

*'Art on the Edge between Creation and Dissolution':*

*Nakhwa, Korean Pyrography*

By

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is intended to discuss a genre of Korean painting called *nakhwa* 烙畵 낙화, which literally means “burnt or scorched painting.” It is the equivalent to pyrography in Western art. It is a technique of painting performed by burning the surface of materials, such as paper, leather and more, with a heated iron. This thesis first reviews the fundamentals of *nakhwa* painting, such as the required tools and the general process. Selected works from the collections of major museums in U.S. and South Korea are examined to demonstrate the close connection between this genre and ink painting. Then the history of the genre is examined in the context of traditional crafts in general. *Nakhwa* has been practiced since the late Chosŏn period of the nineteenth century and was cultivated by the literati and royals to the extent that the genre reached the neighboring country, Japan, where it was practiced under the different name, *yakie*. In turn, during the first half of the twentieth century, in the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), the genre was also promoted by the Japanese colonial authority for political purposes. While *nakhwa* was able to continue its tradition by winning the favor of the wealthy Japanese officials, it was chosen as a traditional craft representing the ‘Korean color’ and became a scapegoat of Japanese ‘Other Orientalism.’ Following this, in the early 1960s, the general-turned-president, Pak Chŏnghŭi (1917–1979), supported traditional cultural assets with a series of new policies and finally enacted the Framework Act on the Promotion of Art and Culture (문화예술진흥법) in the 1970s. This paper examines how *nakhwa*’s historical and aesthetic values have been underappreciated in the shadow of mainstream art.

This research was first conceived when I encountered a *nakhwa* painting in the collection of The Cleveland Museum of Art while working as a research fellow in 2018. In doing my research on this artifact, I realized how scarce any related materials and research on the genre

are, let alone academic papers; only a handful of texts or records in Korean and Japanese are available on the topic. The paucity of past records and the resulting undervaluing of the genre motivated me to initiate the research to disseminate information on this interesting yet rare genre from Korea to a broader audience internationally. I hope that the readers of this paper find it informative and also discover the potential of the genre as a new art form in the context of modern art.

I cannot find fitting words to thank my advisor Professor Jeffrey Moser for his unwavering support and unfailing patience in the lead-up to this moment. I also sincerely appreciate the invaluable comments of Dr. Sooa Im McCormick, Korean Art Curator at The Cleveland Museum of Art, who has guided me in many aspects of my research and provided unsparing support throughout my two-year fellowship. It was she who suggested and encouraged me to pick nakhwa as my research topic for my thesis. I am also indebted to Professor Maya Stiller of Kansas University for her lecture at Harvard University that opened my eyes to the world of Korean art. I could not have gained such invaluable information about the modern history of the genre without help from the nakhwa artist Mr. Kim Yŏngcho. He willingly invited me over to his studio in Boeun and was generous enough to show me around and give me a private lecture on his works and career as a nakhwa artist. Lastly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my family and close friends for their endless support and encouragement.

I would also like to acknowledge the following institutions for their permission to use the images of artworks in their collections: The National Folk Museum of Korea, The National Museum of Korea, Gahoe Museum, Onyang Folks Museum, The Brooklyn Museum, The Cleveland Museum of Art, and The Museum am Rothenbaum.

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## INTRODUCTION

It would not be an exaggeration to say that assert that fire might be the very first medium of man-made art. Known to be the earliest art, the paintings of Maltravieso Cave in Cáceres, Spain were drawn with the ash mixed with dirt and fruits. As such, fire was among the oldest and readily available tools that came into existence at the dawn of humankind, and the artworks using it have continued to date as seen in the *fumage* works of Wolfwgang Paalen (1907–1959) (Fig. 1.1) and gunpowder paintings of Cai Guo-Qiang 蔡国强 (b. 1957) (Fig. 1.2). With its double-edged properties of destruction and creation, fire has long fascinated and inspired many artists in the west and the east alike.

### I. WHAT IS NAKHWA?

In East Asia, the earliest form of pyrography—a technique in which the surface of combustible materials, such as bamboo wood, cloth, leather, etc., is burnt with the carefully controlled application of a heated metal tool—dates back to the Western Han Dynasty 西漢 (206 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) or the Former Han Dynasty. Yet, the technique was reserved for a practical purpose, as opposed to an artistic one, i.e., it was used to brand properties belonging to the government to distinguish them from those of the subjects. It was not until the early Qing Dynasty 清朝 (1636–1912) in the 1700s that pyrography came to be commonly recognized as a unique art form. It has been termed differently in East Asia, including *Tànghuà* 燙畫, *Huǒhuà* 火畫<sup>1</sup> in Chinese, *Nakhwa* 烙畫<sup>2</sup> in Korean, and *Yakie* 焼畫 in Japanese. This thesis will focus

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<sup>1</sup> *Huǒhuà* (火畫) was also frequently used in Korea.

<sup>2</sup> I used the Yale Romanization for this term, but throughout this paper, I followed the McCune-Reischauer Romanization system. ‘낙화’ is spelled ‘nak'wa’ in the McCune-Reischauer Romanization system.

principally on nakhwa, a pyrography technique, and works produced in Korea.<sup>3</sup>

Despite its relatively long history, a limited number of publications exist on nakhwa that are written in either Korean or Japanese, and to the best of my knowledge, none exist in English. *Nakhwajang* (2012), published by the National Folk Museum of Korea and co-authored by Kim Inkyu<sup>4</sup> and Kim Yŏngcho, a researcher of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and a nakhwa artist, respectively, is believed to constitute the most thorough research publication on the genre. A Japanese scholar, Takayuki Tabe, a former curator of The Koryo [Korai] Museum of Art 高麗美術館, Kyoto, Japan, published *Yanagi Muneyoshi mo sanbishita nazo no yakie hakkuts* 柳宗悦も賛美した謎の焼絵発掘; 誠文堂新光 (2014), as a product of his long and extensive research on pyrography of the three East Asian countries with a focus on Korean nakhwa. In addition to these two books, Yi Sŏnhyŏng, a Korean studies lecturer at Hanyang University, wrote an academic research paper about the *Birds and Flowers Painting* 花鳥圖 by the earliest nakhwa artist, Pak Ch'angkyu, in 1989. Indeed, there were no noticeable publications on the genre until Chŏng Pyŏngmo, an art history professor at Gyeongju University and a folk art scholar, and Pak Chŏnghye, an art history professor at the Graduate School of Korean Studies, presented articles on the subject in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Chŏng's articles deal with the overall history of nakhwa and examine its connection to folk paintings; whereas, Pak's paper is also concerned with the overall history of the genre, but also focuses on errors made in previous studies. The latest research in 2017 by Chŏng Yuhun, for his graduate thesis, primarily highlights a contemporary artist, Kim Yŏngcho. I sincerely hope that my paper makes a small,

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<sup>3</sup> The word 'nakhwa' refers to the pyrography works done on the surface of any material other than bamboo, which includes paper, leather, cloth, and even the rinds of gourds. Therefore, nakchuk (烙竹), the pyrography applied on the bamboo surface, should constitute an integral part of nakhwa. However, due to a high demand for nakchuk works and relatively abundant studies, particularly on the subgenre, it is often treated as a separate genre, differentiated from nakhwa.

<sup>4</sup> I follow the original order for Korean and Japanese names, with the last name first and the given name last.

yet meaningful, contribution to ongoing research on the subject. The paper will introduce nakhwa by covering tools and manufacturing steps, and investigate how it has evolved in the context of the shifting history of Korea from the late Chosŏn 朝鮮 period (1392–1897) to the present. It will also explore how ink paintings influenced the genre in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century when nakhwa was most actively practiced.

The research starts with the *Flowers and Bird* (1991.80) ten panels nakhwa folding screen at The Cleveland Museum of Art Collection (Fig. 1.3), and then expands to other nakhwa works from the collections of multiple museums globally. Although various subject matter has been depicted in nakhwa paintings in the past, this research will primarily focus on two subjects, flowers and birds, and landscape, as they constitute the most prominent themes in existing nakhwa paintings. The abovementioned publications on nakhwa written in Korean and Japanese were beneficial in determining the starting point of the study. In addition, my serendipitous encounter with a photograph published in the 1929 Chosŏn Exposition catalogue illustrating the nakhwa artist in *hanbok*, a traditional Korean costume (Fig. 1.4), alongside other Westernized exhibits, led me to consider a possible association of cultural colonialism with traditional crafts, including nakhwa, of colonized Korea.

### 1.1 Tools and Materials

Nakhwa does not require a large number of elaborate tools, compared with other art forms. It relies on the craftsmanship of an individual practitioner, and a pair of irons, iron holder/tongs (Fig. 1.5), and charcoal brazier are the only tools that are needed. An iron cleaner, (hand) bellows and a drawing board are optional. Carbon paper and a charcoal stick may also be required to create a sketch.

An artist needs a set of two irons with a tip of different shapes. One has a flat, triangular head, called a *P'yŏngindu* 평인두 (translated as 'flat iron') (Fig. 1.6), and the other has a shape of a cone with a tapering end, named an *Aengmuburi indu* (translated as 'parrot-beak iron') (Fig. 1.7). An iron for the household was initially called various names, such as '*ultu* 熨斗,' '*undu* 運斗,' or '*hwadu* 火斗,' according to early records, and appeared differently from the ones used for *nakhwa*. *Ultu* had a small bowl or container to hold the hot charcoal at its end and has been used since the Three Kingdoms Period (57 B.C.E.–668/676 C.E.) (Fig. 1.8).<sup>5</sup>

When the flat iron was introduced—possibly in accordance with changes of clothing design—remains unknown; however, it is certain that it was introduced at some point before the sixteenth century when *nakhwa* was first recorded. The edge of a flat iron is useful for drawing long, straight lines, while its side or cheek covers the large surface and creates depth and texture. The tapering end of the parrot-beak iron allows artists to execute details and write letters. This iron was designed specifically for *nakhwa*, and not for clothing.

The iron is usually approximately thirty centimeters (11.8 in) in length, including its grip, but its length can also vary, depending on the size of the charcoal brazier and the craftsman's preference. *Nakchuk* 烙竹, a bamboo pyrography, artists who worked in Imsil 任實, North Chŏlla Province—a region that is known for the active production of *nakchuk* craftwork—preferred to use irons that had a longer shaft than an ordinary one, so that they could put the brazier outside of the workshop or studio, in order not to inhale smoke and harmful gas from burning charcoal when they had to work for an extended period of time.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In kyu and Yŏngcho Kim, *Nakhwajang: Ch'ungch'ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* (Sŏul: Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan, 2012), 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

Charcoal is mostly made from oak trees, of which nakhwa craftspeople used two types: black charcoal and white charcoal. Black charcoal is more commonly used than the other due to its affordability. It becomes charred at approximately 600-700°C (1,120-1,300°F), and is then left untouched for two to three days until it cools down to 100 °C (212°F). Even though black charcoal emits a certain amount of smoke and smell, it generates flames of a higher temperature and is more combustible than white charcoal. In contrast, white charcoal is made by scorching oak at a much higher temperature, 800-1,300°C (1,470-2,370°F), and then quickly extinguishing the flame. Although it has weaker heating power, it lasts longer and neither releases smoke nor odor.

The primary material used for nakhwa is *hanji* 韓紙, a Korean handmade paper. Although it can be made of other plants, hanji is mainly made from the bark of mulberry trees, which became known for its excellent durability. This is especially the case in Korea, where mulberry bark is exceptionally durable since the trees endure extreme seasonal changes of the Peninsula. Depending on the producer, qualities of hanji may vary. Indeed, numerous types of hanji exist to meet different needs.

Hanji used for nakhwa should be susceptible to heat, while also being sufficiently stable to endure heat. Such hanji often exhibits refined, golden hues. The two key factors that determine the quality of the paper are the condition of the raw mulberry tree and the painstaking process of repeated pounding in order to smooth the raw material, called *toch'im* 搗砧. On flawless paper, an iron will run smoothly without being impeded by tiny fibers or fluffs. An uneven surface, however, will not only obstruct the nakhwa process, but also limit the work's lifespan. Consequently, a nakhwa artist should first possess the ability to discern high-quality hanji.

Although hanji treated with the toch'im process is not easy to acquire currently, a studio in Mun'gyŏng 聞慶, North Kyŏngsang Province, still produces this particular type of hanji, which is acknowledged to be the most suitable paper for nakhwa.<sup>7</sup> For this purpose, the paper should be sufficiently thick to withstand heat. To render dark colors, such as black, a heated iron needs to stay on the same spot for a period of time or be applied repeatedly without burning the paper. Therefore, hanji used for nakhwa usually comprises two or three layers. This particular type of paper is called *changji* 壯紙. The layers are put together when they are pounded in the toch'im process. In general, the double-layered *changji* is used for landscape and bird-and-flower paintings, while the triple-layered one is used for bamboo and orchid paintings, since the leaves of a bamboo and an orchid should be executed in vigorous strokes that require extra pressure on paper for a longer period of time.

Nakhwa was performed on various types of wood, including the paulownia tree, zelkova tree, linden tree, and alder tree; however, bamboo was the most popular. Boxes, furniture, and musical instruments made of these trees were occasionally decorated with nakhwa. In addition to the decorative purpose of nakhwa, it has a practical use of repelling insects and enriching the sound of musical instruments.

Like conventional ink paintings, silk is another popular material for nakhwa. Due to its high cost, however, nakhwa works on silk are not as common as those on paper. Rendering nakhwa on the surface of silk is a laborious process because it is made of animal protein and more vulnerable to heat than other media. Nevertheless, with the delicate control of heat, speed and pressure, an experienced artist can produce beautiful nakhwa artworks.

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<sup>7</sup> Yuhun Chŏng, "Nak'wa kiye ūi chŏnsŭngg wa pyŏnhwayangsang: Ch'ungch'ŏngbukto muhyŏngmunhwajae kinŭngboyuja rŭl chungshimŭro," (Andong National University, Master Thesis, 2017), 73.

## 1.2 Nakhwa-Making Process

Once materials and tools are ready, an artist can begin with a sketch prior to the scorching process. The sketching process begins by spreading soybean oil on a thin hanji, called *sōnikchi* 蟬翼紙 (translated as ‘cicada’s wing paper’). *Sōnikchi* is thin enough to see through, even before applying oil on it, and becomes even more transparent after being soaked in oil and dried for three days. The artist rubs the entire surface of the treated *sōnikchi* with a charcoal stick made of a burnt willow tree to make carbon-covered paper.

In the subsequent step, another layer of untreated *sōnikchi* is placed on a prepared template for tracing. The sketch goes to the top of the carbon-covered *sōnikchi* with *changji* at the very bottom, on which *nakhwa* is applied. Then, these three layers of paper are fixed on the drawing board, and the sketch is traced on *changji* with a bamboo stylus (or bamboo pencil 竹筆).

The artist leaves just the *changji* with the sketch on the drawing board, which is designed specifically for *nakhwa*. The board usually has cutouts on each side, so that the artists can place it between their legs (Fig. 1.9). Like many other arts and crafts activities in the pre-modern society of Korea, *nakhwa* was performed in a sedentary posture. Unless the size of the painting is too big to be handled in that posture, most *nakhwa* works are done on the floor in a seated position. Indeed, it is crucial to have a proper, comfortable posture since the whole process often requires many hours to complete. In addition to posture, one must also ensure that the sketch is fixed firmly on the board since, unlike conventional ink paintings, the paper or silk can either shrink or expand when exposed to high temperatures.

Once the iron reaches a desired temperature, which is usually determined by holding the heated iron close to the cheek of the artist, he or she starts pressing the tip of the iron along the sketch lines by holding a parrot-beak iron in one hand and an iron holder in the other (Fig. 1.10). By delicately regulating the pressure, the artist generates distinct outlines with subtle variations in thickness.

After finishing the outlines, the artist switches to a flat iron for shading and filling. The application of gentle pressure by repeatedly sweeping the surface with the iron creates multitudinous layers of shading. The artist chooses tools and applies techniques that are most suitable for the subject and size of the work, i.e., which iron and which side of it to use, for how long, and the strength of the pressure. Since nakhwa, as a two-dimensional medium, is largely based on painting in terms of style and subject, it has naturally adopted techniques that are commonly utilized in ink wash paintings, such as ‘hemp-fiber’ texture strokes 披麻皴 and ‘ax-cut’ strokes 斧劈皴. It usually takes many years of training for an artist to be able to execute the craftsmanship of shading that matches, or even surpasses, that of ink wash paintings.

An artist must also brush away any residue of the charcoal as often as needed. Switching between the flat and parrot-beak irons, he or she makes the texture of the entire painting maintain consistent tonality. Once the task is completed, as is also common with calligraphers and ink wash painters, the nakhwa artist sometimes includes writings using the tip of a parrot-beak iron and his or her name stamped as a seal.

### 1.3 Existing Nakhwa Paintings and Their Conditions

Despite the turbulent times of Korea, a handful of nakhwa works have survived in the form of folding screens or framed pictures. The following museums in Korea are known to

possess at least one nakhwa work in their collection: The Gahoe Museum 嘉會博物館 in Sŏul,<sup>8</sup> The Kansong Art Museum 澗松美術館, The Kyonggi University Museum 京畿大學校 博物館, The National Folk Museum of Korea 國立民俗博物館, The Haengsŏ Museum of Keimyung University 啓明大學校行素博物館, The Jinju National Museum 國立晉州博物館, The National Museum of Korea 國立中央博物館, and The Onyang Folks Museum 溫陽民俗博物館 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province.

