beauty paintings are associated with popular literature and were made by professional artists based in the urban studios. The urban studio masters produced functional paintings and intended not to represent literati's ideals such as to celebrate retreats in mountains. For instance, figures in these paintings were usually set in domestic interiors or gardens. These paintings were commissioned to be hung to decorate domestic spaces or to be presented on special congratulatory occasions to convey symbolic messages. Women might have been those who commissioned these paintings or selected scenes, as their experience of reading popular literature suggested their familiarity to these images where women were featured in the domestic space. This may be the reason why we see the dominance of rendezvous scenes in the Kuunmong screens. Women characters in these scenes are proactive and outwit Soyu. Women from low status, that is Ch'unun, Sŏmwŏl, and Yoyŏn, are depicted more in action than those from royal or noble families.

The depiction of Yoyŏn, in particular, references illustrations and paintings of *yŏhyŏp* (woman fighter). The *yŏhyŏp* stories gained popularity among the Chosŏn literati as they were interested in fighters after having had two major wars with China and Japan in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. The intrusion of Yoyŏn into the encampment of Soyu's troops evokes a *yŏhyŏp* story of Hongxian from *Hongxian chuan* 紅線傳 (Tale of Hongxian). In the early versions of *Kuunmong* such as the Kyujanggak and the 1725 texts, in fact, this literary allusion to the tale of Hongxian was indicated. In the Chasu Museum screen, for instance, Yoyŏn is holding two swords overhead, one in

each hand. Yoyŏn is also riding clouds to approach Soyu's military camp. In an illustration from a musical comedy version of Honxian story *Hongxian nü* 紅線女 (a Woman Hongxian, Image 34), Hongxian is riding clouds to leave from the camp of her master's enemy after stealing the golden box. In addition to clouds, both images show that various types of spears and flags are lined up around to register the encampments of Soyu and the rival of Hongxian's master. *Hongxian nü* was collected in *Shengming zaju sanshi zhong* 盛明雜劇三十種 (fifteen works of Yuan dynasty form of musical comedy, a collection from High Ming) by Liang Chenyu 梁辰魚. The depiction of Yoyŏn, in addition, resembles *yŏhyŏp-to* paintings by Yi Chaegwan 李在寬 (1783-1838) where he presents a female Daoist immortal descending from the sky, who is holding a sword above her head, while ribbons are flying and the hem of her dress rippling. Her descending posture is as dynamic and energetic as that of Yoyŏn.

Besides influences from illustrations from popular literature aforementioned, Soyu's journey to the capital for the examination can be connected to the metaphor of literati or hermits riding a donkey on travel. The Soyu's rendezvous with Ch'aebong was depicted with a significant level of consistency among screens where the moment of rendezvous was rightly captured, although unnecessary elements were sometimes added to the popularised screens. In several scenes of the rendezvous with Ch'aebong, nevertheless, the depiction of Soyu and his servant resembles paintings called *qulü-tu* 騎驢圖 (riding a donkey painting), in particular, in the Ch'aebong scenes from Seoul History Museum (no. 20), Sosŏng Museum (no. 9), and the National Museum (no. 18). The qulü-tu is a type of figure painting and often depicted as part of a landscape painting. This depiction conflicts with what is described in the text. Their brief rendezvous occurs while Soyu stays near the willow trees. In contrast with the text, however, the screens depict that Soyu is already away from the willow trees, which resembles a painting of literatus' donkey-riding, while

Ch'aebong is still at the window to watch him leaving away from her. If Ch'aebong is not considered in the scene from the National Museum screen, the depiction of Soyu and his servant greatly resembles what would be expected in the *qulü-tu* painting.

The domestic space where the rendezvous occurs is often presented as a garden because it is where women are allowed more mobility than the interiors. The garden featured in the Kuunmong screens may have been produced with the metaphor as a well-regulated state because they were initially used by members of the royal household. The garden is often decorated with trees, flowers, and rocks. Several animals including cranes also appear in the domestic scenes. In the Chasu Museum screen, banana trees and ornamental rocks almost always appear adjacent to a luxurious building in royal or noble residences. Not just ornamental rocks in the garden, but throughout the Chasu Museum screen, rocky hills are rendered almost like an enlarged version of grotesque ornamental rocks. This treatment of landscape in the background of each scene helps to create its own fantasy space for the visual narrative.

Moreover, the frequent appearance of ornamental rocks and their use for rocky hills in the background, reflects the appreciation of ornamental garden rocks that prevailed among the royal household and the aristocracy in late Chosŏn society. Garden culture, in fact, appears in literary writings and visual culture from the Koryŏ period and throughout the Chosŏn era. Ornamental rocks in garden culture, however, were not always admired. They were favoured during Koryŏ but were dismissed by neo-Confucian scholars in Chosŏn as an object of self-indulgence, symptomatic of the extinct, decadent Koryŏ dynasty. Neverthelss, in the early eighteenth century, ornamental rocks regained favour, and the materiality of sensuous objects in private spaces was highly appreciated. Literati's change in their attitudes to ornamental rocks was effected through exposure to the descriptions of Qing and Japanese gardens by envoys to Beijing and Edo.

Among ornamental rocks, the *taihu* rock was most favoured. In the eighteenth century, the *taihu* rock was a highly valued object, which even a member of the royal household eagerly sought out for their personal ownership. Thus, it is often fantasised as an ideal constituent of the garden and depicted in paintings. When the rock appears in paintings by professional painters, it is brightly coloured like the rock in the Kuunmong screen. The ornamental rock was established even as a separate category of painting called *koesŏk-to* 怪石圖 (ornamental rock painting) in the nineteenth century. The *koesŏk-to* was made to wish for longevity, because rocks are one of the longevity symbols. This symbolic message associated with rocks may as well explain why we see ornamental rocks aplenty in the Kuunmong screen from the Chasu Museum.

The composition of the domestic scene where the rendezvous occurs was adopted from a type of popular visual narrative—monochrom book illustrations, along with figure paintings and garden culture. Some speculations have been already made in regard to the target audience of the Kuunmong imagery; the dominance of the rendezvous scenes may indicate its relation to women commissioners or users. However, in contrast with monochrom book illustrations, all of the Kuunmong imagery is of large-scale polychrome artwork. The use of the Kuunmong screens can be thus better explained when they are compared with other folding screens that may have been used together with the Kuunmong screens.

The use of Kuunmong folding screens in various contexts overlaps with that of similar types of paintings and folding screens that share similar visual conventions. The Kuunmong images are usually classified as *ch'aesaek-hwa* or polychrome paintings. A theme-based subgroup is called *kosa inmul-hwa*, or paintings of an old story featuring a well-known figure, or simply narrative paintings. Narrative painting always presupposes that the story line already resides in the mind of the viewer. Narrative monochrome ink

paintings tend to remind the viewer of eminent figures and their episodes known through the Confucian classics, historical writings, and well-known literary works, whereas polychrome narrative paintings additionally link up with the general purpose of auspicious paintings, that is, to wish for a good life, and a number of symbols referencing long and healthy lives are presented.

Because the Kuunmong screens are polychrome, Kuunmong screens was discussed in relation to other, similar polychrome narrative screens: *Yojiyŏn-to*, *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to,* and *paek tongja-to*. The *Yojiyŏn-to* was based on the story of King Mu, the fifth king of the Zhou state (tenth century BCE)'s visit to Xiwangmu (Queen Mother of the West). In *Yojiyŏn-to*, the focus is given to the banquet at large, with the image divided into two parts: the banquet on land, and Bodhisattvas and Daoist immortals' crossing the sea to come to the banquet. There are no folding screens of the story that have been found in China, while the surviving Korean imagery of the story exists largely in folding screens of six, eight, or ten-panels. *Yojiyŏn-to* was used at royal weddings because of the auspicious images of peach, Mt Kulun, and Daoist immortals. As typical of palace decorative paintings, *Yojiyŏn-to* conveys clear symbolic images utilising well-organised form and content. For the style and composition of *Yojiyŏn-to*, there was most likely interaction with other palace paintings such as *sip changseng-to, irwŏl obong-to, and Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*

Kwak Punyang haengnak-to depicts a birthday party for Guo Ziyi (697~781, K. Kawk Chaŭi), who was appointed as the King of Fenyang (K. Punyang), so the painting is titled *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*. More than thirty surviving Korean versions of *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* exist in folding screens of eight or ten-panels where one single large panorama-style image of the story is presented across panels. As an auspicious image to

wish for a good life, *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* was used at festive events both in and outside of the palace.

The *paek tongja-to* may be derived from the Guo Ziyi story and concerns his numerous grandsons. The painting depicts many children playing various games. The number "paek" means one hundred but not exactly one-hundred children are presented in the painting. The symbolic implication of the number one hundred is abundance and being sufficient, so the number can carry an auspicious message rather than indicating accuracy of the number. The surviving Korean versions of *paek tongja-to* exist in folding screens of six, eight, or ten-panels. In the majority of extant *paek tongja-to* screens, each panel carries independent scenes in the background of majestic palace-style buildings. The *paek tongja-to* screen used at royal weddings in the nineteenth century was instead made in the panorama style in which all panels exhibit one large scene with no break in-between. *Paek tongja-to* screens were also used at weddings for non-royal families.

These narrative, auspicious images were in vogue at the royal court at least from the early nineteenth century. These screens were thus used to fashion festive occasions because of their auspicious messages. The *Yojiyŏn-to* and *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to* show similar festive events, in an idealized space with both non-humans and humans, where longevity is celebrated along with other enjoyments. Similarly in *paek tongja-to*, having many children, one of the common elements that compose a good life for traditional Koreans, is depicted. They share similar themes by depicting similar scenes filled with similar symbolic objects. All of these symbolic objects contribute to the same goal of wishing for a good life.

To that end, in *Yojiyŏn-to*, which depicts a banquet at the residence of the Queen Mother of the West, and Bodhisattvas and Daoist immortals' crossing the sea to come to the banquet, we can see the following auspicious objects: clouds, water, waves, waterfalls,

mountains, rocks, and oddly shaped ornamental rocks for the non-organic objects; peonies, peaches, ganoderma mushrooms, pine trees, maple trees, and moss for plants; cranes, phoenixes, peacocks, and a turtle for animals. In a painting to celebrate a birthday for an old man (*Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*), clouds surround the entire scene, including mountains and magnificent buildings, representing an ideal space away from the actual world. Waterfalls, mountains, rocks, oddly shaped ornamental rocks, peonies, and peacocks appear as well. Additionally, we can see animals and plants that are symbolic of longevity: dancing cranes and idling deer along with pine trees.

The novel *Kuunmong* is set in Tang China, and audiences were accustomed to these paintings with references to Chinese stories. In comparing the three polychrome auspicious narrative screens produced in Korea with the Kuunmong screens, however, it is more relevant to note the elements that fill the images, rather than their Chinese origin, because these screens accommodated local users' interest and needs and thus more importantly share the same function as discussed above. Kuunmong screens share these sorts of festive events, while drawing on similar auspicious objects to serve the purpose of wishing the viewers a good life. The choice of scenes for the Kuunmong screens tells us that the images on the screen are not just about the main characters' romantic encounters (eight women and the protagonist Sŏngjin or Soyu) but also about Soyu's entire extended family. The four panels, for instance, in a ten-panel Chasu Museum screen, are related to a festive gathering for Soyu and his family: Soyu's mother welcomed by his family in the fourth panel, Soyu's wedding in the eighth panel, and a banquet with King Wŏl 越 in the ninth panel, and Soyu's last family gathering with eight women in the seventh panel.

When family life is depicted in *Kuunmong* screens, we see common symbols for longevity or good health, such as cranes and deer, as depicted in *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*. In the fourth panel of the Chasu Museum folding screen (Image 20), for instance,

although absent in the textual description, these animals always come into the scene. It is where Soyu's mother goes to Soyu's residence and two of his wives, including other women, present formal greetings to her. While the formal greetings are performed, in the garden appear cranes and deer. These animals are added onto the screen to create the ambience that was familiarized to *Kuunmong* screen users from their viewing similar festive scenes from other screens including *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*. Soyu's family reunion scene is most comparable to a birthday celebration for old Guo Ziyi joined by all of his children and grandchildren in *Kwak Punyang haengnak-to*.