In Japan, Korean nakhwa paintings are held by such Japanese institutes as The Koryo Museum of Art 高麗美術館, The Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館, and The Hachinohe City Art Museum 八戸市博物館 in Aomori Prefecture. In the U.S., nakhwa paintings exist in The Brooklyn Museum, NY, The Cleveland Museum of Art, OH, The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, CA, and The Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, CT. The Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg in Germany owns some of the earliest Korean nakhwa works. The majority of these works are in the form of folding screens. It is also the case that many more works are held at other museums around the world, in addition to those in private collections.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the works at the aforementioned museums were judged to be in a relatively good condition, i.e., the images are sufficiently clear to identify the subjects, yet the accompanying writings may be illegible. Decolorization, peeling, and stains are the most common issues regarding the condition of nakhwa works. A few works are in such a poor condition that they are not presentable. For example, some nakhwa paintings are mounted on a polystyrene board and, as other types of little-known craftworks, are often given a low priority with regard to

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<sup>8</sup> The locations of the rest are all Sŏul, if not otherwise specified.

<sup>9</sup> See the appendix 1 on page 70 for the chart of existing nakhwa works housed in major museums' collections and owned by private collectors.

conservation compared with major ones, such as ceramics and fine art, including ink paintings. Indeed, intrinsic properties of a nakhwa work pose constant challenges to conservators at museums. For example, in ink paintings, ink soaks through the medium, either silk or paper. On the other hand, nakhwa scorches only the surface of the medium, which makes preservation difficult; once the surface of a nakhwa painting is damaged, it becomes permanently irreparable. Moreover, the inevitable loss of carbon particles from burn marks, as a result of radioactive decay over time, explains why the majority of nakhwa works still remain partially damaged, irrespective of how much effort was invested in their preservation. In fact, even relatively recent works can be subject to natural degeneration.

## 2. HISTORY OF NAKHWA

### **Nakhwa in the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910)**

#### 2.1 First record by Madam Chŏng from Andong

Pyrography began to gain popularity in Korea in the 1800s, a century after it became popular in China. While the technique was practiced primarily on bamboo even prior to its popularization, no renowned works or artists existed. Once it was imported from China, diverse materials other than bamboo were put to use in Korea.

Although it is clear that nakhwa might have been brought from China and became popular in the nineteenth century, the earlier history of nakhwa in Korea remains unclear. The earliest writing referring to nakhwa is *Kŭnyŏksŏhwajing* 槿域書畫徵 (1917), a collection of biographies and commentaries on painters and calligraphers from The Three Kingdom period to the Chosŏn Dynasty compiled by O Sech'ang 吳世昌 (1864–1953). It is noteworthy that a female

artist, Madame Chŏng 張氏夫人 (1598–1681), was the first person mentioned in connection with nakhwa according to O's writing.

Madame Chŏng was from Andong 安東,<sup>10</sup> as a daughter of Kyŏngtang Chang Hŭnghyo 敬堂 張興孝 (1564–1633), wife of Sŏkkye I Simyŏng 石溪 李時明 (1590–1674), and mother of Kalam I Hyŏnil 葛庵 李玄逸 (1627–1704). She was born in Sŏnjo 31st year (1598), i.e., Musŭl year 戊戌年 and passed away at the age of eighty-three. She had six sons with no notable achievements. Chŏng mastered classical literature when she was ten years old. Without any formal schooling, she was gifted at calligraphy; however, as such [cultured] activity was deemed unfitting for women [at that time], her outstanding literary and art works were not passed down. ...King Jŏngjo 正祖 (1752–1800) heard about this album (of her paintings), ordered that it be brought before him, and admired it greatly. One of her descendants, Suak 李壽岳 (1845–1927), found the album in the palace later during the Kwangmu year 光武年 (1897–1907). Chŏng was not only exceptionally talented in painting flowers and butterflies, but was also highly proficient in nakhwa.<sup>11</sup>

The author mentioned that her sons did not participate in civil service. However, one of her sons, I Hyŏnil 李玄逸 (1627–1704), became a leading scholar of the Yangnam School 嶺南學派, a significant Neo-Confucian school based in the Yangnam region, which indicates the prestigious

<sup>10</sup> Andong 安東 is located in North Kyŏngsang Province, the southern region of South Korea.

<sup>11</sup> 張氏：安東人，敬堂張興孝女·石溪李時明妻·葛菴李玄逸母，葛菴李玄逸母，宣祖三十二年 戊戌生 卒年八十三，子六人，但以遺逸顯于世。十歲左右，旁通文藝 不學異能 其發之吟詠 揮寫筆端者 依然風雅之體 種術之法 然而翰非婦人之職也。遂輟而不為佳章妙蹟不多傳（張氏實記）[中略] 正廟聞此帖而命上之覽而嗟賞。其後孫壽岳 於光武年間 自宮內府 覓還嶺南其家。畫花蝶，且能焰畫。（吳世昌，*槿域書畫徵*，卷4，136）。

status of her family. Regardless of the extent of her family's influence, Chŏng, as a woman living in the patriarchal society of the Chosŏn period when women were confined to domestic chores in women's quarters, presumably had to be outstanding to pursue her artistic ambition. According to the historical record, her album was passed down to the next generations until the end of the Chosŏn period, but unfortunately none of her works have survived. As a result of the loss, the subjects and distinctive features of her nakhwa works remain unknown. The fact that she was talented in painting flowers and butterflies may only suggest that the subjects of the album were flowers and insects.

Her talent in flower and butterfly paintings also indicates that she must have been influenced by paintings of her contemporary female artists, including Sin Saimdang 師任堂申氏 (1504–1551), who was arguably the most prominent female painter throughout the entire Chosŏn period (Fig. 2.1). This female master was renowned for her flower and insect paintings when women's art activities were severely restricted and frequently discouraged. Although the authenticity of the existing paintings attributed to Sin Saimdang still remains as a subject of controversy, modern scholarship has identified a possible connection between female painters of the Chosŏn period and the painting subjects of birds, insects, and flowers. These subjects were derived from the common embroidery patterns which circulated among women of the Chosŏn society, irrespective of social class.<sup>12</sup>

What motivated Madame Chŏng to practice nakhwa, from whom she learned, and for how long she practiced are undetermined. It is believed that Chŏng was experienced in ink and brush paintings, with no formal training prior to her first attempt at nakhwa. With her innate

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<sup>12</sup> Two renown art historians, Hwichun An and Kim Wŏnyong, argue that “Sin Saimdang held an unchallenged position in the flower and insect painting genre, as every painting of the genre dated to her time was theoretically made by her.” (An, Hwichun and Wŏnyong Kim: 463).

artistic talent, her easy access to iron and braziers in the women's quarters conceivably enabled her to attempt a relatively unconventional way of painting, using them in place of brushes and ink. It is also a logical presumption that she had already been skilled in using them for their primary purpose of ironing clothes. With familiarity and unobstructed access to the requisite tools, she must have gradually developed her *nakhwa* skills and eventually became an expert in it.

## 2.2 Beginning of the Genre, Pak Ch'angkyu

Further elaborated texts on the genre were published in the nineteenth century, when it began to be widely practiced among the population. Susan<sup>13</sup> Pak Ch'angkyu 遂山 朴昌奎 (1786–1855) was the first *nakhwa* artist to contribute to popularization of the genre. Yi Kyukyŏng 李圭景 (1788–?), a scholar and author of *Ojuyŏnmunjangjŏnsan'go* 五洲衍文長箋散稿, which is considered to be the best encyclopedia of the nineteenth century in Korea, mentioned Pak and his works.

Among the paintings, there are burnt ones [with an iron]. In China (then the Qing Dynasty), there were *nakhwa* paintings by a man named Wu Fengzi 武風子 (?–?)<sup>14</sup>, who was renowned for his pyrography. He was a military officer from Yunnan 雲南省 named

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<sup>13</sup> Susan 遂山 is his courtesy/penname. He often signed his work by this name and sometimes with his last name, Pak, “朴遂山.”

<sup>14</sup> Fang Heng xian/Wu Tian 方亨咸/武恬 (?–?), a prestigious painter and author of the Qing Dynasty included Wu Fengzi in his writing: “Wu Fong-zi is from Dian Nan 滇南, Wuding 武定 region who was also called by Tian 恬. His forbears were all highly ranked military officials. Wu Tian 武恬 was the eldest son. Even though he was a studious young man, after he grew up, he abandoned studying and became slothful. He loved his carefree life without any concern for power and money. He also loved drinking, and set a goal in life to drink daily ... Dian 滇 was a place replete with bamboo suitable for making chopsticks. Wu 武恬 used fire to draw animals, flowers, humans, landscapes, and buildings on chopsticks 箸. These decorated chopsticks were highly regarded and sold at a high price. His relative earned money from his chopsticks, but Wu never did, as he was only interested in his reputation. Wu was sentimentally attached to his individual works, but sometimes he burned his finished chopsticks in his drunken stupor, only to make another in remorse. [...] Wu's chopsticks were often traded as valuable gifts among government officials and even became a status symbol among noblemen.” (<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E7%87%95%E4%BA%AC%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%A6>)

Yeom 恬. He always wandered around markets begging, and boarded at temples. He looked naïve, even to the extent that he was deemed a lunatic. However, he was a man of a sensitive and thoughtful nature. It was exceptionally bizarre to watch him drawing landscapes, figures, buildings, and forests on bamboo chopsticks with a mere inch-long burning charcoal. ... I [Yi Kyukyŏng] had already heard about Wu Fengzi, who had a peculiar character and am going to write about it (nakhwa) in brief. I have not heard about anyone good at *nak* [烙; “pyrography” literally means “to scorch”] in my country (Chosŏn) yet. Although there are a few now [who practice nakhwa], their works are too crude. Toward the end of King Sunjo’s reign 宣祖 (r.1567–1608), there was a man named Pak Ch’angkyu 朴昌奎 from Namwŏn 南原.<sup>15</sup> He looked unappealing and spoke with a stammer. Nevertheless, he excelled in sculpture and even more in nakchuk 烙竹. A high-ranking official of Sŏul summoned him to the capital. Pak made a number of odd items for the bureaucrat. His pyrography skill was so exquisite that watching his technique was nothing short of divine. While Wu Fengzi’s proficiency in nakhwa deserves to be acknowledged in writing, anyone who practices nakhwa in my country should revere this person (Pak Ch’angkyu) as the best of all time without any doubt. Therefore, cannot Pak be a worthy competitor of Wu Fengzi?<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Namwŏn 南原 is a city located in North Chŏlla Province in the southwestern region of South Korea.

<sup>16</sup> “畫有烙. 中原則有我武風子之烙, 擅名一世. 雲南之武定人, 名恬. 常行乞市中, 或寄宿僧寺. 狀若清狂不慧, 特有巧思. 能於竹箸上, 燒方寸木炭, 畫山水人物臺閣鳥獸林木, 曲盡其妙. [中略] 愚嘗於風子奇其爲人, 略筭其大概如右矣. 我東則善於烙者自古無聞焉. 今也間或有之, 摘疏不堪見. 純廟末有朴昌奎者, 嶠南帶方州人也. 其貌不揚, 其言愚蠢, 然工於彫刻, 尤善烙竹. 洛中鄉宰致之門下, 多作奇巧之物, 而烙法精密入神, 毫髮無憾也. 武風子之烙崇矣. 至於東方, 工烙者必以此人爲古今第一, 無乃武風之敵手乎.” (李圭景, 『五洲衍文長箋散稿』, 卷 18 「烙畫辨證說」).

Referring to the names of representative figures, such as Wu and Pak, the record suggests that nakhwa had already achieved an established status as a form of art, and was practiced extensively in both China and Korea at the time of Yi Kyukyŏng's writing. His writing also indicates how rapidly pyrography came into vogue in the two countries, despite its relatively short history, starting only in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in China and Korea, respectively. The author also points out that Pak Ch'angkyu was highly talented in diverse artistic fields, such as carving and pyrography. Indeed, irrespective of media, whether bamboo or paper, he achieved the same degree of perfection.

Pak built up his reputation quickly, as he was praised by a volume of literature by his contemporaries.

His *ja* 字 (courtesy name) is Sŏng Mun 聖文, and the given name is Nang Kan 琅刊. He was also called Su San 遂山, and sometimes *Hwahwatojin* 火畫道人 ('The Master of Pyrography Painting'). He was raised in Hamyang 咸陽 and held the low-level government position of *ch'ambong* 參奉 while living in Chŏnju 全州.<sup>17</sup>

His courtesy name is Kong Chip 公執, whereas his given name is Su San. He was born in the year of Pyŏngjin 丙辰 (1796) during the reign of King Chŏngjo. In the year of Imo 壬午 (1822), escorting Kim Nokkyŏng 金魯敬 (1766–1837), the head of Tongjisa<sup>18</sup>, he (Pak Ch'angkyu) went to Yenching 燕京. While he was traveling

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<sup>17</sup> “字聖文, 號瑯玕, 一云遂山, 一元火畫道人, 咸陽人. 正祖七年癸卯生, 官參奉, 居全州.” (李圭景, 五洲衍文長箋散稿, 人名錄).

<sup>18</sup> The annual diplomatic delegation sent to China in the month of Tongji 冬至, the eleventh month of the lunar calendar, which is usually from mid-December to early January.

around the city, he became well versed in *hwahwapŏp* 火畫法 (pyrography techniques). In the year of Chŏngyu 丁酉 (1837), he was given the low government position of ch'ambong and finally began practicing the pyrography technique. He entered the court in the year of Pyŏngo 丙午 (1846) and won the King's favor. In the year of Kiyu 己酉 (1894), the Qing's envoy Sŏ Sang 瑞常 saw his works and praised them highly with great delight, and composed a two-phrase eulogy. Other emissaries from China, such as Pyŏngbushi 兵部侍 and Chŏn'gyŏng 全慶, witnessed his nakhwa works and also extolled them, clapping their hands with joy. Consequently, the name from Korea now spreads throughout China by the name of 'The Master of Pyrography Painting.'<sup>19</sup>

Pak Ch'angkyu's courtesy name and family clan differ depending on the record, but modern scholars agree that the conflicting records all indicate him.<sup>20</sup> Using different Chinese characters interchangeably for the same person was relatively common in the Chosŏn period. Regarding the contradicting family clans or *bongwan* 本貫, it should be noted that Chŏnju and Namwŏn are in the proximity of each other, and it can be reasonably assumed that they engaged in active commercial and cultural interactions with each other region. Furthermore, Chŏnju was well-known for bamboo craftworks, especially fans; whereas, Namwŏn was known for bamboo tobacco pipes during the Chosŏn period. The fact that nakchuk has its own term, which is separate from the umbrella term, nakhwa, testifies to a convincing possibility that the practice of nakhwa on bamboo may have been the most common and popular technique. As a result, it may

<sup>19</sup> “字公執, 號垂山, 正祖丙辰年生. 壬午隨冬至上使金魯敬, 入燕京, 觀光心遂理. 丁酉拜參奉 倡始火畫法. 丙午入大內添寵. 己酉冬天使瑞常火畫, 大嘉稱賞作詩二句而獎之. 又皇使兵部侍隨全慶亦翫之, 擊節讚之. 以此名於東方聞于中華, 世稱火畫道人” (密陽朴氏虎溪公波譜).

<sup>20</sup> Inkyu Kim and Yŏngcho Kim, *Ibid.*, 17; Sŏnhyŏng Yi, *Ibid.*, 109; Yuhun Chŏng, *Ibid.*, 11-12.

be likely that Pak travelled between the two cities and decorated bamboo craftworks with his pyrography techniques.

It is noteworthy that Pak began practicing nakhwa after returning from his trip to Yenching (present day Beijing). The fact that he was able to quickly acquire the technique, without learning it directly from the artists, indicates that he must have had prior knowledge about pyrography. It is also probable that he developed expertise in pyrography by practicing it on more durable materials, such as bamboo and leather, prior to his travel to China, and then adopted paper as a new medium for his future works.

The Museum of Ethnology in Hamburg possesses two sets (Fig. 2.2, 2.3) of three nakhwa paintings and one separate painting (Fig. 2.4) of Pak Ch'angkyu. As the earliest artist of the genre with extant works, Pak seems to have taken an experimental, yet innovative, approach to the genre in order to execute this novel method of creating paintings. He skillfully applied bold lines to express the rough texture of rocks, and fine lines to depict the feathers of birds, the exquisite patterns on flacons, and the leaves of willow branches. Due to his particular gift for the details of these subjects, he could make a subtle distinction between birds on different panels.

Instead of simply imitating the attribute typical of ink brush painting, Pak attempted to capitalize on the distinctive features of the genre to the fullest extent. Such endeavors are especially noticeable in his way of depicting boulders. Specifically, the burnt marks run in all directions, eventually assuming the shape of odd-looking rock formations with holes. Those rocks have been called *gongshi* 供石, 'scholar's rocks', as they have been beloved by scholars for their unusual shapes and invariable nature. Gongshi began to gain popularity as a subject for painting in his time, especially among a group of leading scholar-painters spearheaded by arguably the most prominent calligrapher and painter at that time, Kim Chŏnghŭi 秋史金正喜

(1786–1856). Kim was the one who bestowed the honorable title of the ‘The Master of Pyrographic Painting’ (Fig. 2.5) on Pak.

### 2.3 Nakhwa Artists’ Interaction with Literati Through the Circle of Kim Chŏnghŭi

Pak’s accomplishment in the revival of nakhwa in the nineteenth century enabled the genre to be recognized as a high art by aristocrats and royal family members. Many high-ranking officials and literati of the period, including Kim Chŏnghŭi and his father, Kim Nokhyŏng, with whom Pak Ch’angkyu traveled to China in 1822, were close to and interacted frequently with Pak.

Kim Chŏnghŭi’s enthusiasm for nakhwa did not stop at giving the title to Pak, but went further to compose a eulogy as a tribute to the genre in *Wandangjip* 阮堂集 (1868; 1934), a series of books comprising his essays. The completed series was brought to the public by one of his descendants, Kim Ikhwon 金翊煥, in 1934.

On behalf of T’ae Che, writing this two-phrase poem on nakhwa.

The more you see him, the great artist Un Kwan is an extraordinary person.

He even excels in colors and hues.

Called a ‘Mercurial Lead 鉛汞,’ he adopted the conversion 抽換 [of ink-and-wash into pyrography] of the dragon and the tiger.

No plain ink of this world can match it.

Finger painting is an eccentric act, yet is still a mere dexterity.

Turned to an excellent means, an elastic metal is shifted.

Nothing is known to be superior to it.

Even though a sap of ink appears dignified, [it is helpless] in the face of the strike of fire.<sup>21</sup>

In his poem, Kim Chŏnghŭi praised pyrography highly, claiming that, although ink and finger paintings were superb, neither could achieve the uniqueness of pyrographic paintings rendered with the marks of fire.

High praise from a group of literati friends became widespread, and Pak's reputation as an accomplished nakhwa artist was soon established. Kim Sŏkchun 金奭準 (1831–1915), a friend of Kim Chŏnghŭi who was a distinguished calligrapher and poet, was also deeply impressed with Pak Ch'angkyu's nakhwa skill and included Pak in *Hongyangnu hoeinshirok* 紅藥樓懷人詩錄 (1869), a collection of his poems about talented personages that he had met.

He (Pak Ch'angkyu) severed his tie with ink and brush, and instead began anew with a red-hot iron, a foundation for the true form of paintings. Carrying out the delicacy of technique, its significance became clearer and more radical. As he executed nakhwa to delineate Buddha on a wooden board, [I] became aware of his skillfulness and finally realized that he is a true *toin* 道人 (expert). Thanks to his artistry, nakhwa became a national specialty.<sup>22</sup>

As a calligrapher who used his fingers, as well as a brush, Kim Sŏkchun also sought new, unconventional methods of creating artworks. As a consequence, he might have grown fond of Pak's experimental method and appreciated his talent. It is worth noting that Pak drew Buddha.

<sup>21</sup> “代台濟次題火畫作二首/雲官火德轉神工/超脫丹青粉黛中/透得汞龍抽換法/世間墨不煩攻指頭別趣也丹工/託轉蓮炆妙法中/寧知不策還無上/墨陣堂堂亦火攻”(阮堂全集 卷10, 詩).

<sup>22</sup> 紅藥樓懷人詩錄 (1869); See Chonghun Pak's article about the author, Kim Sukjun, for the original text; Chonghun Pak, “An aspect about Joseon the middle class internal and external activity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Longing poem of Sodang Kim, Suk-jun,” *Tongbanghak* 25 (2012).

Apart from primary subject matters of extant nakhwa paintings, such as flowers, animals and landscapes, diverse topics, including religious themes, were adopted in his time.

Kim Chŏnghŭi's favorite student was Hŏ Ryŏn 許鍊 (1809–1892), a renowned poet, calligrapher, and painter. He was trained in calligraphy and painting under the guidance of Buddhist master Ch'oŭi Sŏnsa of Taehŭngsa 大興寺, where Hŏ had access to old painting albums and the works of Yun Tusŏ 尹斗緒 (1668–1715), an established painter and scholar from an earlier period. Thereafter, he became acquainted with traditional painting styles by copying them. As he moved to the capital of the country to study under Kim at the age of thirty-two, Hŏ had an opportunity to familiarize himself with the styles of ancient Chinese masters of literati paintings from the Southern School. He then developed his own individualized style, which is known to be an exemplar of the adapted Southern School style in the nineteenth century and, eventually, was designated a court painter after he presented his painting to King Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r.1834–1849).<sup>23</sup>

Rough, yet carefree, brushstrokes in his landscape paintings are distinctive of Hŏ Ryŏn's style (Fig. 2.6). While Hŏ was capable of painting details, he preferred uneven, bold brushstrokes that generated vibrant line works. Such pronounced strokes with minimal use of gradations of ink would be easier for a pyrographer to mimic than the ink-damp strokes. In addition to his distinctive brush strokes, Hŏ Ryŏn excelled in composing his paintings. Regardless of the shape and size of paper or silk—whether it was a hanging scroll, album, or fan—he knew precisely where to place the elements and figures to create a perfectly balanced, harmonized scene (Fig. 2.7). Due to Pak Ch'angkyu's close connection with Hŏ's teacher, Kim Chŏnghŭi, it appears plausible that Pak had seen Hŏ's paintings, and that they affected his art-making to some extent.

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<sup>23</sup> Yangmo Chŏng. *Chosŏn sidae hwaga ch'ongnam* (Sŏul: Sigongart, 2017), 868-867.

Another notable student of Kim Chŏnghŭi who might have contributed to the development of nakhwa is Chŏn Ki 田琦 (1825–1854), a painter and herbalist. Together with Hŏ Ryŏn, Chŏn Ki followed the “Yehwang” style. It is the fused style of Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374), the late Yuan 元朝 (1271–1368) and early Ming 明朝 (1368–1644) painter, and Huang Gongwang 黄公望 (1269–1354), the painter of the late Song Dynasty 宋朝 (960–1279), which was highly favored by Kim Chŏnghŭi. The style refers to the arrangement of Ni Zan, often called *Kyŏksuyangan* 隔水兩岸, which means having water between lands by the riverside in the foreground, and a mountain in the background of the painting (Fig. 2.8) and the brushstroke, frequently used by Huang Gongwang, which was the hemp-fiber texture stroke (Fig. 2.9). Kim sought Southern School styled landscapes, which evoked feelings of lonesomeness and desolateness, and instructed his students to paint accordingly. Both Hŏ and Chŏn followed Kim’s teaching faithfully and eventually established the trend of the time.

The principal arrangement of *kyŏksuyangan* and its brushstrokes favored by the Southern School painters were frequently found in landscape nakhwa paintings. Hemp-fiber texture strokes, raindrop texture strokes 雨點皴 and thorn strokes 刺梨皴, in particular, were heavily adopted in nakhwa, as the artists understood that fire could make the texture of a material more pronounced than ink (Fig. 2.10). The nakhwa artists attempted to emulate brushstrokes by eclectically selecting methods to generate the line works corresponding to brushstrokes.

For instance, one of a few remaining nakhwa landscape paintings, *Ten Panels Nakhwa Landscape Painting* 烙畫山水圖十幅屏風 (Fig. 2.11), housed in the National Folk Museum of Korea collection (Minsok 045452), was done by a nakhwa artist, Pak Pyŏngsu 朴秉洙 (1890–

1952). Pak used the pointy tip of an iron to depict the rugged, yet fine, outlines of mountain ridges next to the shore, which is punctuated with darker dots. With mountains, a stream and architectural structures, such as houses and pavilions, facing the water, each panel presents a differentiated composition from the others. The individual panels illustrate the scenery of the changing seasons with varying volumes of leaves on trees and gradating shades over mountains in the background. It is apparent that the subject originated from the Eight Views of Xixiang 瀟湘八景, the classic subject of poems and paintings in East Asia since the Song Dynasty. The scenes of fishing villages, of temples in the mountains, and of a shore with the moon point to the possibility that the artist drew inspiration from the famous landscape theme of the Chinese classics that were brought to Korea in the form of illustrated albums.

The influence of Ni Zan style, which had been widely followed by the Southern School painters, is evident in the composition that allows the water source to explicitly separate the landscape in the foreground from the mountains in the background. The vivid, sharp burnt marks of mountain ranges and tree branches suggest the coarse hemp-fiber brush strokes of Hō Ryōn and other Southern School painters of the time. The lines and shapes of layered mountains that appear like a mass of stacked land are common characteristics identified with Southern School paintings. Such similarities in compositional and stylistic characteristics between Pak's works and those of Southern School paintings suggest that the style was continuously practiced into later generations, including such artists as Cho Sōkchin 趙錫晉 (1853–1920) and An Chungsik 安中植 (1861–1919) (Fig. 2.12), among others, who were contemporaries of Pak Pyōngsu.

## 2.4 Other Resources for Motifs and Styles

While nakhwa began as an offshoot of the popular craft, nakchuk, nakhwa is fundamentally based on the ink painting, which has long established a strong presence in art. However, unconventional methods of painting, such as finger painting 指頭畫 and thread painting 糸我繪, began to gain popularity, as consumers' tastes became more diversified and the demand for ink paintings exceeded the supply. Among these unconventional paintings, nakhwa was the most favored, due to its distinctive nature and unique capacity to express fine lines and delicate shading. Therefore, it is reasonable that the style of nakhwa followed that of ink painting. When nakhwa began to gain popularity in the early nineteenth century, the art scene of Chosŏn was replete with the influx of Chinese culture that provides references, such as illustrated print albums, of the rising trend of the abovementioned Southern School led by Kim Chŏnghŭi, and folk painting, known as *minhwa* 民畫.

In the late Chosŏn period, the diffusion of high art and culture gave rise to *minhwa*. The style, subject matter, and other features of the court painting had gradually been trickled down to, and adapted by, commoners for the new genre. The style of *minhwa* is considered to be much more straightforward, less refined, and less pretentious than that of the court painting. Nakhwa was also influenced by this seismic transformation in the art scene, and began to display certain traits of *minhwa*, especially from works created after the shift of lineage from the Pak family to the Paek family in the early twentieth century during the Japanese colonial period.

It is presumed that nakhwa embraced many features of *minhwa* on its own initiative, although an external factor may have also accelerated the new development. In the case of painting, the gradual spread of the court painting to the art community was catalyzed by social and cultural changes that occurred in the late Chosŏn period. On the other hand, the stylistic

diffusion of nakhwa took place relatively rapidly over a few years, since nakhwa artists had a compelling reason to appeal to a broader audience, and especially Japanese customers, who preferred the distinctive style of minhwa, to both maintain tradition and earn a living. It is believed that their financial dilemma resulted from not only the oppression of the country overall under Japanese colonial rule, but also the exclusion of the craft from traditional high art, in particular. As a consequence, the stylistic tendency of nakhwa shifted in favor of the more modest style of minhwa within a short period of time.

Along with the direct influence from contemporary painters, illustrated print albums imported from China played an important role as a rich source of references for the relatively new genre. Many popular Chinese print albums were brought into Korea and served as textbooks of painting and sources of inspiration for more than a millennia. *Jieziyuan Huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 ('Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden'), *Qushihuapu* 顧氏畫 ('The Painting Album of Master Koh'), *Tangshihuapu* 唐詩畫譜 ('The Painting Album of Tang Poetry'), *Haneiqiquan* 海內奇觀 ('Strange Views Within the Four Seas'), and *Sancai Tuhui* 三才圖會 ('Illustrations of the Three Powers') constitute a few epitomes of this, among others. Artists of the time often emulated an image in its entirety from illustrated albums or solely its composition, or selectively chose painting methods that they deemed most appropriate. Like painters, nakhwa artists supposedly referred to these illustrated albums and took visual motifs from traditionally popular themes, such as the Nine-Bend Stream of Mount Wuyi 武夷九曲, the Eight Views of Xixiang, Mountains and Rivers without End 江山無盡圖, and the Taoist utopia known as Peach Blossom Spring 桃源勝概圖.

One of the examples that the nakhwa artists adopted which contained popular subjects or themes from ink paintings is *Ten Panel of Eight Views of Xixiang Painting* (Fig. 2.13) from the National Folk Museum of Korea (Minsok 029626). It was produced by an anonymous nakhwa artist who left only the titles corresponding to the scenes from the Eight Views of Xixiang on each panel, such as ‘The Temple in the Mountain 山市晴嵐’ and ‘The Snow in the Evening 江天暮雪.’ The two panels are the artist’s additions, inspired by other sources of landscape paintings. In addition to the titles, the artist provides subtle indications of the essential elements of each locale of the Eight Views of Xixiang, so that the viewers could discern the scenes with phrases from the classic poem.

The artist illustrated the mountain ranges with curves that are bent to the extent that they appear mythical. The mountain peaks also seem unrealistically pointed. Unlike Pak’s landscape nakhwa painting (Fig. 2.11), it was drawn with little sensitivity to the Southern School’s style, and arrangements of mountains and water sources. Instead, the painter placed more emphasis on displaying his own style, which relied heavily on the fanciful style of minhwa. Indeed, he tapped into the famous classic theme, and interpreted it in his own distinctive style to demonstrate artistic connotations in the context of nakhwa. While his depiction of the landscape appears both unnatural and overcrowded, the whole set of screen panel paintings, when put together, exhibits a coherence of style, indicating his remarkable artistic sensibility.

Therefore, with diverse resources, nakhwa artists did not only use one style, but combined a variety of styles from various periods and genres in order to discover a better way to emulate the ink painting and make optimal use of the unique nature of nakhwa. In addition to

overall stylistic complexity, the artists possessed their own styles and preferences, as the genre demanded individual creativity in both style and composition.

The existence of later works attributed to different artists, both known and unknown, attests to the fact that Pak Ch'angkyu was not the only artist who practiced nakhwa, and that he passed down the nakhwa technique to succeeding generations within his family. His cousin, Pak Ikyu 松庵 朴履珪 (1819–1858), was also highly esteemed, especially by upper class patrons, for his nakchuk works. Unlike his uncle, however, who used paper as the principal medium, Pak Ikyu applied his skill to bamboo and other unconventional media.

Favored by the King for his nakchuk skill, Pak Ch'angkyu once offered King Hōnjong 憲宗 (r. 1834–1849) a bamboo tobacco pipe adorned with 施紋, a dragon coiled around the stem. The King, after trying the pipe, was impressed with his unsurpassed craftsmanship 神技, and remarked that the scales of the dragon seemed to shrink when he inhaled the smoke and expand when he exhaled it. He asked Pak if the pipe was his work. Pak answered that it was his cousin Pak Ikyu's and humbly recommended him to the King. As a result, Pak Ikyu came to Sōul with the help of Pak Ch'angkyu and entered the court to have an audience with the King. King Hōnjong greeted him and held Pak's hands enthusiastically, and bestowed his writing 御筆 reading 'Hongdusangsa 紅豆相思' on silk. Pak Ikyu, touched by the King's blessings, wore the silk around his wrist from that time forward. In the Year of Chōngmi 丁未年 (1846), Pak Ikyu passed the military

service 武科 examination and continued his public service. Pak became a

Governor of Jindo 珍島 county, but died at the early age of forty.<sup>24</sup>

There are no extant written records about Pak Ikyu or his works. Nevertheless, the writing constitutes testimony for demonstrating the value and popularity of both nakchuk and nakhwa, and Pak Ch'angkyu's fame. The outstanding nakchuk work on the pipe, and Pak Ch'angkyu's personal connections with royal family members, enabled Pak Ikyu to enter the royal court. The court and aristocracy generally set the trend for art, which would be later diffused to commoners. Therefore, given the King's recognition of his talent, it was inevitable for the genre to rapidly gain popularity.

Pak Ch'angkyu also trained apprentices. For artists of Chosŏn, and even currently, it was a common practice to train their direct descendants or other younger family members to inherit their skill. In fact, nakhwa could not have survived without the Pak clan's continuous endeavor to practice and pass it down to present times. The Pak family resided in Milyang 密陽, Namwon, North Chŏlla Province and practiced nakhwa over generations until the 1950s. It was begun by Pak Ch'angkyu, then his son Pak Chinok 朴鎭郁 (1833–?) and cousin Pak Hunkyu 雲樵 朴勛珪 and Pak Pokkyu 松庵 朴復珪, followed by Pak Chinho 竹坡 朴鎭灝, Pak Kyedam 月山 朴桂淡 and Pak Sangchŏn 小山 朴相典, and finally Pak Pyŏngsu as the last member of the lineage.<sup>25</sup> No specific records exist about any of these individuals, other than a few of the better-known members. Pak Pokkyu and Pak Sangp'il 朴相琰 (1895–?) were included in Milyang Pak's pedigree, and were also known as nakhwa artists, but left no works. Pak Ch'angkuk 杞隱 朴昌國

<sup>24</sup> 密陽朴氏虎溪公派譜 (Imsil: Samsŏnginswaeso, 1973), 7.

<sup>25</sup> See the appendix 2 on page 74 for the genealogy of the nakhwa tradition starting from the Milyang Pak family.

(1830–?), despite the existence of his works (Fig. 2.14), was somehow missing from Milyang Pak's recorded lineage.

## 2.5 Yakie, Nakhwa In Japan

While nakhwa, particularly that done on silk, might have first begun in Korea, it was also practiced by its neighbor, Japan. Historical records from the Edo Period 江戸 (1603–1868) document the dissemination and popularity of nakhwa beyond the Korean Peninsula. Indeed, some of the nineteenth century Japanese texts refer to the term, *yakie* (焼(き)絵), which is a synonym for nakhwa. Fortunately, a few yakie from the Edo Period have survived to date, and are mostly held by private collectors.

Content about yakie that is closely related to Korea can be found in official and private records written during the trips of *Chosŏnt'ongsinsa* 朝鮮通信使, 'The Chosŏn Mission to Japan.' This was a series of goodwill diplomatic missions that Korea sent at the request of Japan's shogunate from 1607 to 1811 to promote mutual friendship and cultural exchange. A group of diplomats, scholars, and artists embarked on the long journey from the capital Hanyang 漢陽, nowadays Sŏul, to Edo, the capital of Japan then. The trip was arduous, as it covered 3,000 km (1,900 miles) over both sea and land. It was also a grand-scale event that involved 300 to 500 people on the Korean side and approximately 10,000 on the Japanese side, and consumed substantial resources of the nations, especially those of Japan. A total of twelve missions were sent over the span of 250 years and, on each trip, Korean literati, painters, and calligraphers actively interacted with their Japanese counterparts. The diplomatic missions gradually constituted an opportunity for scholars and artists from the countries to exchange ideas and cultures.