Auspicious objects are, however, not solely reserved for family scenes in Kuunmong screens. In fact, they are present in almost all panels no matter what the scene is about. We can see most of the same non-organic objects as depicted in *Yojiyŏn-to*, for instance, in the Kuunmong screen at the Chasu Museum: clouds, water, waves, waterfalls, mountains, rocks, and oddly shaped rocks, otherwise known as the ornamental rocks. Clearly, then, Kuunmong screens borrowed from familiar motifs to fulfill the expectations of audiences, who were accustomed to similar screens with auspicious expressions that convey a story visually. The presence of these objects in the *Kuunmonmg* screens function not merely as backdrops, particularly when the image is designed not only to deliver the story but also to fulfil the general purpose of polychrome narrative paintings, that is, to reflect the viewers' wish for a good life. These polychrome narrative screens were used initially in palaces but were spread further down in society. In the process, these auspicious objects often appear in other popularised versions of Kuunmong screens as well.

Other than formal celebrations in Soyu's life aforementioned, his most lavish and boastful moment is depicted in banquet with King Wŏl at the Nagyuwŏn. The significance of the banquet is more than that of a family gathering, and its festivity is utmost because it

is the epitome of Soyu's worldly success before he awakes and returns to Buddhism. In the novel, a legendary banquet at the residence of the Queen Mother of the West is aptly compared to the Nagyuwŏn banquet. The festivity expressed in *Kwak Punyang hangnak-to* and *Yojiyŏn-to* is thus greatly translated into the scene of a banquet with King Wŏl. Festivity associated with two representative banquets, in particular, that of music and dance finds its way into the ninth panel of the Chasu Museum screen but not without consultation to the contemporaneous visual culture at the royal court. The focus at the banquet is given to not just music and dance but also to martial performances. They are respectively presented by each of Soyu's four women: first Sŏmwŏl and Kyŏnghong and later Yoyŏn and Nŭngp'a.

Except the poetry recitation by Sŏmwŏl, the last three performances are visualized on the Kuunmong screens. They manifested visual considerations of audience expectation that were grown out of their relevant knowledge and viewing experience. This is another piece of evidence that the visual reception of *Kuunmong* did not fully subscribe to the textual description while the image maintains its connection with the narrative. First, it is notable that the instrument *sŭl* by Nŭngp'a was replaced with a pear-shape lute called *pipa*. She is plucking the *pipa* with her right hand, and the instrument is held by her hand in an almost upright position. The style of her playing the *pipa* reflects the change that was brought in the Tang era, the historical period in which the Kuunmong narrative is set. Second, the inclusion of a sword dance by Kyŏnghong is relevant to the circumstance at the royal court where the sword dance was presented in the various royal banquets from the late eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, the sword dance for a formal banquet was also performed at the local governor's celebratory occasions (Yi T'aeho 2016, 319). The transmission of royal sword dance to the local centre is demonstrated, for instance, in *Chinju kŏmmu* (sword dance of Chinju, the major city in the south-western

part of Chosŏn society). In the meantime, various types of sword dance continued to be performed for audiences outside the palace. *Ssangkŏm taemu* 雙劍對舞 (A dance duet as if fighting with swords, Image 52) by Sin Yunbok 申潤福 (1758-?), for instance, exemplifies the sword dance performance spread in society, here enjoyed by the *yangban*.

Likewise, relevant to the depiction of Yoyŏn's mounted archery is what was commonly depicted in the *horyŏp-to*. This hunting scene gained favour at the palace and then among the broader audience from the nineteenth century in Korea. Women horse riders were also found in the *horyŏp-to*, although this is not a factual representation of the social convention in the late Chosŏn era. The popularised version of *horyŏp-to* screens (usually eight panels) were circulated among commoners, and the visual display of the vigorous spirit of Qing warriors in the hunting scene was considered as auspicious imagery and put in use for the protection from the evil spirits. This appreciation of the *horyŏp-to* may contribute to popularity of the festive Nagyuwŏn scene. Fifteen Kuunmong screens include the depiction of Yoyŏn's mounted archery in the scene of Soyu family's banquet with King Wŏl at the Nagyuwŏn.

Festive family scenes of Kuunmong screens share some elements and iconography with polychrome narrative screens such as *Kwak Punyang hangnak-to* and *Yojiyŏn-to*, as well as other relevant paintings, for instance, sword dance paintings and *horyŏp-to*. The auspicious imagery in festive scenes thus prevailed in the visual reception of the novel *Kuunmong*. Apart from the first encounter scene, as discussed so far, a majority of scenes on Kuunmong screens are from the Confucian scholar-official Soyu's life. What dominates the visual narrative of Kuunmong screens is his rendezvous with eight women and thereafter his family events. This scene-arrangement reflects the change in the theme of the novel that marked the commercial publication of *Kuunmong* in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, another persona of the protagonist, Sŏngjin, is essential part of the narrative

while the significance of Sŏngjin as the protagonist fluctuates among different versions of *Kuunmong*. Thus, it is a meaningful to investigate how the religious scene was associated with Sŏngjin and visually translated onto Kuunmong screens. The association of religious scenes with Sŏngjin is often implied rather than explicit. This rendering of religious scenes of Kuunmong screens may be related to the fact that the religious metaphor is less expressive in popularized versions of the novel *Kuunmong* than what is described in non-abridged versions of the text.

Buddhism is truly an important religious ideology that affected early editions of *Kuunmong*. In particular, in the beginning and the ending of the narrative are more references to Buddhism, specifically *Diamond Sutra*. The story begins, introducing Master Yukkwan as an Indian monk, and he was preaching Mahayana Buddhism to his disciples with one Buddhist text entitled *Diamond Sutra* in his hand. It was *Diamond Sutra* that led Sŏngjin and eight nuns, i.e., eight fairies, to achieve awakening. Ultimately, the story's closure comes with Yukkwan's master-disciple ceremonial act of giving away that signals his departure for the world beyond, where Buddhist symbolic objects including *Diamond Sutra* are involved. Upon the master noting that a fully-awakened Sŏngjin was ready to take over his place, he passed on his belongings such as *kasa*, bowl, water bottle, staff, as well as *Diamond Sutra* to Sŏngjin and left the monastery.

Buddhist thoughts attributed to *Kuunmong* in the current comparative analysis of text and image, nevertheless, are focused on Soyu's last family gathering and his return to the monastery. These are the only scenes where the master Yukkwan appears in the Kuunmong screen. Yukkwan is by all means a religious figure in the story; he is even considered as a living Buddha. These closing scenes thus embody the religious message and symbolism of Mahayana Buddhism. However, the religious message is only suggestive so that its delivery may be limited to viewers who understand Buddhist

principles, in particular, from the *Diamond Sutra*. Nevertheless, this scene recurs in most of the Kuunmong screens.