The record written during the last mission in 1811 contains a reference to yakie. Indeed, an exchange of nakhwa and yakie paintings occurred for the first time during the mission, although the exchange of ink-wash paintings and calligraphies had a long history, extending from the first mission two centuries earlier. The last trip did not make it all of the way to Edo, but only to Tsushima Island 対馬島, an island lying between the Korean Peninsula and Japan, due to political instability and deteriorated economic conditions of the countries. In addition, a growing skepticism existed about benefits of the mission related to the expense of supporting the missions. Nevertheless, the delegation of the last trip remained on the island for three months from March 29th to June 27th, and details about the mission were well documented and have survived to the present day.<sup>26</sup>

A Japanese writer of the late Edo Period and early Meiji Era 明治 (1868–1912), Nakane Kōtei 中根香亭 (1839–1913), referred to *kahitsue* 火筆畫 (translated as ‘fiery brush/pen painting,’ which is identical to yakie or nakhwa) in his *Kōtei gadan* 香亭雅談 (1886). Despite exhibiting the traits of *godan*, i.e., a sophisticated, yet personal, minor essay, his words could be regarded as a meaningful reference to the early history of yakie.

The reference to *kahitsu* 火筆 can be found in Hanan Hokiichi 塙保己一 (1746–1821)<sup>27</sup>’s *Imamonogatari* 今物語 (translated as “The Tales of These days”). The content of the book corresponds to that of another text, *Shokakuko* 燒畫考, written by the lord-secretary Yashiro Hirokata 屋代弘賢 (1758–1841), who studied literature under Hanna Hokiichi. I, myself, have not read the books, but I know

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<sup>26</sup> Mariko Nakamoto, “朝鮮通信使と烙画の交流,” in *Yanagi Muneyoshi mo sanbishita nazo no yakie hakkutsu: teihon yakie kō*. (Tōkyō: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 2014), 109; Busan Bangmulgwan, *Documents on Joseon Tongsinsa*. (Busan: Busan Bangmulgwan, 2018), 5-10.

<sup>27</sup> Hokiichi was a renowned scholar and Buddhist monk of the Edo Period.

that during the year of Bunka 文化 (1804–1840), Tobakō 鳥羽候 (1762–1832)<sup>28</sup>

passed the kahitsu technique onto Igai Josui 猪飼如翠 (?-?).

In the year of Shinmi 辛未 (1811), when the Chosŏn Mission to Japan visited

Tsushima Island, Josui and his company demonstrated the technique of *kahitsu*

before the delegation. A young student from the Korean mission, named Yi

Munch'ŏl 李文哲 (1765–1830), wrote an ode praising them as markedly unique work.

Approximately twenty years ago in Nekishikyō 湮岸郷,<sup>29</sup> there was a man who was skilled at drawing nakhwa paintings. He appeared to be around in his sixties and liked to draw flowers, animals, and fish on paper or [wooden] boards. I had an opportunity to see them (kahitsue) twice before, and only recently got to know that his house was right across the river from my home! It has been a long time since he departed, and he was indifferent to his neighbors. It is a pity that we do not even know his name.<sup>30</sup>

Tobakō is known as Inagaki Sadaatsu 稲垣定淳 (1762–1832), the fifth lord of the Yamakami

山上, that belonged to the military family of the Inagaki 稲垣, and was then highly revered for his

<sup>28</sup> 稲垣定淳; the shogun who owned the territory of Yamakami 山上.

<sup>29</sup> The area is presumably the Negishi area 根岸郷. The author was born in Sitakani chōja village 下谷長者町, today Ueno in Taito City of Tokyo, which is adjacent to Negishi.

<sup>30</sup> “火筆書の事は、江戸時代後期の国文学者 堀保己一 (はなわ ほきいち; 1746~1821 年)の「今物語」に詳しく、その 境保己一に国学を学んだ幕府右筆屋代弘賢 (やしろ ひろかた; 1758~1841 年)の「焼書考 (焼繕考)」にいうに然り。また吾は未見の書ながら文化年間、鳥羽候 (鳥羽侯とは山上藩主稲垣定淳 (いながき さだあつ; 1762~1832 年)の火筆の工を猪飼如翠 (いがいじょすい)に傳えたと聞く。/辛未度の朝鮮通信が対馬へ渡つて来たとき、如翠と接判員が火筆の技を示した。通信使大学生李文哲は甚だ奇なる作に詩で称賛した。/この 20 年余り前に湮岸郷に烙画を善くしたものがあり、齢は 60 前後。紙や板の上に花卉や禽魚などをあらわした。/予は一、二度これを観た、今基の住まいを調べるに、我が家の玄関に対し水を隔てた処にあった。その翁仙がすでに去つて久しく、隣郷に無知で、基の者の名も知らず、惜しいことである。”(Nakane Kōte, 香亭雅談); Mariko Nakamoto, Ibid, 109-110.

craftsmanship of nakhwa. One of his works was documented in the exhibition catalogue of the 13<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kimura Kenkadō 木村蒹葭堂 (1736–1802)’s death, under the caption, ‘Plate 1: Peach and White Crane Metal Brush Painting 鐵筆蟠桃白雀図 by Inagaki Sada 如蘭稻垣.’ The catalogue suggests Tobakō’s close association with Kimura Kenkadō, a successful collector, artist and scholar, and confirms that he was worthy of comparison with other celebrated painters of his time, such as Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763–1841) and Tobatai Roku 鳥羽台麓 (1739–18323). His companionship with renowned contemporary artists also indicates that Tobakō was active in both artistic and political arenas. The “metal brush” mentioned in the title refers to an iron used for kahitsu or pyrography. Tobakō’s choice of this unconventional tool and medium certainly must have attracted notice from his contemporaries.

The real name of Josui is Ikai Shok 猪飼正穀 (?–?). He was a member of the Japanese delegation from the Kokura 小倉 region to receive the Korean mission. Apart from performing yakie, he was also commissioned to paint scenes of the 1810 and 1811 missions for the official record. In 1810, he painted *Chosōnin ōhyangŭng ch’irosamsōnbudo* 朝鮮人御饗應七五三膳部圖 조선인어향응칠오삼선부도, an album of thirty-two leaves depicting a banquet thrown for the Korean delegation (Fig. 2.15).<sup>31</sup>

The original yakie paintings that Josui produced no longer exist. Nevertheless, the vestige of nakhwa found in old Japanese writings testifies to their existence and popularity in both Korea and Japan in the early nineteenth century. The culmination of interest in nakhwa and yakie is also evident in the final Chosōn mission to Japan. This fact also highlights the unique character of the genre, being not only an established form of art, but also a spectacle that can be watched.

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<sup>31</sup> The album is now stored in the Hōsa Library 蓬左文庫, Nagoya, Japan.

However, its inherent value as a performance was misused more than a century later during the Japanese colonial period, which will be discussed further in the later chapter.

A reference to yakie is also present in the book *Koga bikou* 古画備考, which is a collection of commentaries on old paintings and biographies of painters composed by Asaoka Okisada 朝岡興禎 (1800–1856), the son of the painter Kanou Naganobu 狩野栄信 (1775–1828). In the book, the 47th chapter of *Yamatoe* 倭絵 (“Japanese painting”) is assigned exclusively to yakie: “Yakie exists in Chosŏn. The landscape [yakie] painting from the album that was drawn by a Korean artist [living] in Japan 来朝人 proves that his aesthetic execution of yakie is nothing less than that of artists [in Chosŏn].”<sup>32</sup>

Although *Kogabikou* does not include the aforementioned yakie painting itself, it introduces two other yakie paintings of Asai Midori 浅井翠 (?–?) and Koikawa Hakuga 恋川白峨 (1800–1820?) that contain their names in the form of their seal: ‘Oussi 應翠’ and ‘Hakuga 白峨.’ The subjects of the two drawings, respectively, are a bonito fish (Fig. 2.16) and running horses with Mount Fuji in the background (Fig. 2.17). Although these subjects were uncommon in Korea, they contained auspicious and congratulatory significance in Japan. In addition to subject matter, the compositions of Japanese paintings also differ from those of Korean paintings. Unlike Korean *nakhwa* paintings, which are usually composed vertically and cluster writings in one corner or either side, these two yakie paintings are extended horizontally, which is unique to Japanese art. Notably, the bonito painting features writing along with the depicted subject at the center of the work.

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<sup>32</sup> Takayuki Tabe, *Yanagi Muneyoshi mo sanbishita nazo no yakie hakkutsu: teihon yakie kō*, (Tōkyō: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 2014), 111.

Due to their common roots in traditional ink painting, yakie and nakhwa were popular in their respective countries with their own distinctive features. Moreover, a few artists, including the influential shogunate-painters, contributed to the dissemination of the genre throughout Japan. This shared history of pyrography explains Japanese familiarity with the genre, even in the modern era, which possibly led to the promotion of nakhwa in Korea under Japanese colonial rule.

### III. Nakhwa during the Japanese Colonial Period 日帝強占期 (1910–1945)

In the early 1900s, during the reign of King Gojong 高宗 (1852–1919), the country strove to autonomously promote its crafts through modernization. *Iwangjing misulp'umjejakso* 李王職美術品製作所 ('Yiwang-jik Artwork Manufactory') was founded in 1908 near the Kyōngbok Palace, and remained in operation until 1936. Despite the effort that the royal court invested in modernization, the country succumbed to the colonial rule of Japan in 1910, and thereafter efforts for self-reliant modernization failed to advance. During the period from 1922 to 1936, the Japanese authority took over the management of Yiwang-jik Artwork Manufactory and made it manufacture craft goods primarily for commercial purposes for Japanese consumers, with no regard to artistic value or craftsmanship of the genre, which degraded it as a result. Indeed, the goods were only driven by foreign demand, and especially that of the Japanese.

#### 3.1 Beginning of Cultural Politics, *Munhwat'ongch'i* 文化統治 (1919–1931)

At the very beginning of colonial rule, the Japanese colonial government adopted a strategy of force, coercion, and oppression. However, it became apparent after the nationwide March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 that the military governing policy backfired and met

strong resistance from Koreans. Consequently, Japan changed its ruling stratagem with the appointment of Saitō Makoto 齋藤實 (1858–1936), a former Japanese naval officer and politician, as the new Governor-General. He served in the position for two consecutive terms from 1919 to 1927. In a marked departure from the militaristic ruling policy, his new ruling tenet was focused on culture, expressed in the statement, ‘For the sake of the development of culture and *minryoku* 民力 (‘national power’).’ The new rule seemingly loosened restrictions on Koreans to some degree. For instance, the Japanese colonial government allowed the publication of a few Korean language newspapers, in a conciliatory gesture of accommodating popular demands and customs of the Korean people. However, behind all of these apparently sincere policy shifts, Saitō’s actual objective was to preemptively blunt the resistance of the Korean people.<sup>33</sup>

Saitō’s cultural policy was further buttressed by Mizuno Rentarō 水野鍊太郎 (1868–1949), who served as Parliamentary Commissioner of Korea from 1919 to 1922. The Japanese believed that, with minimal direct involvement of the Japanese government, the new policy would ultimately cause Koreans to constrain themselves. This policy shift gave rise to, and also made a significant impact on, *Chosōnbangnamhoe* 朝鮮博覽會 (‘the Chosōn Exposition’) and *Chosōn misulchōllamjōn* 朝鮮美術展覽會 (‘the Chosōn Arts Exhibition’) often known as *Chosōnmijōn* 朝鮮美展 (1922–1944), resulting in Koreans becoming both the subject and the audience of these events. Indeed, these occasions were more efficient and skillful ways for the intended effects of the policy to filter fully into all aspects of people’s lives. Another intention of the cultural colonialism was to turn Koreans’ attention away from the desire for independence towards engagement in cultural activities. For this reason, cultural content produced in the 1920s

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<sup>33</sup> Michael Robinson, *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 51–52.

should not be taken at face value, as it was largely politically determined, and possessed an obscured intention to indoctrinate Koreans to accept the legitimacy of colonial rule against their will.<sup>34</sup>

With their new governing ideology put into practice, the colonial government constructed several cultural facilities, including libraries, museums and exhibition halls, and created a new department within the government to exclusively oversee the social and cultural edification of Koreans. Any in-depth scholarly analyses or poetic panegyrics about crafts including nakhwa, are scarce after Korea came under Japanese colonial rule. Amid the paucity of relevant information on nakhwa, newspaper articles published in the 1920s about the nakhwa artist, Pak Kyedam, and his students were considered particularly invaluable. Along with the text descriptions and surviving works, the photograph of him demonstrating a nakhwa performance included in the catalogue of the 1929 Chosŏn Exposition provides a rare glimpse into its artistic momentum in modern times. Through the patchwork of such fragmented records, primarily newspaper articles published in the early 1920s, the somewhat disconnected history of nakhwa could be compiled in the absence of full-fledged scholarship on the genre.

### 3.2 The Representation of Nakhwa in Colonial Media

During the colonial period, newspapers played the most crucial role in disseminating information and new ideas among Korean people. Some articles about nakhwa included in this chapter aimed to objectively describe and introduce the genre; others invoked nakhwa in the process of advancing colonial agendas. The articles on nakhwa that are introduced below show not only historical traces of the craft itself, but also those of manipulations by invisible Japanese hands of cultural activities and how they controlled the media to legitimize their colonialism.

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<sup>34</sup> Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan* (Settle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 114-141; Mayo; Shin.

The first article about nakhwa was published in *Maeil shinbo* 毎日申報,<sup>35</sup> a widely distributed daily newspaper, which reluctantly became pro-Japanese after the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty in 1910. The Japanese were aware that newspapers played a pivotal role in Chosŏn society as a potent channel for disseminating political propaganda, as well as the latest news.<sup>36</sup> Being aware of the powerful influence of local newspapers over Koreans, the Japanese colonial government either commanded the newspaper companies to cease publication if the newspaper resisted publication guidelines dictated by the government or took over their ownership entirely. *Maeil shinbo* was a case of the latter, and became the only newspaper written in Korean until 1920, even though it also frequently contained the Japanese language. At that time, Koreans were allowed to use their own native language and alphabet to some degree. The following is the earliest article on nakhwa published on November 5, 1918.

‘Distinctive Nakhwa’

Mr. Pak Pyŏngsu 朴秉洙翁 residing in Chinan 鎮安 county of North Chŏlla

Province was greatly exalted at the competitive exhibition<sup>37</sup> held in the third year of Taejŏng 大正 (1914) as a master of nakhwa, ‘the painting made by scorching with an iron.’ He had come to Kyŏngsŏng 京城 (currently Sŏul) again on the thirtieth of the previous month and stayed on the fifty-sixth street of Songhyŏndong 松岬洞 area. His visit was on the advice of Minister Yi Wanyong 李完用 (1858–1926) to come to the capital and pass down his nakhwa skill to future

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<sup>35</sup> *Maeil shinbo* used to be called *The Korean Daily News* 大韓每日新報 대한매일신보 when it was first founded by an Englishman named Ernest Thomas Bethell in 1907. As the Japanese assumed ownership of the paper, they dropped ‘Korean’ from its title. Consequently, the newspaper had *Maeil shinbo* as its title, and was heavily controlled by Japanese policies of censorship.

<sup>36</sup> Michael Robinson, *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>37</sup> *Kongjinhoe* 共進會 공진회: an exposition or a trade fair showcasing Japanese industrial products and Korean products, presumably mostly craftworks, given the stage of industrial development at the time.

generations, since Pak is already sixty years old and does not have much time left. This type of painting, nakhwa, is a different kind of painting, not brought from either Qing or the West. Pak [Pyöngsu]’s grandfather, Pak Ch’angkyu 朴昌珪, mastered the technique by studying and training by himself.

In fact, there were nakhwa works outside of Korea, but those were done on wood or bamboo, while Chosŏn’s nakhwa works were done on paper. It is relatively easy to draw on a wood or bamboo surface by searing it with a heated iron. On the other hand, although it may appear effortless to work on thin paper without damaging it, it is actually almost impossible to execute on paper without mastering this extra-ordinary skill. For this reason, the claim that nakhwa blossomed as an art in Chosŏn may be legitimate.

Because of this reason [that it was unique to Chosŏn], a substantial number of students existed since the medium came into being, but none of them were successful. Even Pak’s father learned the technique, but was unable to master it. Pak himself had possessed a cultivated appreciation for the arts since childhood and could submit an impressive painting to an exhibition at the age of 18. He was highly praised by the magistrate of Chinan 鎭安 at the time, Kim Sŭngchip 金升集 (1826–?), and through the introduction of Kim’s brother, Kim Hongchip 金弘集 (1842–1896), his works were even sent to Japan. Pak achieved great success in his career and continued practicing it for forty years. He was remarkably successful and received many commissions from all over the country. As a

promising pupil who will succeed his elderly master, Paek Namch'öl 白南哲 from Chŏnju 全州, is a twenty year old young man. His calligraphy is brilliant, and he is working diligently to preserve the tradition of practicing nakhwa following in the footsteps of Mr. Pak (Fig. 3.1).<sup>38</sup>

According to the genealogy of the Pak family, Pak Pyŏngsu was only twenty-nine years old when this article was written, and it is believed that the article mistook Pak Pyŏngsu for an earlier nakhwa artist, Pak Kyedam. In fact, Pak Kyedam was then in his fifties, which is largely corroborated by the article describing the artist as already being sixty years old. Furthermore, the title, “Ong 翁,” refers to an elderly man, which could mean a seasoned artist who had practiced the art for “forty years,” rather than one in his twenties with much less experience. Therefore, the earliest newspaper article about nakhwa principally focused on Pak Kyedam, the well-established nakhwa artist who became widely known to the public for the first time in the beginning of Japanese colonial rule.<sup>39</sup>

His close relationship with Japanese customers enabled Pak Kyedam to be the first nakhwa artist covered by the press. The majority of his works were produced at the request of Japanese patrons, and thus they are currently mostly owned by private collectors in Japan. Given the fact that all of his works now in Japan, including the four panels folding screen, *Flowers and Birds* nakhwa painting (Fig. 3.2), include an inscription that reads ‘Han'gukchŏnju Wŏlsan 韓國全州 月山,’ it is almost certain that they were produced after 1919 when the country began to officially call herself *Han'guk* (“Korea” in Korean), replacing her former name, Chosŏn.<sup>40</sup> It is

<sup>38</sup> “T'ŭksaegi innŭn nak'wa,” (Distinctive Nakhwa) *Meail Sinbo*, (November 5, 1918).