Soyu's last family gathering at the pavilion is frequently depicted (nine times), and its religiosity is visually translated. The visual festivity associated with their family excursion and subsequent Soyu's days-long birthday celebration is expected from the textual description but in fact, absent in the screen. This absence contrasts with the opulent visual depiction of festivity in the scene of Nagyuwŏn gathering; it usually contains an Indian monk, i.e., Master Yukkwan from the Buddhist monastery on the Lotus Peak, walking up the stairs to the pavilion to awaken his disciple, Soyu. The Master banished his disciple Sŏngjin from his monastery and now came back to Soyu to remind him of the fact that the Confucian statesman Soyu is actually the Buddhist monk Sŏngjin. The scene pins down a pivotal moment that is at the hinge of Soyu's and Sŏngjin's worlds. The duality of the protagonist's both worlds is negated in the principles of Buddhism, in particular, in the meditation school.

Once the Indian monk Yukkwan was introduced, the monk conversed with Soyu. The dialogue, in fact, conveys utmost religiosity in the episode that reveals the core teaching of meditation Buddhist discipline, i.e., Chan (K. Sŏn; J. Zen) Buddhism. A question-answer format of the dialogue is a type of *gong'an*— the notable means of practicing meditation in Chan Buddhism. The questioning with "who is this Indian monk" goes beyond the logic of analytical words, and is formulated to facilitate an intuitive outcome. Here in the dialogue between Soyu and the master, division of self and others becomes blurry. The initial questioning of identity was not directed towards Soyu but instead pointed at the master; their conversation eventually leads to the disclosure of who Soyu is. In addition, no definite self is established in the question about who has known the Indian monk and how it happened in whose dream or whose real life. In an effort to

recognise a person (the master) who has been allegedly known to Soyu (or Sŏngjin) all his life, here and now, Soyu looked back at his life path as far as he could reach and rummaged through his memories only to find one occasion when Soyu met an old monk preaching in his dream.

This non-dualistic and non-egoistical view of identity featured in the dialogue may further intend to showcase what is elaborated in teachings of *Diamond Sutra*, one of the core Chan Buddhism texts. *Diamond Sutra* was one of the most widely transmitted and well-known Buddhist texts in Korea. The 32 sections of the sutra take the form of a conversation between a senior monk, Subhuti and the Buddha and express emphasis on the illusory nature of phenomena. The Buddha elaborated on the wisdom of *kong*, but never directly referred to the word *kong*, while he was resorting to multiple contradictory statements. As succinctly phrased in "the selflessness of all dharmas," the sutra represents the idea of emptiness or *kong*. Nothing has an essential self, and the existence of everything is interdependent, thus, even nirvana has no substantiality except with reference to the ordinary real world and vice versa.

The dialogue between Soyu and the master over "who is this Indian monk" was visually implied on the screen. This may reflect the limitation of a painting as a space-based medium for carrying a dialogue. Although the *gong'an*-like dialogue immanent in the novel was not literally translated onto the religious scene in the Kuunmong screens, the non-dualistic and non-egotistical nature of the questioning between Soyu and the master, or even between Subhuti and the Buddha from *Diamond Sutra*, is aptly visualised. In other words, there is no essential difference between transmigration and nirvana, hence, no difference between the life of Sŏngjin the monk and that of Soyu the Confucian statesman. The awakening to emptiness, that everything, even the Buddha's truth, is illusion, ironically leads to the wisdom that both lives should be acknowledged. That is why in this

awakening scene, visually co-present is Soyu's triumphal life as well as the Buddhist path of life that is signalled by the master Yukkwan.

The depiction of the master Yukkwan and Sŏngjin was also discussed to examine symbolic connotations associated with accouterments of Buddhist monks, with a focus on details of their *kasa* and staff. The Buddhist robe *kasa* travelled from India to East Asia and went through changes in its form due to differences in the climates as well as in the Buddhist principles. In addition to being a robe, the *kasa* began to be worn as an outer layer over clothes to withstand cold weather in East Asia. Symbolic connotations associated with the *kasa* were also sophisticated. In addition to convoluted text-based instructions, Mahayana Buddhism adopted various means of visual symbolism that would offer ordinary people an easy approach to Buddhist teachings. The *kasa* served as a visual emblem and became particularised in the format.

Types of *kasa* are named after the number of rows. There is always only one short strip in a row regardless of the number of rows, whereas a range of long strips from one to four are used. Even in the grand 25-*cho kasa*, there is only one short strip in each row. The principle of keeping short strips down to only one per row demonstrates how the *kasa* functions as a visual means in Mahayana Buddhism where the possibility of awakening is extended to ordinary people. Short strips signify ordinary people while long strips signify those awakened. As anyone who is aspiring and makes efforts can attain awakening, the number of ordinary people decreases while the number of those awakened increases. Thus, by limiting short strips to a minimum, it signifies that the percentage of ordinary people will continue to dwindle in the world where Mahayana principles are rightly practiced.

A complete set of *kasa* may be worn two or three-fold, which is made up of *antarvasa*, *uttarasanga*, and *sanghati*. The *sanghati* is the grand garment worn to display authority when a monk sits in a raised platform to preach. It is also worn when a monk

travels to the capital or goes out begging for food in the village. In addition, the wearing style of these *kasa* is bifurcated. When situated to show respect, for instance, to the Buddha or the master, a monk leaves his right shoulder bare but his left shoulder is covered with the *kasa*. Rather than covering the shoulder, the *kasa* is also fastened with a strip over the shoulder. Conversely, when a monk deserves authority, for instance, while seated for preaching, both shoulders are covered with the *kasa*.

The depiction of *kasa* in these Kuunmong screens is not articulating the symbolic significance associated with the size of strips. However, the protocol of wearing the robe is somehow observed. When Yukkwan is approaching Soyu, who is the prime minister as well as the prince of Wi, his *kasa* is appropriately worn to show respect to the noble man. One of his shoulders is not covered. In contrast, the screen from the Sosŏng Museum shows that the master's *kasa* is covering both his shoulders as that of the Buddha seen in *Yŏngsanheo koaebul t'aeng*. This is not only because Yukkwan is preaching at the monastery. The master's style of *kasa* also symbolises his status as elevated to the awakened, i.e., a Buddha. Sŏngjin instead pays respect to Master Yukkwan and his preaching, so only his left shoulder is duly covered as prescribed in the protocol of wearing the *kasa*.

Although the *kasa* in monochrome, mostly in red, was worn in real life by Chosŏn Buddhist monks, the Buddha or a monk in Buddhist paintings from the late Chosŏn was dressed in the multihued *kasa* that resembles the *ch'ŏpsang kasa*. The function of Buddhist painting for the practice of Buddhism was intensified as a ritual medium. With the increase in and expansion of indoor and outdoor rituals, the visibility of Buddhist paintings that had been held in reserve for worship spaces was greatly promoted to a diverse spectrum of people. The large-scale *yŏngsanheo* hanging paintings exemplified this tendency of late Chosŏn Buddhist art. This context in which iridescent robes in Buddhist paintings were

viewed openly may be related to the presentation of the Buddhist monk's robe in the Kuunmong screens that resembles the *ch'ŏpsang kasa*.

Thus, the *kasa* worn by the master and Sŏngjin serves as a visual cue to illustrate Buddhist principles and to demonstrate religious or social hierarchy between the protagonist Soyu or Sŏngjin and the master Yukkwan. The hierarchy between the master and the protagonist is largely well presented on the screens. The master wears the grand *kasa* on his visit to Soyu, while his strapping of the *kasa* is accordingly arranged to show his respect to the high official. The master changes his strapping when seated in an elevated seat for preaching. The symbolic implication of the *kasa* as Buddhist robe should be acknowledged, but it is often the case that the depiction of the *kasa* in the Kuunmong screens is not accurately observing the set protocol, for instance, which rules the differentiation of long and short stripes in the patchwork of the *kasa*. The pattern of the master's *kasa* varies. His headdress also varies from the lowly head rag through *songnak* to *pirogwan*. It is not just the master but also Sŏngjin who is robed in the *chŏpsang* kasa. These variants may be resulted from the painter's liberty or lack of familiarity to Buddhist art.

Whether or not the master is wearing any sort of headdress, and whatever *kasa* is worn by him, he is holding a staff called *sŏkchang* in his hand. The symbolic connotation of the sound is to awaken those who are unaware of reality and veiled in illusion. The master is carrying his staff on his way up to Soyu because their encounter is a decisive occasion. It is the sound of a staff by which Soyu and the eight women in the pavilion are made aware of the master approaching them. The symbolic significance of the sound became explicit when the master made the sound again and for the last time at the end of the master-disciple dialogue that had begun once the master was seated. The sound may have been necessary because the enigmatic dialogue failed to penetrate Soyu's

consciousness. He was not able to recollect that he had been one of those disciples who constituted the assembly for the master's preaching at the South Peak. After all, what serves as a catalyst to Soyu's awakening is the sound from the master's staff. The master's last triple tapping of his staff brought Soyu back to be Sŏngjin.

This symbolic significance associated with the *sŏkchang* is the reason why, his staff, along with his *kasa*, is spotlighted while the master is depicted solely by himself rather than blended among people in the pavilion. This composition also features the master from the back, so that his staff and the *kasa* becomes more emphatic and noticeable. The *sŏkchang* is displayed as well when the master is preaching *Diamond Sutra* to Sŏngjin and the eight fairies. The presence of *sŏkchang* in this context may indicate not only the master's authority as the abbot of the monastery but also his role to usher in the complete awakening. The master's *sŏkchang* signifies that the master's preaching finalises Sŏngjin's awakening. Once his preaching ended, Sŏngjin took over his post, which was a common practice in Sŏn Buddhism. The text describes that the master gave his staff as well as his other belongings, including *kasa*, bowl, water bottle, and the *Diamond Sutra,* to Sŏngjin and leaving the monastery for good.

In Kuunmong screens above, nevertheless, the master's *sŏkchang* is not uniformly visualized and not always matching an actual Bushiest monk's staff. The *sŏkchang* usually consists of four, six, and twelve rings, and the most frequent number was six rings. Most surviving *sŏkchang* in Korea exhibit a metallic head with six rings, where rings are divided in half to each side and hung at the bottom of the oval-lined form. The dominance of six rings hung on the head of the *sŏkchang* may be because the number six represents the Six Perfections that are found throughout the early Mahayana sutras and was established as a standard set of virtues that are expected to be fully developed by a bodhisattva (Buddha-in-training) to become a Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism. Despite the prevalence of surviving

six-ringed *sŏkchang* in Korea, however, among ten screens depicting the master's staff, only one Kuunmong screen from the Asian Art Museum portrays a *sŏkchang* with a head of six rings.

Some elements of seminal Buddhist art from the late Chosŏn have been so far discussed in relation to religious symbolism expressed in Kuunmong screens. Among religious scenes above, only the Kuunmong screen from the Sosŏng Museum depicts a scene that directly evokes Buddhist imagery, where Master Yukkwan is preaching the *Diamond Sutra*. In the repressive environment for Buddhist art in the late Chosŏn, any religious occasion, if ever depicted on screens, could not afford any room for explicit Buddhist imagery. Only allusive and indistinct references to Buddhist thought were translated into the visual presentation of *Kuunmong*. Thus, it may not have been commendable to be directly associated with Buddhist paintings, at least in the form of a folding screen that was used for everyday decoration or symbolic effects on festive events.

Moreover, the change in the textual reception occurred when the Kuunmong screens were greatly produced beyond the palace and the noble households: the contemporaneous versions of Kuunmong lost appeal to the religious values. Popularisation of affordable printed versions of the novel accompanied a shortening of the narrative. This contraction of text led to the cut-off of religious scenes and rendered the novel into a solely romantic narrative (Wurthner 2017, 46). The abridged versions lowered the production cost, and the volume of sales increased with cheap copies. The turnaround of copies at the lending library was also expedited. All of these contributed to the availability of *Kuunmong* as a romantic narrative to a wide range of audiences. The arrangement of scenes on the Kuunmong screens corresponded to this trend of textual reception of the novel *Kuunmong*.