<sup>39</sup> Chŏnghye Pak, “Scorched Paintings of Korea During the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century,” *Journal of Art History* 33. (December 2017), 83.

<sup>40</sup> In 1987, Emperor Gojong promulgated the country's name as ‘Korean Empire 大韓帝國,’ yet this was withdrawn by the Japanese government in 1910.

also logical to assume that Pak Kyedam, as a grandson of Pak Ch'angkyu's cousin, learned the technique and style of Pak Ch'angkyu. Unlike his forebear, Pak Kyedam produced most of his works in a screen format, and his subjects were a mixture of the Four Noble Ones (*sagunja* 四君子)—the plum (*mae* 梅), the orchid (*nan* 蘭), the chrysanthemum (*kuk* 菊), and the bamboo (*chuk* 竹)—and other flowering plants that conveyed auspicious meanings. Such a seemingly idiosyncratic combination was initiated and made popular again in the nineteenth century by Hŏ Ryŏn, the aforementioned Southern School painter, particularly in Honam 湖南, the southwestern region of the country (Fig. 3.3). It was natural for Pak Kyedam, as a native of Honam, to follow the popular trend of painting in the region and adopt it for his *nakhwa* works.<sup>41</sup>

It is noteworthy that birds and flowers are key subjects for all of his extant works in Korea, and they are all made in the form of either eight or ten panels screen: *Flowers and Birds Iron Painting* housed in the Onyang Folks Museum in Asan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province (Fig. 3.4), *Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen* (Fig. 3.5) in the Jinju National Museum (Jin 1107), and *Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen* (Minsok 029691) in The National Folk Museum of Korea (Fig. 3.6). His works exhibit a certain degree of regularity in the order of screen panels and the combination of depicted subjects. His screen usually starts with the first panel with apricot blossoms and concludes with pine trees. He demonstrates consistency by repeating the same combination and composition of plants, animals, and/or insects for the different screens.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, a review of his works indicates that he produced a multitude of identical rough sketches.

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<sup>41</sup> Chwijeon, Kim. "A Study of Seoul and Local Painting Circles in Early Modern Korea," *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* 20 (2009), 11-13; Chŏnghye Pak, *Ibid.*, 85-86.

<sup>42</sup> See the appendix 3 on page 75 for subject matters and their orders of his screen paintings.

Even though his works lack originality, his ability to masterfully execute what he intended to express is exceptional. Pak reinterpreted the ink painting techniques of *goule* 鈎勒, the use of thin outlines and application of color, later on and the *mogu* 沒骨, “boneless” method in the language of nakhwa, and was adept at applying them to the medium. The intricate, yet smooth, contours in and unimpeded execution of chiaroscuro in his works attest to his unparalleled excellence in nakhwa technique.

Pak Pyöngsu, who was mistakenly identified as Pak Kyedam in the aforementioned article, is his younger second cousin. Pak Pyöngsu was better known for landscape paintings (Fig. 2.11), rather than flower and bird paintings (Fig. 3.7). He had a profound understanding of the Southern School style of landscape painting and adapted it to nakhwa. His burnt marks evoke those made with ink; he gently rubbed with the cheek of the iron to depict hills and slopes, which is akin to the ink staining method achieved with smearing, *sönyööm* 渲染, and quickly dapped the tip of the iron to create pepper dots, *hoch'ojööm* 胡椒點, which is also a commonly used technique in ink paintings. Another noteworthy feature is that all of his works include a seal that reads hwahwa 火畫, “fire painting” (Fig. 3.8). Red seals in the shape of a banana leaf are also found in the paintings of his forebears and teachers. The continued use of the seal by the Pak family implies that it became an emblem of the family’s long pedigree of nakhwa, which was later passed down to the Paek brothers.

Paek Namch’öl 白南哲 (1898–?), as mentioned in the article, was appointed to be the successor to Pak Kyedam, led by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea. However, no further record exists regarding his birth or professional career, except what is provided

in this article and one painting, verified only with photography (Fig. 3.9).<sup>43</sup> Other than Pak Pyöngsu and Paek Namch'öl, Pak Kyedam had one more student, as revealed by the collaborative work by Pak Pyöngsu and Pak Sangp'il. This student was Pak Sangp'il, a great-grandson of Pak Ch'angkyu. It is quite probable that they were both trained under the guidance of Pak Kyedam in the same period of time, especially given their similar age.

The National Folk Museum of Korea houses a rare, collaborative work<sup>44</sup> of the two pyrographers: Pak Pyöngsu and Pak Sangp'il. *Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Nakhwa Screen* (Minsok 057829) (Fig. 3.10), that consists of six panels done by the first and the remaining four by the latter. Two different intaglio seals imprinted at the bottom—Ch'osan 蕉山 and Sökh'ön 石川—enable us to identify who produced the individual panels. The common subjects of the paintings are birds and flowers, and the flora of the Four Gentlemen. It is noteworthy that Pak Pyöngsu painted only the Four Gentlemen, while Pak Sangp'il took charge of other secondary subjects, derived primarily from folk paintings, which suggests that a hierarchy might have existed among the pupils.

With the twentieth century approaching, the design and composition of nakhwa paintings became simplified. For example, Pak Pyöngsu drew only a few branches of plum blossoms, instead of the entire tree as his predecessors had done. Indeed, the works of both Pak Pyöngsu

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<sup>43</sup> Chönghye Pak, *Ibid.*, 93; Fig. 16.

<sup>44</sup> The fact that Pak's signatures on the first set of orchid and plum blossoms and those of the last set are not identical suggests that one of them did not originally belong to this screen. Further research is needed to confirm whether Pak altered the designs on purpose, or if the two additional panels were added intentionally when the screen changed hands. Nonetheless, the format of the signatures on the first two panels is different from the rest. Therefore, it may be reasonable to conclude that these two panels used to belong to the other set of screens, or were made separately from the beginning.

and Pak Sangp'il appear almost as cropped images of a larger painting. The folk paintings, minhwa of the time, were also in accordance with the trend of unpretentious design. Overall, the nakhwa artists seemed to have ridden on the wave of the mainstream trend in order to target a broader consumer base and/or simply to conserve production time.

Regardless of the simplification of design, the burnt marks created by Pak Pyöngsu achieved a level of refinement that was equal to that of brushstrokes. His nakhwa paintings are minimalistic, with no extreme shading or superfluous line work. On the other hand, Pak Sangp'il, who was five years younger, had not fully developed his skill by the time that this work was produced. His curved lines were somewhat abrupt with a lack of fluidity, and he tended to depict elements in an unnecessarily enlarged scale. Leaves on the grapevine, two peonies, and flipped lotus leaves dominate each painting, which signifies his immature technique in producing nakhwa, particularly in depicting and proportioning the subjects. Having both of their works together side-by-side provides an opportunity to discern the different stages of development of nakhwa craftsmanship. Irrespective of Pak Sangp'il's level of expertise, the red hwahwa seal on each of his nakhwa paintings indicates that he was formally trained and inherited the nakhwa tradition of his family.

Examining the 1918 Maeil shinbo article, it can be interpreted in more than one way, depending on the perspectives of readers. In light of the fact that Pak Kyedam received a good number of commissions for nakhwa works from Japanese patrons, it is presumed that the pro-Japanese Maeil shinbo supported him. Nevertheless, the accuracy of this information cannot be guaranteed, and it could even be regarded as a thinly-veiled criticism of Koreans for their failure to preserve their own indigenous culture. The article only briefly introduces nakhwa by describing the requisite tools and the process in a few

sentences. The article focuses more on the history of the transmission of nakhwa and an artist, Pak Pyōngsu (Pak Kyedam), and his only apprentice, Paek Namch'ōl. It also alludes to criticism that the practice of nakhwa has not been effectively passed down to posterity, despite its root in Chosŏn. The article highlights that the survival of nakhwa was at the mercy of Minister Yi, a leading pro-Japanese figure of the time, who helped Pak exhibit his works in the capital. In fact, the intention of Minister Yi to bring Pak to the capital seemed to promote nakhwa as a traditional craft. However, as Pak's works were in great demand among high ranking officials from the colonial government, Yi might have used Pak to earn himself political favor from those officials. It is also possible that his patronage for the genre was a pretense for obscuring his true objective, as the primary policy of the colonial government was to make Koreans assimilate into Japanese culture by drawing on commonalities rooted in the shared ancient histories of the two nations.<sup>45</sup>

This fact becomes increasingly evident when compared with other vernacular newspapers that published similar articles, yet with a subtly different focus and tone. The following articles were printed in *Donga ilbo* 東亞日報 a few years after the first *Maeil shinbo* article on nakhwa was released. *Donga ilbo* was founded in 1920 and renowned

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<sup>45</sup> In 1900, the first Japanese archaeologist, Yagi Shōzaburō 八木 奨三郎 (1866–1942), from The Anthropological Society of Tokyo (now renamed to 'The Anthropological Society of Nippon (ASN)') was sent to Korea, who researched the correlation between the iwaibe, or "ritual-style" pottery, and *kofun* pottery found in Korea. After his survey, other archeologists and historians made their way to Korea and brought their students from the Tokyo Imperial University and the Tokyo Anthropological Society Tokyo University with them. The new archeological discovery was revolutionary for the time, as the Peninsula's archaeological record would represent the preconceived prehistorical trajectory tracing the birth of early Japanese civilization to the continent. The conceptual development of a common "Japanese/Korean" culture and racial lineage based on comparing the archeological records of the two countries became prevalent among young graduate students and scholars of the time (Pai, 109-113). The fieldwork and surveys were all parts of the Japanese colonial policy known as 'Japan and Korea as one nation' 内鮮一体, a colonial policy with an aim to convert Korea into an integral part of Japan (Pai). It was also referred as "Nissen dōso ron 日鮮同祖論" in Japanese.

for its anti-Japanese attitude from its inception, unlike other contemporary newspapers, such as *Maeil shinbo* and *Chosŏn ilbo* 朝鮮日報, whose views aligned with the colonial policy of Japan.<sup>46</sup> In fact, *Donga ilbo* was actively involved in promoting the genre, and even financially sponsored a nakhwa convention, unlike other newspapers that only published articles on the topic.

‘Unpo, Hosting a Pyrography 火畫 Demonstration’

With the benevolence of the master pyrographer in Chosŏn, Unpo Paek Hakki, and at the sincere request of the town (people), Paek will hold a pyrography demonstration at Sansujŏng town hall starting from two in the afternoon and will offer the general public an opportunity to witness his unusual talent (Inch'ŏn) (Fig. 3.11).<sup>47</sup>

‘Chinnamp'o 鎮南浦<sup>48</sup> Pyrography Demonstration’

*At the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Pavilion*

Mr. Unpo Paek Hakki from Chŏnju in North Chŏlla Province—the old apprentice of Ch'osan (Pak Pyŏngsu), the inventor of hwahwa 火畫, which will establish a new history in the art worlds of both East and West—

<sup>46</sup> *Donga ilbo* is known for the incident in which they erased the Japanese flag from the running tunic of Son Kichŏng, the Korean marathon runner who won the gold medal in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, in the medal awarding ceremony photograph. As Korea was under the colonial rule of the Japanese Empire, he thus represented Japan, and not Korea. The alteration of the image enraged the Japanese government, especially the Japanese Governor-General of Korea Jirō Minami 南次郎 (1874-1955), who penalized the newspaper by imposing a nine-month suspension of publication.

<sup>47</sup> “Unp'o hwahwahoe kaehoe 雲浦 火畫會 開會,”; Unpo, Hosting a Pyrography Demonstration) *Donga ilbo* (July 8, 1923).

<sup>48</sup> A seaport city in South P'yŏngan province, North Korea.

travelled to China with his alumnus, Mr. Yu Kihong 柳基泓. On the way, they arrived in Chönnamp'o on the 2nd of the prior month. Under the sponsorship of the headquarters [of *Donga ilbo*], Mr. Unpo Paek-hakki will demonstrate his artistic talent in hwahwa to the public at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Pavilion on the coming 6th at two in the afternoon. While Mr. Unpo Paek-hakki possesses artistic genius in this distinctive technique as a result of his decade-long training, he is now able to create famous works of art easily with a single stick of heated iron. He is an unusual contemporary artist who has sold paintings of birds-and-flowers, the Four Noble Ones, landscapes, and fish-and-crabs. Through his expected tremendous success in the future, he will make a significant contribution to the art world (Fig. 3.12).<sup>49</sup>

Along with Paek Namch'öl, Paek Hakki 白鶴起 (1895–?) was also likely to be a student of Pak Kyedam. His *Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen* (Minsok 047242) (Fig. 3.13) at the National Folk Museum of Korea include the seal of his courtesy name 'Unpo 雲浦.' Paek Hakki and Paek Namch'öl were only three years apart, and besides their works, there is no extant record about them, other than the aforementioned newspaper articles. Therefore, whether they were brothers or the same person remains undetermined. Despite the possible stylistic change throughout one's career, the stylistic dissimilitude between the works of two artists strongly

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<sup>49</sup> 鎮南浦火畫會 商業會議所樓上에서 東西洋 美術界에 新記錄을 남겨둔 火畫術 創案者 故 蕉山의 高第 全北 全州 雲浦 白鶴起 先生은 同門人 柳基泓氏을 帶同하고 中國 視察의 途中, 지난 二日 鎮南浦에 到着하여 本社 (동아일보) 支局 後援下에 오는 六日 午後 二時 商業會議所樓上에 氏의 獨特한 天才의 火畫術을 一般에게 公開할 터이런데 氏는 獨特한 美術界 天才의 所有者일 뿐 아니라 斯界에서 十餘年間 刻苦 研磨한 老鍊한 手腕으로 能히 一片의 불탄 印刀로 花鳥, 四君子, 山水, 魚蟹, 人物 等 名種의 名畫를 作品함으로 賣로 現代美術界에 稀貴한 畫伯일 뿐 아니라 無窮한 將來를 通하여 斯界에 多大한 貢獻이 有하리라고.” “Chinnamp'o hwahwahoe: Sangöp'oeüisonusangesö 鎮南浦 火畫會: 商業會議所樓上에서,” Chinnamp'o Pyrography Demonstration: At the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Pavilion, Donga ilbo (September 5, 1924).

implies that they were two different individuals. Paek Hakki is characterized by his trademark semi-circular marks on tree branches and scratches on top of shading to emphasize a sense of depth, which are not found in the works of Paek Namch'öl. While he abided by the arrangement set by his predecessors, he simultaneously attempted to make a unique contribution to his works by adding certain details, such as a pair of tiny beetles, the root of orchid, and flying birds with different postures.

The article focuses on ongoing events and shows the continuity and popularity of nakhwa at the time of writing. Although public interest in nakhwa decreased markedly compared with its popularity in the late Chosŏn period, the technique neither died out nor was it considered outdated. The choice of particular words in the articles— ‘new history of East and West’, ‘contemporary’, and ‘future’—connotes modern elements of the genre, as well as its appeal to other cultures.

In addition to their role of enhancing public awareness of nakhwa as a contemporary art form, the newspaper articles contributed to the increased accessibility of art to a wider range of audience, regardless of economic or social status. Indeed, the public exhibition of art indicates that nakhwa was no longer the exclusive possession of aristocrats and royals. This major historical shift, in terms of the audience and consumers of nakhwa, took place throughout the colonial period.

Another noteworthy development occurred during this time. The lineage of nakhwa practice that had been passed down exclusively to the descendants of the Pak family finally came to an end. Apprentices from outside of the family were allowed to inherit the tradition, which gave the genre a new opportunity to extend beyond the confines of the clan. As a result, both Paek Namch'öl and Paek Hakki could succeed in

the tradition, suggesting that, as outsiders to the Pak family, they did not take the opportunity to learn the technique for granted.

*Shidae ilbo* 時代日報 was another popular vernacular daily newspaper launched in 1924. The newspaper thrived as a nationalistic paper, as it was founded by the renowned writer and cultural activist Ch'oe Nasŏn 崔南善 (1890–1957). The slogan of the company was the alliance of, and cooperation among, Koreans. Unlike other newspapers, the front page of *Shidae ilbo* always covered social and cultural issues, instead of political ones, and it hosted a number of major speech contests and nationwide sports events. The newspaper's primary focus on contemporary sociocultural trends led it to cover Korean arts and crafts including nakhwa and its commercialization.

‘Mr. Paek Hakki’s Visit [to Shinŭiju 新義州<sup>50</sup>],’

*Holding a Pyrography 火畫; hwahwa Demonstration*

The great hwahwa painter, Mr. Paek Hakki, from the Wansan 完山 area of Chŏnju, North Chŏlla Province is visiting Shinŭiju on his way to Southern Manchuria. At the request and with the support of the regional governor and five or six others, the hwahwa demonstration will be held on the coming 2nd at two in the afternoon. He will also be demonstrating his technique on the spot to the public, and the paintings will be individually made. The (entrance) fee will be three *won* per person.

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<sup>50</sup> Located in the northwest of P'yŏngyang, near the Chinese border.

The subjects of the paintings are figures, landscapes, birds and flowers, and fish and crabs. Without any tool, other than a heated iron, he performs this marvelous technique, and the audience cannot help but be astounded by his extraordinary skill. As the technique applied to silk or paper is native to Chosŏn, the hwahwa technique of Mr. Paek will spread widely across the world. The hwahwa works at the exhibition will be raffled off due to high demand. The first-place winner will receive five paintings, the second three, the third two, and the fourth one each.<sup>51</sup>

#### ‘Hwahwa Demonstration, a Big Hit in Shinŭiju’

Mr. Paek Hakki’s Hwahwa Demonstration was held at the Shinŭiju community center at two in the afternoon on the 21st of last month. The reported information about the demonstration is the same as the previous one (article). It also included raffles; the first prize went to Pak Yuchŏng, the second to Kim Yŏngsam, the third one to I Sŏngkŭn, and the fourth one to Song Chewŏn and sixty-six others. The convention was a huge success (Fig. 3.14).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> “火畫會開催: 白鶴起氏の來新으로

全北 全州郡 全州面 完山町 大火畫家 白鶴起氏は 今番 南滿洲를 遊覽할 次로 新義州에 到着하였는데 生田知事 以下 五六人の 發起로 來 二日 下午 二時에 新義州 公會堂內에서 火畫會를 開催하고 席畫를 公開한다는데 會費는 三圓式이오.

火畫의 種類는 人物, 山水, 花鳥, 魚蟹等인데 아무 器具도 없이 다만 一個의 인두를 불에 달궈 가지고 하는데 그 奇妙한 奇術은 아무 稱嘆하지만 할 수 없으며 絹屬과 紙物類에 畫하는 朝鮮 特有 發明인 氏의 火畫는 全世界的으로 廣布하리라 한다. 그 火畫 贈與方式은 추첨으로 한다는데 一等一人五枚, 二等一人三枚, 三等一人二枚, 四等每人一枚式이라고 한다.” “Hwahwahoe kaech'oe” (Hosting Pyrography Demonstration: Mr. Paek Hakki’s Visit), *Shidae ilbo* (September 18, 1924).

<sup>52</sup> “新義州 火畫會盛況

白鶴起氏の 火畫會를 開催한다 함은 既報와 如하거니와 지난 二十一日 下午 二時에 新義州 公會堂內에서 展覽會를 開催하고 抽籤을 行하였는데 一等 朴有禎, 二等 金永誅, 三等 李聖根, 四等 宋濟元外 六十六人이었고 大盛況을 示하였다고 한다.” “Shinŭiju Hwahwahoe Sŏnghwang” (Hwahwa Convention, a Big Hit in Shinŭiju) *Shidae ilbo* (September 24, 1924).

Both articles demonstrate Paek Hakki's endeavor to disseminate nakhwa, and to enhance public awareness of the genre, as he held a series of his namesake nakhwa conventions that received rave reviews. He was arguably the most active pyrographer who took full advantage of mass media. He was as young as twenty-five-year-old when he was first spotlighted in the article released in 1924, and when he traversed the country to hold the conventions under the strong sponsorship of local officials of visiting cities and regions.

In view of the great consistency in the depiction of subjects, and their composition and hierarchy, in his works including but not limited to *Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen* (Fig. 3.13) and *Peacock on Blossoming Plum Branch* (75.65.3-6) (Fig. 3.15) from the Brooklyn Museum Collection, Paek adhered to the established format of a nakhwa folding screen, which was previously created by Pak Kyedam. However, Paek highlighted subjects in dynamic postures and devised his own distinctive combinations of reeds and storks, peonies, and bees. In his sweetbriers 海棠花 (rosa rugosa or beach rose) chrysanthemums and boulders, barely visible novel patterns can be seen.

Apart from his success in introducing nakhwa to a broader audience, how the general public initially encountered the genre should be placed in proper perspective. According to the articles, the attendees were charged for admission and were offered artwork as a prize. Thus, public might have considered this demonstration as a kind of performance, instead of a presentation of craftwork. Seventy-six nakhwa works that were offered in the raffles were not a small number to produce within a limited time, and the quality of the works presumably could not match that of Paek's usual creations. While holding such an occasion with promotional gifts helped to raise awareness of nakhwa, it also assumed the risk of degrading the value of nakhwa in the arts and crafts world

thereafter. Joining the tide of commercialization, nakhwa had made progress in consolidating its potential as a both traditional and contemporary popular craft. It also bore the long-term risk, however, of eventually degrading its value as a cheap tourist souvenir, which in fact transpired in the 1970s.

### 3.3 Nakhwa Performance at the 1929 Chosŏn Exposition

Along with Japanese control over the media, expositions and exhibitions held in the Korean Peninsula were also utilized as disguised propaganda devices to achieve political aims. Japan had participated in a series of world expositions held in Europe and North America, and found them to constitute effective tools for justifying colonial rule and governing subjugated people.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, they brought the concept to Asia, which eventually resulted in Orientalism in Asia, i.e., ‘Japanese-style Orientalism,’ also referred to as ‘Oriental Orientalism,’ as a senior researcher at the London Institute, Chelsea College of Arts, Yuko Kikuchi termed it.<sup>54</sup>

The first exposition in Korea was held in 1915 under the official title, *Chosŏnmulsan'gongjinhoe* 朝鮮物産共進會 (‘the Chosŏn Products Competitive Exposition’), at the Kyŏngbok Palace in Sŏul. The Japanese colonial government chose the venue with an obvious intention to debase the royal authority of Korea, and turned the premises of the Yi dynasty’s once royal palace into a market and exhibition location. The organizer of the exposition was unabashed about disclosing its thinly veiled purpose as “a vehicle to ‘awaken the [Korean] people from a hundred years of slumber,’ and as an opportunity for Koreans to ‘compare the inferiority and superiority of products on display and realize the grace of the new

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<sup>53</sup> Sŏg-yŏng Ch’oe, *Han’guk kŭndae ūi pangnamhoe, pangmulgwan* (Sŏul: Sŏgyŏng Munhwasa, 2001), 18-21.

<sup>54</sup> She is now a professor of Craft History and Studies, Kanazawa College of Art, Japan; Kikuchi Yuko, Ibid. “Interaction,” xv-xvii.

rule.’<sup>55</sup> In the same vein, the second grand Chosŏn Exposition of 1929 was held in the same venue, but with a slightly different intention. This time, the exposition was focused on the ‘co-prosperity’ of Japan and Korea. The exposition was aimed to accentuate Japanese superiority, while bringing the ‘Korean local culture *Chōsen no kyodo geijutsu*’, ‘Korean atmosphere *Chōsen kibun*’, and ‘Korean uniqueness *Chōsen koyū*’, which was a clear sign of ‘Other Orientalism’, to the fore.<sup>56</sup> Through these events, the Japanese positioned themselves as superior beings, and relegated Koreans and Korean culture to an inferior status to make their colonial rule appear legitimate.

The floor plan of the 1929 Exposition (Fig. 3.16) reveals its concealed purpose. The organizer arranged individual galleries with the intention to establish a clear demarcation between a traditional Korea and a modern Japan, and ultimately to vindicate their act of colonialism. The center of the exhibition hall was reserved to accommodate the key component of the exposition, i.e., the industry hall. Exhibitors included a number of leading companies from Japan, such as the Oriental Development Company 東洋拓殖株式会社, the Mitsukoshi 三越 Trading Company, the Mitsui 三井 Trading Company, and the Mistunakai 三井 Department Store. While these industrial companies were assigned prime locations in the venue to showcase the then cutting-edge technology of Westernized Japan, Korean exhibitors were given galleries at the fringe of the exhibition hall. Moreover, one of the galleries displays a picture of a scene of torture (Fig. 3.17) and traditional handicrafts that seemingly inherited ‘Korean uniqueness’, which was obviously designed to depict the stagnation of modernization and industrialization, and

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<sup>55</sup> Kal Hong, “Modeling the West, Returning to Asia: Shifting Politics of Representation in Japanese Colonial Exposition in Korea,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 47, no. 3 (2005), 508.

<sup>56</sup> Kal Hong, *Ibid.*, 514; *Chōsen hakurankai Keijō-kyōkai hōkokusho* (Sōul: Kyōngsōng hyōphoe, 1930), 98-99.

even the backwardness, of Korea. It is interesting to note that the demonstration of nakhwa was among many on-site art performances at the exhibition.

It was Pak Gyedam who demonstrated the performance of nakhwa. No other document about the demonstration exists, other than the photograph of his booth from the exposition catalogue. In the photograph, he is seated on a mounted booth, replicating his studio or room where his finished works were hung or leaned against the wall behind him. The Japanese organizer of the exhibition chose nakhwa as a suitable showcase item, as they were already familiar with the genre. Indeed, they had their own tradition of pyrography, yakie, and thought that its unique nature would be appealing to the visitors. Furthermore, the choice of genre was politically motivated to promote the concept of *Nissen dōso ron* 日鮮同祖論, a historical discourse claiming that ‘Japanese and Koreans are from the same ancestors’ sharing the same pre-modern history,<sup>57</sup> in this case, nakhwa and yakie. Along with this argument was the ongoing phenomenon of the *Mingei* 民藝 (‘folk craft’) movement, spearheaded by Yanagi Sōetsu 柳宗悦 (1889–1961; better known as Yanagi Muneyoshi), whose strong passion for and interest in Korean crafts, especially in ceramics, led him to found the first craft art museum of Korea. The movement, with its focus on crafts, influenced the committee’s decision to include nakhwa in the 1929 Exposition.

However, the Japanese selected nakhwa as a double-edged propaganda tool since it constituted a perfect example of traditional handicrafts to embody the ‘Korean color.’ Korean nakhwa craftworks, which required laborious effort with a rudimentary set of

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<sup>57</sup> Some Japanese archeologists and historians viewed Chosŏn as a “stagnant state of old Japan”; Hatada Takahashi, “Nikkan chōyaku to Chōsen bunkazai henkan modai,” *Rekishigaku Kenkyu* 304 (1965), 36-39.

tools, formed a sharp contrast to the Japanese products manufactured with modern technology. As the Japanese government attempted to justify its act as a way of 'modernizing Korea,' it employed the expositions as an excuse for 'enlightening the colony.'<sup>58</sup> This explains why they included nakhwa in the North Chōlla Province booth, and classified nakhwa as a 'regional specialty' rather than a form of 'craft arts.' The exposition held a distorted view of Korea's traditional arts and crafts by artificially cherry-picking what and how items were presented. What the Japanese called the 'Korean color' was selected without serious consideration of Korean tradition and culture, and failed to represent an appreciative view of Korea. Nakhwa was only one of many traditional arts and crafts that was degraded under Japanese colonial rule.

The awareness and popularity of nakhwa among the Japanese audience, in turn, put the genre in an ambivalent position. Even when freedom of speech and creation was restrained by the censorship of the colonial government, it was fortunate for nakhwa to be able to carry on its tradition. A considerable number of nakhwa works were able to be produced because they were liked by the well-to-do Japanese in Korea. In line with the increasing exposure of the genre to the general audience via the press and expositions, on the other hand, the colonial rulers newly identified nakhwa with one of the means to achieve their political ends in the context of the cultural politics. In this process of existing under the patronage and pressure of Japanese simultaneously, missing are methodically documented records on the tradition and history of nakhwa. What is further

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<sup>58</sup> Alexander Powell (1879-1957)'s 1922 article reflects the then-mainstream Western opinion: "Justifying power politics as inevitable to civilize primitive people in the competition for colonies."; Kikuchi Yuko. "Yanagi Sōetsu and Korean crafts within the Minegei movement," *Korea: The Past and the Present: Selected Papers from the British Association for Korean Studies* (Folkstone: British Association for Korean Studies, 2008), 89.

lamentable is that many otherwise extant works have failed to survive to date due to the fragile nature of the nakhwa works themselves.

Nonetheless, it is fortunate that a number of works with identified artists, who have not been mentioned in the above articles, have managed to survive: Pak Sangchŏn (Fig. 3.18), Pak Hakrim 松岐 朴鶴林 (?-?) (Fig. 3.19), and Paek Namyoung 雲山 白南龍 (?-?), among others. These works with the artist's seal could be an ideal subject for further study to bridge the gap in the chronology of the genre. Even in the absence of a signature or seal, it would be possible to date nakhwa works through stylistic analysis and scientific methods, such as a radiocarbon dating of paper material and measurement of the pressure of a stroke.

For instance, *Ten Panels of Eight Views of Xixiang Painting* (Fig. 2.13) from the National Folk Museum of Korea (Minsok 029626) and *Birds and Flowers* (1991.80) from the Cleveland Museum of Art collection are both done by unidentifiable artists, but they share similarities in style that are based on minhwa. Despite faded burnt marks and damaged parts, it is easy to discern the burnt marks made with uneven pressure, unnatural curves, and the distinctive alternation of black and white stripes in both paintings. These shared features suggest that the two paintings might have been produced by the same artist. Burnt lines of the paintings are unusually irregular and, instead of a planned scorched mark, numerous dots were applied to fill the surface, which was unprecedented. As a consequence, such stylistic similarities leave room for further research into the stylistic transition of nakhwa paintings over time.

#### **IV. Nakhwa after Korea's Independence (1945)**

Even before the country recovered from the havoc caused during the colonial era, the Korea suffered another unprecedented adversity, the Korean War (1950-1953). Nearly all official art-related activities were brought to a screeching halt until the warring parties signed the armistice. After the war in 1957, Korea Handicraft Demonstration Center 한국공예시범소 (KHDC) (Fig. 4.1) was founded with the financial and technical support of the U.S. at the request of the first president of the Republic of Korea, Yi Sŭngman 李承晩 (1875–1965). U.S. designers were dispatched to Korea to train Korean craftspeople and to develop products based on traditional Korean craftworks. Even though there were some limitations and constraints, such as that the U.S. designers were not allowed to share the latest designs with their Korean counterparts, their contribution undoubtedly helped to advance the level of Korean craft manufacturing and to expand to industrial design later on.<sup>59</sup>

The U.S. perspective also played an important role in the process of product design and development, which brought the idea of Orientalism back again in the name of a ‘regional specialty.’ Most of the final products were made of cheap materials, and caused the degeneration of traditional crafts into tourist souvenirs. The center lasted only for three years, as the contract ended on May 31, 1960, but no one was willing to take charge of the center in the midst of political upheavals and ensuing social turbulence in the early 1960s. As a result, the existence of the KHDC gradually faded into history and the fate of Korean crafts, including nakhwa, became precarious.

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<sup>59</sup> Jong kyun Kim, “The Activities and Accomplishments of the KHDC from 1957 to 1959,” *Archives of Design Research* (2007), 33.

#### 4.1 Nakhwa and Tourism during Pak Chŏnghŭi's Regime (1963–1979)

As the military regime under Pak Chŏnghŭi 朴正熙 (1917–1979) came to the fore, many traditional values came under criticism for being anachronistic, and were blamed as the main cause of the country's backwardness. However, the president did not disdain all traditional values; he singled out certain traditional values, historical figures and cultural assets, and took advantage of them to legitimize his military coup d'état and five terms of his presidency by amending the constitution. Such blatant exploitation of history and culture was not largely different from what the Japanese had previously done in the name of cultural politics. During the early period of President Pak's presidency, nakhwa, like most other handicrafts, was not sanctioned by the government and was relegated to the category of 'tourist souvenir' handicrafts.

During the late years of his presidency, Pak changed his political strategy regarding the use of traditional arts and crafts, and consequently proclaimed the Framework Act on the Promotion of Art and Culture 문화예술진흥법 (Act number 2337) in 1972. One of the primary aims of the act was to edify people about the national identity by frequent exposure to cultural heritage in their everyday lives. In the 1970s to 1980s, nakhwa and related events, such as craft expositions, were commonly reported in a number of newspaper articles. The following articles are from vernacular newspapers at that time, in the 1970s and 1980s, *Maeil gyŏngje* 매일경제 and *Kyŏnghyang shinmun* 경영신문, respectively.

‘The First Intangible Cultural Asset Craftworks Exposition’

*Exhibition Held at The Ch'angdŏk Palace Until November 20<sup>th</sup>*

The First Intangible Cultural Asset Craftworks Exposition, hosted by the Bureau of Cultural Management, is being held at the object gallery in Ch'angdŏk Palace from October 30th to November 20th.

The exposition aims to put the artisans' skills on display for the public and, more importantly, to promote the development and dissemination of traditional crafts.

296 works in nineteen different genres, including eighty-seven works by Intangible Cultural Asset artisans and 209 works by the independent craft artists, are on exhibition.

Through the exposition, the Bureau will give grants to independent craft artists and, moreover, designate those who submitted extraordinary works as Important Intangible Cultural Assets. The 209 works by independent craftsmen were carefully chosen out of a total of 650 works by the evaluation committee of the exhibition.

The submitted works by genre are as follows: decorative crafts (knotting, gilding, *nakhwa*) = forty-six works, horsehair crafts = eleven works, ..., while there are 135 artists designated and supported by the government as Intangible Cultural Assets (Fig. 4.2).<sup>60</sup>

The article underlines the pivotal role of the government in promoting traditional crafts by granting the prestigious title of Intangible Cultural Asset and by hosting such events.<sup>61</sup>

It is also worth noting that *nakhwa* was selected when it was not an Intangible Cultural Asset, and thus there was no designated artisan with the prestigious title representing the

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<sup>60</sup> “Che1hoe In'ganmunhwajae Kongyejap'um Jŏnshihoe,” (人間文化財 工藝 작품전: 11 월 20 일까지 昌德宮서; The 1st Intangible Cultural Asset Craftworks Exposition: Exhibition Held at The Ch'angdŏk Palace Until November 20<sup>th</sup>) *Maeil gyŏngje*, (October 2, 1981).

<sup>61</sup> The Bureau of Cultural Management is the affiliated branch of the government.

genre. In fact, the genre was classified into the subgroup of ‘decorative craft,’ which indicates its subordinate status as opposed to other mainstream forms of crafts, such as ceramics and mother-of-pearl crafts.

‘A Nakhwa Cabinet by Sangil Furniture Company Displayed at the First Fine Furniture Show’

*Depicts a traditional landscape evoking tranquility and solitude*

A piece of furniture crafted with a time-honored technique entranced the attendees. It was a nakhwa cabinet manufactured by the Sangil 上一 Furniture Company. Its façade was decorated with a traditional landscape scene using a heated iron or skewer.