All of these leads to the little presence of outright Buddhist imagery on the Kuunmong screens, which articulates the scarcity of Buddhist preaching scenes and their stylistic irrelevance to Buddhist art. Even a sutra-preaching scene in the Kuunmong screen lacks the influence of Buddhist art, as the scene conforms to the convention of screens. It is because Kuunmong screens were produced primarily by court artists and then by other professional artists, whereas Buddhist imagery was mainly made by monk-painters in the late Chosŏn. It is also because a Korean screen is usually made up of more than one panel and thus the composition of an individual scene tends to conform to the overall pattern of the entire screen for the sake of a comfortable viewing experience.

The complexity of ways in which the Kuunmong narrative is visually negotiated was further examined in the context of screen culture. Kuunmong screens were situated in the visual convention of polychrome screens, both narrative and non-narrative. The rendition of animals on Kuunmong screens reveals non-linear interaction of the Kuunmong narrative with symbolic implications of animal imagery that prevailed in non-narrative screens. Kuunmong screens exhibit influence from polychrome non-narrative screens, in particular, (1) *sip changseang-to*, that is, paintings depicting ten animals and plants symbolic of longevity, (2) *hwajoto*, namely flower-bird paintings, and (3) *ŏhea-to*, that is, fish and crab paintings, or *ŏrak-to*, referring to the joy of fish paintings. The depiction of animals is a result of a negotiation with audience experience and expectation that was nurtured in the contemporaneous screen culture. Audience expectation is often related to auspicious expression. A folding screen is for daily use, not for rituals, but one type of screen was associated with auspicious expressions for a good life. Kuunmong screens are of that kind.

The rather markedly brief textual description of the protagonist Soyu's imaginary battle with the South Sea Prince is visually expanded with the added visual identity of sea

animals. In addition, some animals are anthropomorphised while others not. These differences may be derived from the fact that symbolic messages associated with sea animals vary as metaphors. They may also reflect conflicts between the power of the Kuunmong narrative and existing visual traditions of animal symbolism. The symbolism is not only mirrored but is also refracted in Kuunmong screens. In all of these considerations, the audience is variable. What is visualised from the narrative reflects what is expected for Kuunmong screens and what is interpreted from the Kuunmong story by various audiences.

The Chasu Museum folding screen, the most elegant among the thirty-six screens examined in the current research, does not carry this scene, but it is not a rare imagery and it appears frequently in other screens: nine times altogether. In textual descriptions of the battle, a turtle and a carp are mentioned. The turtle is the Prince's chief of staff, whereas the carp is the general of the Prince's forces. However, while a carp is often anthropomorphised and actively engaged in the battle, a turtle rarely turns into a human figure. The turtle merely swims about, although considering his title he should be heavily involved in the fighting. Although absent in the textual description, a shrimp and a crab frequently appear in the visual presentation of the battle. This discrepancy between the visual image and the narrative may be related to visual tradition and conventions that are shared with Kuunmong screens.

A turtle, like cranes appearing in Kuunmong screens, may not be turned into a human figure in any South Sea battle scenes because a turtle is firmly established as an auspicious creature in the hardened tradition of *sip changsaeng-to*. Visual imagery wishing for a long, good life is common in East Asia, but *sip changsaeng-to* paintings depicting ten animals and plants symbolic of longevity were produced as an independent category of *ch'aesaekhwa* in Korea. The theme was established already in the Koryŏ period, but the

ten subjects for *sip changsaeng-to* were sometimes interchangeable. Nevertheless, turtles were usually included in the ten symbols of longevity. Folding screens of *sip changsaeng-to* were displayed at coronations and at birthday celebrations, particularly the sixtieth birthday. *Sip changsaeng-to* were painted on the doors of buildings in the palace as well. By the nineteenth century, the imagery of auspicious animals had spread to commoners, and animals symbolic of longevity were favoured by all classes.

The symbolic implications of *ŏhea-to* are historically diverse as the symbols often go through changes over time. In the early days of the introduction of Chinese fish paintings to Chosŏn, during the reigns of King Yŏngjo and King Chŏnnjo, fish paintings were produced at the royal court for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the king. However, from the turn of the nineteenth century, this earlier metaphor of fish did not suit the interest of literati and commoners, who accepted only symbols related to their wish for successful government careers or other auspicious messages. As fish gained more momentum as a symbol, fish appeared in flower and bird paintings. Moreover, earlier fish paintings were small in size, but in the nineteenth century, professional painters created big scale *ŏhea-to* in response to the increased demand for decorative paintings to express the viewers' wish for good luck in their lives.

A turtle maintains its metaphor as a symbol of longevity, as established from *sip changsaeng-to,* even when it appears in *ŏhea-to.* The symbolic significance of carp, crab, and shrimp, however, tend to be less dominating and unstable than that of the turtle. A carp, in particular, signifies passing the government examination to become an official in the tradition of *Yangni-to* (Ch. *yueli-tu*, paintings of a carp leaping over waves). Three carps *samyŏ-to* (Ch. *sanyu-tu*, paintings of three kinds of spare time), however, symbolise three kinds of spare time that should be enough for studying. A crab was considered a *kunja* (Ch. *junzi*), a man of virtue in the sea, because its hard cladding is associated with an

uncompromising mind. In the *yi kap chŏllyŏ-to* (paintings of two crabs and congratulatory food to the first rank examination passer given by the king), however, the symbolic message of the crab is mostly related to a good wish for the government examinations. Two crabs indicate achieving the first rank both in the first round and second rounds of examinations, that is, *sokwa* (literally small examination) and *taekwa* (main examination). In the *haero-to* (paintings of a crab and reeds), nevertheless, a crab is not related to success in examination but to the long and good life of a married couple. A shrimp was regarded as an old man in the sea because its back is bent over. When a shrimp is coupled with seashells, however, this imagery signifies marital harmony because the pronunciation of both shrimp and seashell is *hahap*, and it is similar to that of harmony (*hwahap*).

Both carp and crab share the same symbolic implications: success in examinations to become a statesman. Likewise, crab and shrimp are involved in the same symbolic message of long and happy married life. All of these sea animals also connote affluence and having many children, which is associated with fish in general. Additionally, based on "Yule" (The Joy of Fish), an episode in *Zhuangzi*, fish also signifies a joyful and unconstrained life. Paintings called *ŏrak-to* depicting a group of various fish swimming in a comfortable and relaxed way, in particular, reflect this symbolic value of a free life attached to the fish. The shift in the symbolic implications of sea animals also reflected the change in the society. The majority of animal symbolism in the *ŏhae-to* concerned success in the examination, but the same symbol tended to shift from examinations to family life as success in the examinations became less possible for reasons of social status and politics towards the end of the Chosŏn period. This change in the symbolism is more expressive in big scale paintings, for instance, folding screens.