The technique was first popularized in China, and then spread to Korea when Pak Ch’angkyu acquired it in the Chosŏn period. Recently, the Sangil Furniture Company attempted to revive the technique in order to preserve traditional cultural heritage.

The cabinet was made of elm and basswood, which are sought-after materials for furniture due to their refined texture.

In particular, the landscape scenery exudes oriental beauty and provides a comfortable ambience for the older generation (Fig. 4.3).<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> “Nak’wa changnong sangilgagur: Chŏnt’ong sansuhwasaegyŏ punwigi kŭūk,” (烙畫 장롱 상일가구: 전통山水畫새겨 분위기 그윽; A Nakhwa Cabinet by the Sangil Furniture Company Displayed at the First Fine Furniture Show: Depicts a traditional landscape evoking tranquility and solitude) *Kyŏngnyang shinmun* (October 20, 1981).

The article presents how nakhwa adapted itself to the changing arts and crafts world, while it simultaneously strove to meet the shifting demands of the market. Nonetheless, people still tended to associate the genre with such words as ‘old fashioned’ or ‘antiquated’, as opposed to ‘progressive’ or ‘avant-garde.’

Scholars assess that the President Pak’s policy for the promotion of traditional cultural assets was discriminatory was controversial. Nevertheless, it is clear that his cultural policy helped to introduce lesser-known crafts, such as nakhwa, to the public. Accompanied these articles, advertisements that recruited new students and offered nakhwa classes at local community centers often appeared in the newspaper as well.<sup>63</sup> In fact, Kim Yŏngcho 青木 金榮祚 (b. 1950), a nakhwa artist designated as a Korean Intangible Cultural Asset in 2019, and is still active, first became interested in nakhwa when he came across an advertisement for recruiting apprentices in *Donga ilbo* in the spring of 1972.<sup>64</sup>

#### 4.2 From the Modern Era to the Present Day

The history of nakhwa artists after Paek Hakki was orally transmitted by the nakhwa artist Kim Yŏngcho and also in part by the nakchuk artist Kim Kich’an 金基燦 (b. 1955). According to the history, Paek Hakki had a number of students prior to Korea’s independence in 1945, but only Ch’oe Sŏngsu 雪峯崔聖洙 (1920–1985) decided to continue his career as a nakhwa artist. He was highly regarded for his nakhwa landscapes, birds and flowers, and genre paintings. After the Korean War, Ch’oe resided in the Sŏdaemun 西大門 area in Sŏul and kept cultivating his nakhwa skill until he passed away

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<sup>63</sup> See the appendix 4 on page 76 for a list of newspaper articles released from the 1960s to 1990s.

<sup>64</sup> Yuhun Chŏng. Ibid., 20; Yŏngcho Kim, personal interview, March 26, 2019.

in 1985. In 1972, one of his students, Chŏn Ch'angchin 田園田昌鎭 (b. 1947), who was trained under Ch'oe's guidance for five years, opened the first Korean Nakhwa Studio in Chongro 3-ga 鍾路三街, in the center of Sŏul, and trained approximately thirty students. In addition to teaching, Chŏn, with his students, strove to systematize nakhwa techniques for broad applications, and to upgrade outdated tools to improve productivity. After he ceased his practice and transitioned to the publishing business, his students, Kim Yŏngcho and Kim Sŏnchŏng, have followed in the footsteps of preceding nakhwa artists until today.

Kim Yŏngcho, with his four colleagues, continued to practice nakhwa at a rented workshop near the former studio of his teacher, and marketed their works as tourist souvenirs in order to earn a living. The commercialization of nakhwa occurred at an opportune time when many Japanese tourists came to Korea from the early 1970s due to Japan's economic boom. He and his colleagues were kept busy satisfying increasing demand for nakhwa souvenirs at department stores, arcades, and retail shops in Sŏul. The studio had to be closed down a year later, however, when all of his colleagues stopped pursuing their careers as nakhwa practitioners. In that year, Kim relocated to Tŏkyu 德裕 Mountain in North Chŏlla Province (Fig. 4.4). As a result of the increasing popularity of domestic tourism by Koreans through the 1970s and 80s, in line with the rapid increase of household income, Kim enjoyed a stable income from sales of his nakhwa works before he moved to Songni Mountain 俗離山, which has long been one of the most popular tourist destinations in Korea for long.<sup>65</sup> Overall, nakhwa diverged from its traditional

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<sup>65</sup> Since the Japanese colonial period, Songni Mountain was chosen as the one of Korean Eight Views (大韓八景), which imitated the Eight Views of Xiaoxiang (瀟湘八景) of China.

form and content in order to survive the dramatic shift of Korean society, resulting from rapid economic growth and political democratization after the colonial era.

After Kim moved to his current studio in Boeun 報恩 in the proximity of Songni Mountain in 2000, he stopped making souvenirs all at once. Indeed, he had come to regret producing mundane commercial works for a living.<sup>66</sup> Instead, he focused solely on making artwork for its own sake, and attempted to re-establish the traditional value and glory of the past while developing his own style. Kim introduced a technique for creating multiple layers of shades by repetitively alternating scorching and cooling to produce a reflective gloss over the painting (Fig. 4.5), and a cluster of dots to mimic the pointillism technique of Western paintings (Fig. 4.6). He also came to embrace diverse subjects to depict figures of his contemporaries. Like when King Hyōnjong summoned Pak Ch'angkyu to the court to make nakhwa works for him in Chosŏn Dynasty, the Korean government commissioned Kim Yōngcho for a nakhwa portrait of German Prime Minister Angela Merkel, which would be given to her as a gift on the Korean president's visit to Germany.

In addition, Kim was the first nakhwa artist to systematically organize and document traditional and contemporary nakhwa methods, and adopted certain features of Western paintings. In recognition of his contribution to the genre, he was designated as a State Cultural Asset of the Northern Ch'ungch'ōng Province No. twenty-two in 2010, and as National Intangible Cultural Asset No. 136 in 2019. He demonstrated the value of the genre as an art when his works were exhibited and favorably received at home and abroad due to the distinct artistic beauty of his laboriously crafted works, as well as the

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<sup>66</sup> Yōngcho Kim, personal interview, March 26, 2019.

uniqueness of the genre itself. Indeed, his nakhwa works have been exhibited in China and Japan on multiple occasions, and in Italy on the occasion of the 2014 Asolo Biennial.<sup>67</sup> He remains in active practice and is training his daughter, Kim Yuchin (Fig. 4.7), as his apprentice.

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<sup>67</sup> Kichun Kim, “Poŭn, Nak'wajang Kimyŏngjossi It'aeri piennalle kanda” (보은, 낙화장 김영조씨 ‘이태리 비엔날레’ 간다; Poŭn, the Nakhwa Artist Mr. Yŏngjo Kim Going to the Biennial in Italy) *Chungang ilbo*, (December 29, 2013).

## CONCLUSION

Nakhwa, the technique of painting that scorches the surface of paper, leather and wood with a heated iron, has been practiced since the late Chosŏn period, with the earliest record tracing it back to the seventeenth century. It requires a set of relatively simple tools: a flat iron, a ‘parrot-beak’ iron, an iron holder, and a charcoal brazier. The delicate control of temperature and pressure is a crucial element to achieve a desirable outcome, and it takes many years of devoted training and a strong commitment to become a seasoned practitioner.

Nakhwa works in various forms were produced in volume in the late eighteenth to nineteenth century of Chosŏn, especially after the reputation of the nakhwa artist Pak Ch’angkyu spread widely to the extent that his name reached King Hyŏnjong, who personally praised Pak’s skill and works. This royal approval certainly increased the popularity of the craft, in general, and his works, in particular. Pak also enjoyed the companionship of contemporary literati artists, and he was particularly close to a coterie of Kim Chŏnghŭi and his associates, who was inarguably the most renowned calligrapher, scholar, and painter of the time. Due to his companionship with Kim and his students, who played an active role in establishing the cultural trend of the Southern School style in Korea, Pak must have had opportunities to view their ink brush paintings and applied the style to his nakhwa paintings. Indeed, the works of his descendants, especially landscape paintings, reveal the strong influence of the Southern School style. Nakhwa paintings are also indebted to the illustrated print albums imported from China and folk arts of the late 1800s, also known as minhwa, for their subject matter and diverse styles.

In the late Chosŏn period, the fame of nakhwa extended beyond the border of the country. Yakie and kahitsu, the Japanese equivalent of nakhwa, were referred to in the official record on Chosŏnt’ongsinsa, the Chosŏn Mission to Japan in the Edo Period of Japan. Ikai Shok, a member of the Japanese delegation, demonstrated the technique before Korean envoys in 1811.

This event signifies the popularity of the genre not merely as a form of art, but also as a spectacle that captivated audiences from the two countries.

Throughout three decades of Japanese colonial rule, Korean traditional arts and crafts had been suppressed or exploited as a ruling stratagem for the Japanese to reinforce the legitimacy of their colonial rule and to assimilate Koreans into a Japanese way of life and thinking. However, due to the patronage of Japanese clients who commissioned many nakhwa works from Korea, nakhwa was able to continue being practiced over generations. Until the early twentieth century, when Paek Namch'öl and Paek Hakki carried on the nakhwa tradition, it was passed down exclusively within the Pak family. While the later nakhwa artists followed the folding screen format and subject matter, and the arrangements established by their forebears, they also endeavored to achieve their own styles, e.g., through new ways to handle an iron.

Pursuant to Japanese newly-adopted cultural policy, the colonial government in Korea initiated various cultural events, such as the Chosŏn Exposition and the Chosŏn Arts Exhibition, in the early 1920s. These events were purportedly designed as an integral part of their overall governing strategy to 'Japanize' Koreans in all aspects of cultural life. Traditional Korean crafts, including nakhwa, were included in the events, but exploited for showcasing the backwardness of Korea's traditional culture, as opposed to the modernity of industrialized Japan. It is fortunate that, amid the scarcity of written records on the genre in the early 1900s, newspaper articles constitute an invaluable source of information for tracing the fragmented history of the genre and providing a holistic understanding of it, even though some of them concealed a subtle political intention advanced by Japanese colonialism.

In the case of nakhwa, the independence of the nation in 1945 did not improve the situation, due primarily to the unprecedented destruction that occurred during the Korean War in

the early 1950s and political upheavals in the early 1960s. Korean traditional crafts were selectively promoted under the auspices of President Pak Chŏnghŭi's authoritarian regime, in accordance with the regime's focus on the revitalization of virtuous traditional values. However, nakhwa could not fully benefit from the policy, as it was excluded from mainstream arts and crafts. Therefore, it was only nakhwa artists who continued and promoted the tradition. The first nakhwa studio was opened in Sŏul by Chŏn Ch'angchin in 1972. After he changed careers, one of his students, Kim Yŏngcho, has continued to practice nakhwa, and fulfills his duty of preserving and advancing the traditional technique until today. Years of his commitment and endeavor have gradually become successful in demonstrating the unique beauty and past glory of the craft of nakhwa to the world.

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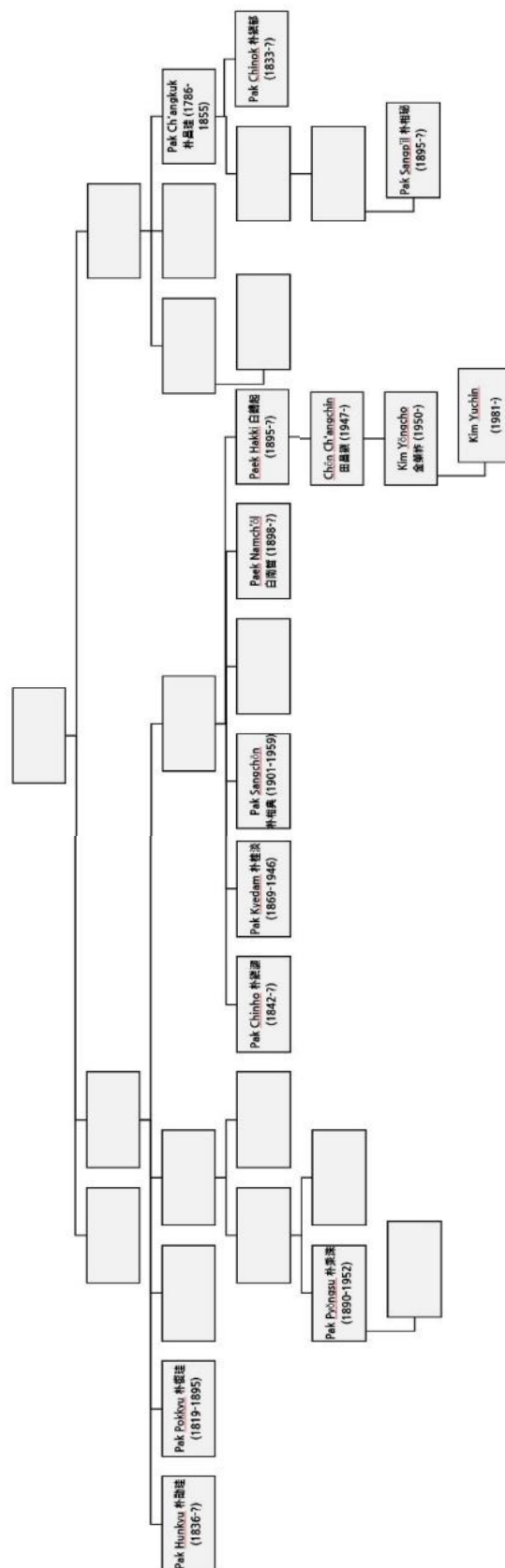
## APPENDIX

**Appendix 1** The chart of existing nakhwa works housed in major museums' collections and owned by private owners

|    | Author                                  | Title                                                                        | Format                   | Size (cm)  | Collection                                                      |
|----|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Pak Ch'angkyu<br>遂山 朴昌珪<br>(1796-1855?) | <i>Hawk on Withered Tree</i><br>(枯木棲鷹圖)                                      | 1 panel                  | 22.7x20.2  | Gansong Art Museum, Söul                                        |
| 2  |                                         | <i>Birds and Flowers</i> (花鳥圖)                                               | 2 panels                 | 55.7x33.0  | Unknown                                                         |
| 3  |                                         | <i>Chrysanthemum</i><br>( <i>Sangch'i</i> /菊花圖)                              | 1 panel                  | Unknown    | Private, Japan                                                  |
| 4  |                                         | <i>Birds, Flowers, and Gongshi</i><br>(“ <i>Scholar Stones</i> ”)<br>(花鳥怪石圖) | 3 panels in a set        | 88.4x30.6  | The Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg<br>(1997:09, 1998:09, 2015:09) |
| 5  |                                         | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                                     | 3 panels in a set        | 56.8x33.5  | The Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg<br>(A 2146, 2147, 2148)        |
| 6  |                                         | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                                     | 1 panel                  | 55.0x33.0  | The Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg<br>(12.24:92 dop 1)            |
| 7  | Pak Ch'angkyu<br>杞隱 朴昌國<br>(1830-?)     | <i>Landscape</i><br>(山水圖)                                                    | 1 panel                  | 12.0x20.0  | Private, Japan                                                  |
| 8  |                                         | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                                     | 8 panels                 | 53.0x34.0  | Gahoe Museum, Söul                                              |
| 9  |                                         | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                                     | 8 panels folding screen  | Unknown    | Private, Korea                                                  |
| 10 | Pak Chinok<br>朴鎮郁<br>(1833-?)           | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                                     | 8 panels                 | 54.2x31.8  | Tokyo National Museum                                           |
| 11 |                                         | <i>Gongshi and Flowers</i><br>(怪石花卉圖)                                        | 8 panels                 | 52.0x33.0  | Gahoe Museum, Söul                                              |
| 12 | Pak Hunkyu<br>雲樵 朴勛珪<br>(1836-?)        | <i>Landscape</i>                                                             | 8 panels folding screen  | Unknown    | Private, Korea                                                  |
| 13 |                                         | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                                     | 10 panels folding screen | Unknown    | Private, Korea                                                  |
| 14 |                                         | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i><br>(花鳥花卉圖)                                  | 10 panels folding screen | 100.6x29.8 | Chinju National Museum, Chinju, Korea                           |

|    |                                      |                                                                      |                           |                        |                                                     |
|----|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 15 | Pak Kyedam<br>月山 朴桂淡<br>(1869-1946)  | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>                                     | 10 panels folding screen  | 97.6x29.5              | The National Folk Museum of Korea, Söul             |
| 16 |                                      | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>                                     | 10 panels folding screen  | 127.2x31.2             | The National Folk Museum of Korea, Söul             |
| 17 |                                      | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>                                     | 8 panels folding screen   | 102.0x30.4             | Onyang Folks Museum, Asan, Korea                    |
| 18 |                                      | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                             | 4 panels folding screen   | Unknown                | Private, Japan                                      |
| 19 |                                      | <i>Bamboo</i> (竹圖)                                                   | Hanging scroll            | 93.5x29.4              | Ryuseikaku (龍星閣), Chiyoda city, Japan               |
| 20 |                                      | <i>Bamboo</i>                                                        | Hanging scroll            | Unknown                | Lost by fire                                        |
| 21 |                                      | <i>Lotus Flowers</i> (蓮花圖)                                           | Hanging scroll            | 128.0x30.0             | Private, Japan                                      |
| 22 | Pak Sangki<br>小山 朴相基<br>(1882-?)     | <i>Flowers and Plants</i> (花卉圖)                                      | 8 panels folding screen   | 95.0x29.0              | Joseon Minhwa Museum, Yöngwöl                       |
| 23 |                                      | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                                             | 10 panels folding screen  | 95.0x29.0              | Joseon Minhwa Museum, Yöngwöl,                      |
| 24 |                                      | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>                                     | 10 panels folding screen  | 94.8x25.7              | The National Folk Museum of Korea, Söul (min 57829) |
| 25 |                                      | <i>Landscape, Flowers and Plants</i> (山水花卉圖)                         | 10 panels folding screen  | 100.3x26.7             | The National Folk Museum of Korea, Söul (min 45452) |
| 26 |                                      | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>                                     | 8 panels folding screen   | 61.0x29.0              | Joseon Minhwa Museum, Yöngwöl (C 3-2 1)             |
| 27 |                                      | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>                                     | 12 panels folding screen  | 99.8x29.5              | National Museum of Korea, Söul (Ku 5211)            |
| 28 |                                      | <i>Apricot flowers and Bamboo</i> (梅竹圖)                              | a pair of hanging scrolls | 92.3x29.8<br>92.7x29.2 | LACMA (M.80.136a, b)                                |
| 29 | Pak Pyöngsu<br>蕉山 朴秉洙<br>(1890-1952) | <i>Gongshi</i> (“ <i>Scholar Stones</i> ”), <i>Bamboo and Orchid</i> | a pair of hanging scrolls | 87.0x28.5              | National Museum of Korea, Söul (bon 8202, 8203)     |