The overlap and shift in symbolic implications of these fishes show that the way an audience relates themselves to a certain animal imagery is not always stable. It

sometimes fluctuates even when the audience probably have similar expectations when viewing similar types of "good life" polychrome screens. Compared to a turtle in non-narrative polychrome paintings such as *sip changaseng-to* and even *hwajo-to* as well as *ŏhae-to*, symbolism associated with carps, crabs, and shrimp in fish-themed screens often overlapped with little clear-cut individual connotation. This difference of symbolic association with the four animals in non-narrative polychrome paintings relates to the rendition of these animals in Kuunmong screens.

In Kuunmong paintings, thus, these animals perform their roles in complex ways. Animals serve as auspicious symbols, but also respond to the narrative and additionally exhibit varied levels of agency in the process. A turtle is rarely turned into a human. This may be because a turtle was firmly established as a symbol of longevity in the hardened tradition of *sip changsaeng-to* and carried over the same symbolic association into other polychrome paintings. In all Kuunmong screens depicting the battle scene, the turtle, if depicted, is slightly anthropomorphised and less actively involved in the narrative. A turtle may be considered as a more autonomous animal, because it stays away from the influence from the narrative but sticks with the imagery of longevity. A turtle in the Kuunmong screens is very similar to that from *sip changsaeng-to* as examined above. However, this autonomy is not based on a turtle as an animal in nature but was derived from a symbolic metaphor.

Anthropoid animal-warriors of the South Sea Prince, that is, a carp, a crab, and a shrimp, in contrast, are more actively involved in the narrative as they are humanlike and fighting with Soyu's human army. Compared to a turtle, these three other animals carry less definitive and often shifting symbolic messages in polychrome paintings such as *hwajo-to* and *ŏhae-to*. This may let them be divorced further from the conventional animal symbolism and be more anthropomorphized in Kuunmong screens. In this sense, these

humanlike animals may acquire some level of agency not assigned from auspicious "good life" paintings. It is undeniable, however, that their active humanlike behaviour resulted from the human-oriented imagination of the episode as it originated from the novel. To make it more complex, it is also true that the visual presentation of the episode is not entirely based on the novel. In all seven authoritative textual editions of *Kuunmong*, the battle with the South Sea Prince is very briefly mentioned, and if stated, only a carp and a turtle are named among all the fishes of the sea that the South Sea Prince called up to do battle with Soyu.

Besides the turtle and the carp, however, other fishes including crabs and shrimp are commonly depicted as well in Kuunmong screens. The presence of crabs and shrimp in Kuunmong screens is an evident influence from similar auspicious paintings discussed above. A carp and a shrimp are the fifth and sixth frequent subjects in the *ŏhae-to* (Cho 2014, 289). In contrast to the anonymity in the novel (simply "sea animals"), thus, identities were granted to a crab and a shrimp in the screen. The addition of a crab and a shrimp to the battle scene were most likely made from the expectations of painters or viewers of the Kuunmong screens. Viewers may have desired to see similar auspicious imagery on the screen instead of faithful depictions of the episode, whether or not they had a thorough knowledge of the story.

The way animals are visually rendered onto Kuunmong screens is not always faithful either to the specific episode or to visual conventions set in other paintings. Their depiction may be derived from the general context of the story. In other words, the level of influence of the original textual narrative on Kuunmong screens is diversified in relation to the different backgrounds of different audiences with an uneven affinity to the novel. Regardless of their knowledge of the narrative, the textual influence is also mediated in the way in which audiences accommodate sea animals based on their varied interest and

preference, as reflected in their use of Kuunmong screens but not entirely subscribed to relevant visual conventions of the times. Nevertheless, relevant visual imagery of sea animals is by no means dismissable. Sea animals in Kuunmong screens may be approached, thus, not only for their symbolic messages but also in audiences' negotiation with the narrative on their part, for the sake of their purpose and use of Kuunmong imagery: "sense of place" with regard to Kuunmong screens. In this complex process, some animals happen to appear more human-like than others, while some of their textual anonymity is elevated to visual identity. A particular depiction of these animals results from an audience's act of "poaching" the Kuunmong narrative as well as the relevant visual conventions. Thus, the animals' proximity to the realm of the Kuunmong narrative was contested in relation to the novel, in relation to a common visual culture, and most importantly in relation to the expectations of the audience, as the message in a work of art is eventually understood or expected by the audience.

The rendition of animals in the South Sea Prince battle scene is a good example in the visual reception of *Kuunmong* that demonstrates the complexity of intermedial engagements. Intermedial engagements refer to various medial relations in which the literary text *Kuunmong* makes with the visual medium of folding screens. While text is connecting to image, there is also intermedial distancing demonstrated in Kuunmong screens. Not just text being visualised, the Kuunmong text can be also literally carried over onto the screen, usually in a form of a textual summary or excerpt. The final section is dedicated to further considerations of intermedial relations, with a focus on the alienation of image from the textual description, as well as the intrusion of the text into the image.

The alienation of image from the textual description is prominent in the popularised versions of Kuunmong screens for broader audiences. They tend to minimize the background and enlarge figures to the extent that they occupy almost the entire scene.

This tendency increases in the case of those screens called *minhwa* (folk painting), produced outside the court and usually produced in the early twentieth century. Unlike the earlier screens, depictions of buildings and other details of auspicious objects are diminished to the point where there remains only a trace. For example, on the screen Keimyung 1520, the encounter scene shows us much enlarged figures of Sŏngjin and the eight fairies, while the details of other elements, including the monastery, valleys, and the bridge, are significantly diminished, both in the sophistication and in the intensity of colouring. In keeping with the tendency to lose details in general, the background of the story is also domesticated in the later screens produced outside the court. Although the novel is set in China, the costumes of characters are often changed into Korean clothing.

When the image on the screen becomes more distant from the story, it may lose the function that narrates a Kuunmong story fully and serve only as a general screen. In these screens, particularly in the case of no. 29 (Kim Sejung private collection), the image is so flat and stylized. Such a flat depiction delivers no sense of depth, and it is so stylized and decorative that it barely represents those objects: trees, flowers, mountains, buildings, doors, walls, and what appear to be cushions. There is also the clear division in the middle of the image. This style of description increases the level of fantasy and points towards the heightened function of wishing for good luck, characteristic of polychrome paintings in general, while there is a significant decrease in connection to the novel. In other words, these later examples tend to serve as only a polychrome screen in general terms, rather than as a specific type of polychrome narrative painting.

In addition to the change in the style of composition, the popularisation of Kuunmong folding screens often featured addition of textual elements to the image, such as calligraphy. The Kuunmong text was rendered in calligraphy and travelled to popularised versions of Kuunmong screens. The content of calligraphy is usually a brief

description of the corresponding chapter and is written in a prosaic phrase with no poetic flavour. Three different ways of textual referencing are noted: direct quotation, short summary, and complementary text. The first type of calligraphy is a short excerpt from a *Kuunmong* episode that is exemplified in the fifth panel of a screen at the National Museum (no. 18). The calligraphy is not exactly capturing the scene and concerns later developments of Ch'unun episode. It is the scene where Soyu is approaching Ch'unun deep in the valley, unaware of the fact that she is camouflaged as a faux Daoist immortal (Chang Yŏrang in banishment). What is said in calligraphy, however, comes from later than Soyu's encounter with Ch'unun in the valley, and even later than Ch'unun's visit as a ghost to Soyu's room at night, which is several days afterwards. It is in Chapter Six in the 1725 edition when Soyu realizes that the woman he met is in fact Ch'unun and that she pretended to be Yŏrang first as a Daoist immortal and later as a ghost.

In the Kuunmong screens, the most frequent type of calligraphy appears in a succinct phrase that summarizes the corresponding episode. For instance, a screen at the Gahoe Museum (no. 6) carries one or two lines of text in each panel. The first panel depicts the scene where Soyu is disguised as a woman and meets Chŏng Kyŏngp'ae. The calligraphy in the scene delivers the gist of the episode. It also occurs that a certain phrase of summary becomes so established that it travels across different Kuunmong screens. Calligraphy for half of a six-panel screen from the Busan Museum (no. 26) is the same as what is shown on an eight-panel screen from the Gahoe Museum (no. 6).

The comparison of calligraphies on these two screens also illuminates additional significant intermedial relation of text and image. While a set-phrase is travelling across different screens, an erroneous match-up of calligraphy with the scene may becomes perfunctory once it has been made. The calligraphy for the first panel of the Busan Museum screen and the third panel of the Gahoe Museum screen illustrates one of these

occasion, resulting in a misguided text attached to the image. Both screens depict the scene where Soyu meets Sŏmwŏl at a pavilion near the Ch'ŏnjin Bridge. However, the calligraphy of "Yang Soyu composes willow poems (楊少遊作楊柳詞)" in the both screens reminds the audience of Soyu's first rendezvous with Ch'aebong. The calligraphy on the screen from the Busan Museum further elaborates the Ch'aebong episode by adding the place Mt Namjŏn 藍田山. It is where Soyu fled from the social turmoil immediately after his encounter with Ch'aebong.

Lastly, calligraphy is deployed to complement the scene where the visual image offers only small clues to recall the episode. This type of calligraphy appears in Kuunmong screens where the original temporal and spatial background of the narrative is significantly diminishing. A screen from the National Folk Museum (no. 13) is an example (Image 131). For instance, the fourth panel of the screen carries the text above the image. The calligraphy describes Soyu's wedding, "Today, Yang Soyu marries the moon fairies, and there are those honorable figures formally dressed with official hats and belts." Two elderly couples are seated above and are formally dressed. However, Soyu and two women do not seem to have a wedding ceremony because he is handing over a note to one of the women while the other seem to be her maid. Even a playful dog is depicted among them.

In addition, the text was clearly pasted over the image; calligraphy is framed with a different texture from that of the image. This indicates that some calligraphy, as part of the popularising process of the screen, may have been added later by somebody other than the original painter. An ill-informed posthumous addition could lead to an incorrect match-up of text and image. Calligraphy in the Portland Museum screen is a good example (Image 114). Considering that the screen is an early version of Kuunmong screen, textual description of the image is most likely a posterior addition. Only three panels of the ten-panel screen confirm affiliation between text and image. Although it is sometimes

irrelevant and post-scripted, calligraphy was added to the Kuunmong imagery to describe, summarise, and complement the visual narrative. Calligraphy is thus one conspicuous element that embodies various relations of text with image in Kuunmong screens in the context of reception of *Kuunmong*.

The current research approached medial relations that Kuunmong screens demonstrate in their intermedial engagement with the novel *Kuunmong*. A screen depicts polychrome narrative paintings in a screen-specific way, while maintaining its medium specific function as a screen. This medium specific nature of a screen entails issues related to intermedial translation. As a visual image in general, the screens' visual translation of the novel constructs its own world with appropriate temporal and spatial arrangements and configurations for various senses, and these differ from what the novel provides. As a screen, the arrangement of the order of panels is actually unknown, and they do not always conform to the order of the narrative. The way in which certain senses and sensory experiences are treated in a screen is also different from the novel. The choice of scenes is affected, nevertheless, by the textual reception—as a romantic narrative rather than a religious story, as well as by other similar types of polychrome narrative screens that have a similar function: wishing for a good life. These "good life" screens were used as a means to express a general desire for happiness in the traditional Korea, and further developed into an imagery being suggestive of the Kuunmong story in the late Chosŏn. As we progress in time from the earlier examples, the visual images often deviate much more from the novel to suit users who are accustomed to screens in general and who are not specifically interested in polychrome narrative paintings.

At least it is clear that, in the case of intermedial translation of a story to a screen, intermediality plays a range of significant roles in making sense of the visual image. The novel *Kuunmong* may be read primarily as a love story between Soyu and eight women or

as a Buddhist parable, but the story travels from text to screens to meet the varying expectations of visual consumers from different backgrounds who possess various cultural experiences with screens and an uneven affinity to the novel. It should also be noted that a Kuunmong narrative can take shape, whenever it is chosen to do so, by the viewer and always in relation to the novel. A screen alone cannot generate the story. Nevertheless, both the novel and a screen, as works of art, are somehow detached from real life. They engage audiences' imagination to draw on fantasy; audiences, in return, are not bound to the rules of real life, and they enjoy the novel and the screens as either a love story, Buddhist parable, or as an auspicious expression for a good life. The construction of meaning remains at the mercy of the audience.

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