|    |                                     |                                              |                          |            |                                                     |
|----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
|    |                                     | (怪石竹蘭圖)                                      |                          |            |                                                     |
| 30 |                                     | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                     | Framed                   | 27.0x94.7  | The National Folk Museum of Korea, Sōul (min 57936) |
| 31 |                                     | <i>Orchid and Rocks</i> (蘭石圖)                | Hanging scroll           | 99.0x29.0  | Private, Japan                                      |
| 32 |                                     | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                     | Hanging scroll           | 93.0x28.5  | Koryo Museum of Art, Kyoto                          |
| 33 |                                     | <i>Landscape</i>                             | Hanging scroll           | 95.0x31.0  | Towada Art Center, Amori, Japan                     |
| 34 |                                     | <i>Landscape</i>                             | Hanging scroll           | Unknown    | Lost by fire                                        |
| 35 |                                     | <i>Apricot flowers and Nightingale</i> (梅鶯圖) | Hanging scroll           | 94.0x30.0  | Private, Japan                                      |
| 36 |                                     | <i>Bamboo</i>                                | Hanging scroll           | Unknown    | Private, Japan                                      |
| 37 |                                     | <i>Orchid and Rocks</i>                      | Hanging scroll           | Unknown    | Lost by fire                                        |
| 38 | Pak Sangchōn<br>少山 朴相典<br>(1901-?)  | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>             | 8 panels folding screen  | 168.0x46.0 | Lost by fire                                        |
| 39 |                                     | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>             | 8 panels folding screen  | 104.0x30.0 | Keimyung University Museum, Daegu, Korea            |
| 40 |                                     | <i>Bamboo</i>                                | Poster card              | 13.4x8.6   | Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History              |
| 41 | Paek Namch'ōl<br>石下 白南哲<br>(1898-?) | <i>Orchid and Rock</i> (石蘭圖)                 | Framed                   | 108.0x45.0 | Lost by fire                                        |
| 42 |                                     | <i>Bamboo</i>                                | Framed                   | 114.0x45.0 | Lost by fire                                        |
| 43 | Paek Namyong<br>雲山 白南龍              | <i>Orchids and Butterflies</i>               | Hanging scroll           | 96.9x28.8  | Koryo Museum of Art, Kyoto                          |
| 44 | Paek Hakki<br>雲清 白鶴起<br>(1895-?)    | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>             | Unknown                  | Unknown    | Gyeonggido Museum, Suwŏn, Korea                     |
| 45 |                                     | <i>Birds, Flowers and Plants</i>             | 10 panels folding screen | 96.8x27.5  | The National Folk Museum of Korea, Sōul             |
| 46 |                                     | <i>Birds and Flowers</i>                     | 4 Panels                 | 98.3x30.4  | Brooklyn Museum                                     |
| 47 |                                     | <i>Orchids</i> (蘭圖)                          | Hanging scroll           | Unknown    | Private, Japan                                      |
| 48 |                                     | <i>Willow Tree</i> (柳圖)                      | Hanging scroll           | Unknown    | Private, Japan                                      |



## Appendix 2 The genealogy of the nakhwa tradition since the Milyang Pak family

### Appendix 3 The subject matters and their orders of nakhwa folding screen paintings

#### The works of Pak Kyedam 朴桂淡 (1869-1946)

| Title<br>(Collection)                                                                          | Subject of each panel |                                   |                             |                             |                                          |                         |                       |                                       |                          |                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
|                                                                                                | 10                    | 9                                 | 8                           | 7                           | 6                                        | 5                       | 4                     | 3                                     | 2                        | 1                    |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen</i> (NFM, Minsok 029691) (Fig. 3.6)              | Pine tree Crane       | Bamboo Bird Gongshi <sup>68</sup> | Chrysan themum Bird Gongshi | Grape vine Squirrel Gongshi | Peach flower Bird                        | Peony Bird Gongshi      | Willow tree Brid Crab | China rose <sup>69</sup> Bird Gongshi | Orchid Gongshi Butterfly | Apricot blossom Bird |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen</i> (NMK, 40466)                                 | Pine tree Crane       | Bamboo Bird                       | Chrysan themum Bird         | Grape vine Squirrel         | Lotus flower Reed Kingfisher March snail | China rose Bird Gongshi | Orchid Butterfly Bee  | Peony Bird Gongshi                    | Peach blossom Bird       | Apricot blossom Bird |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen</i> (Jinju National Museum, Jin 1107) (Fig. 3.5) | Pine tree Crane       | Bamboo Bird Gongshi               | Chrysan themum Bird Gongshi | Grape vine Squirrel Gongshi | Willow tree Brid                         | Banana tree Butterfly   | Orchid Bee Gongshi    | Peony Bird Gongshi                    | Peach blossom Bird       | Apricot blossom Bird |
| <i>Flowers and Birds Iron Painting</i> (Onyang Folks Museum) (Fig. 3.4)                        |                       |                                   | Bamboo Bird                 |                             | Grape vine Squirrel Gongshi              | Peony Bird Gongshi      | Peach blossom         | Willow tree Bird                      | Apricot blossom Bird     | Pine tree Crane      |
| <i>Flowers and Birds Four Panels Screen</i> (Private collection) (Fig. 3.2)                    |                       |                                   |                             |                             |                                          |                         | Chrysan themum Bee    | China rose Bird Gongshi               | Peony Brid               | Orchid Gongshi       |

#### The works of Pak Pyöngsu 朴秉洙 (1890-1952)

| Title<br>(Collection)                                                              | Subject of each panel |             |                          |                |                     |                              |                              |                  |                  |                                        |                      |                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                                                                                    | 12                    | 11          | 10                       | 9              | 8                   | 7                            | 6                            | 5                | 4                | 3                                      | 2                    | 1                    |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen</i> (NFM, Minsok 047242) (Fig. 3.10) |                       |             | Apricot blossom Bird     | Orchid         | Bamboo              | Chrysan themum Bird          | Reed Goose*                  | Lotus flower*    | Grape Vine*      | Peony*                                 | Orchid Butterfly     | Apricot blossom Bird |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Twelve Panels Screen</i> (NMK, Gu 5211)                | Pine tree Crane       | Bamboo Bird | Banana tree Bird Gongshi | Chrysan themum | Reed Goose          | Lotus flower Reed Kingfisher | Orchid Butterfly Bee Gongshi | Grape vine       | Willow tree Bird | Peony Butterfly                        | Peach blossom Bird   | Apricot blossom      |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Eight Panels Screen</i> (Joseon Minhwa Museum)         |                       |             |                          |                | Chrysan themum Bird | Grape vine                   | Lotus flower Reed Kingfisher | Willow tree Bird | Orchid Bee       | Peach blossom Flycatcher <sup>70</sup> | Apricot blossom Bird | Pine tree Crane      |

\*Panels done by Pak Sangp'il

#### The works of Paek Hakki 白鶴起 (1895-?)

| Title<br>(Collection)                                                                        | Subject of each panel |                     |                     |                       |                         |                          |                             |                         |                      |                 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
|                                                                                              | 10                    | 9                   | 8                   | 7                     | 6                       | 5                        | 4                           | 3                       | 2                    | 1               |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen</i> (NFM, Minsok 047242) (Fig. 3.13)           | Bamboo Bird           | Chrysan themum Bird | Paulownia tree Bird | Reed Crane            | Lotus flower Kingfisher | Peony Bee                | Willow tree Brid            | Orchid Butterfly        | Apricot blossom Bird | Pine tree Crane |
| <i>Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen</i> (Kyonggi University Museum)                | Bamboo Bird           | Chrysan themum Bird | Reed Goose          | China rose Kingfisher | Banana tree Brid        | Lotus flower Kingfisher  | Peony Bee                   | Willow tree Swallow     | Apricot blossom Bird | Pine tree Crane |
| <i>Peacock on Blossoming Plum Branch</i> (Brooklyn Museum Collection, 75.65.3-6) (Fig. 3.15) |                       |                     |                     |                       | Orchid Gongshi          | Peach blossom Flycatcher | Chrysan themum Bird Gongshi | Lotus flower Kingfisher |                      |                 |

<sup>68</sup> Gongshi (供石), known as scholar's rocks.

<sup>69</sup> *Rosa chinensis* (月季), also known as Bengal rose.

<sup>70</sup> To be specific, *Asia paradise flycatcher* (綬帶鳥).

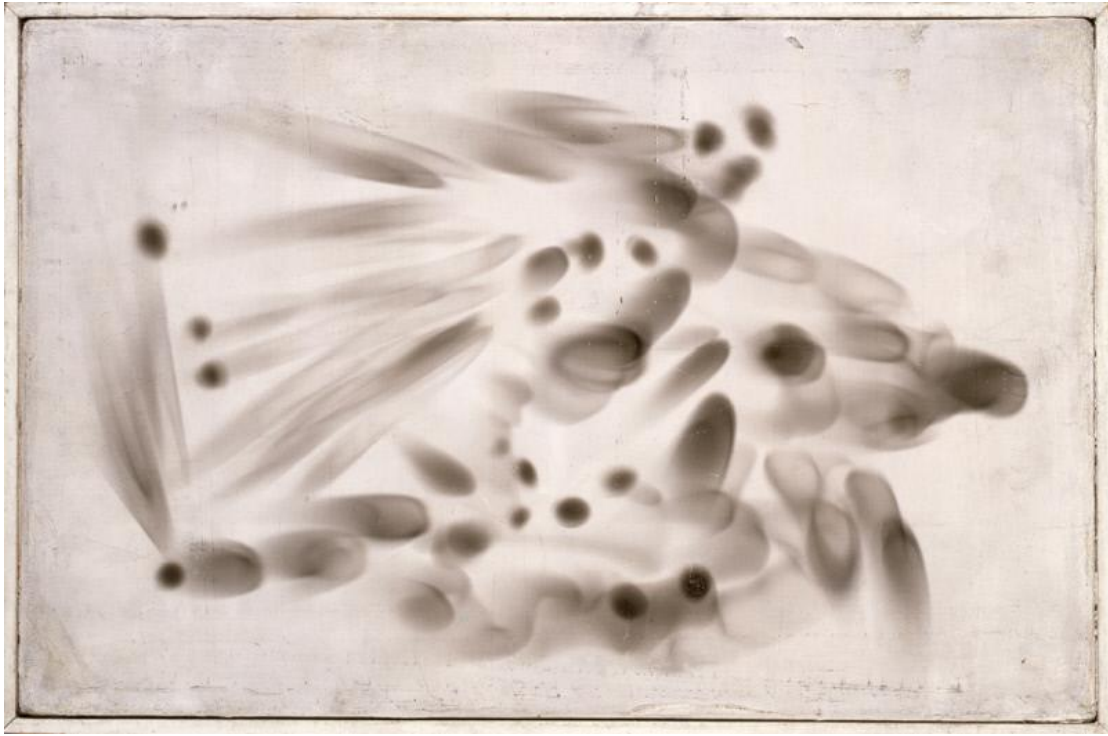
**Appendix 4** The list of newspaper articles on nakhwa released from the 1960s to 1990s

| Date         | Newspapers                    | Translated Titles                                                                                                                                                                     | Original Titles in Korean                           |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| June 6, 1966 | <i>Kyŏnghyang shinmun</i> , 5 | Folk Art Village (1): Bamboo Craft of Tamyang                                                                                                                                         | 民芸의 마을 (1): 潭陽의 竹細工藝                                |
| 1970.07.08   | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 5         | Traditional Folk Arts Being Forgotten... 'Nakhwa' Scorched on Woodblock, etc.                                                                                                         | 잊혀져가는 固有民間藝術...木板등 그을려 그린 「낙화」                      |
| 1973.10.30   | <i>Kyŏnghyang shinmun</i> , 5 | The Intangible Cultural Asset Craftworks Exposition: Held Until November 20 <sup>th</sup> at Ch'angdŏk Palace                                                                         | 人間文化財 工藝  작품전: 11 월 20 일까지 昌德宮서                     |
| 1997.05.26   | <i>Maeil gyŏngje</i> , 31     | Appreciating Aesthetic Enjoyment of Foregoers Indwelled in Fans: 'Year of Cultural Heritage'                                                                                          | 부채속에 담긴 선인들<br>풍류음미: '문화유산의 해'                      |
| 1977.09.23   | <i>Maeil gyŏngje</i> , 8      | Folk Tourist Products Competitive Exhibition, On-paper Exhibition of Award-Winning Products: Using Omnipresent Materials, Introducing Our Folk Tradition and Earning Foreign Currency | 觀光民藝品 경진대회, 입상작 紙上展: 주변 어디에나 있는 素材로, 우리 民俗소개 外貨도 벌어 |
| 1981.06.22   | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 5         | Culture Briefing: [At] The Center for Everyday Wisdom, Free Class for Nakhwa Portrait                                                                                                 | 文化短信: 생활지혜원, 烙畫초상화 무료강좌                             |
| 1981.07.29   | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 11        | Donga Post: Free Class for Nakhwa and Nakp'il                                                                                                                                         | 東亞포스트: 烙畫, 烙筆 무료강습                                  |
| 1981.08.07   | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 10        | Donga Post: Free Class for Nakhwa (Painting with an Iron) and Nakp'il (Calligraphy with an Iron)                                                                                      | 東亞포스트: 낙화 (烙書, 인두로 그리는 그림), 낙필 (烙筆, 인두로 쓰는 글씨) 무료강습 |
| 1981.08.19   | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 10        | Donga Post, Classes: [At] The Center for Everyday Wisdom, Free Class for Nakhwa and Nakp'il                                                                                           | 東亞포스트, 강습: 생활지혜원, 낙화 (烙畫), 낙필                       |
| 1981.10.05   | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 11        | Donga Post: Recruitment of Male and Female Nakhwa Apprentices                                                                                                                         | 東亞포스트: 모집, 남녀낙화직업견습생                                |

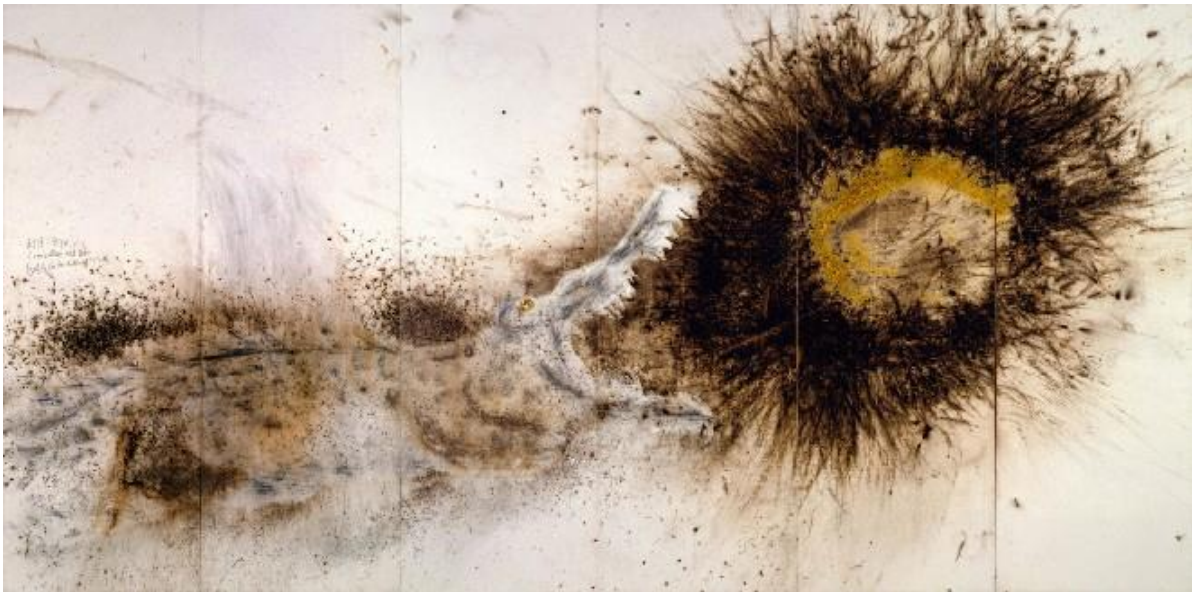
|            |                                |                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                   |
|------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1981.10.20 | <i>Maeil gyŏngje</i> ,<br>7    | The 1 <sup>st</sup> Excellent Furniture Show: A Nakhwa Cabinet by Sangil Furniture Company with a Traditional Landscape painting teeming with a feeling of seclusion and serenity | 제 1 회 우수家具展紙上소개:<br>烙畫장롱 상일가구,<br>전통山水畫 새겨 분위기 그윽 |
| 1981.11.19 | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 10         | Donga Post: Special Class for Nakhwa, Knotting (Macramé), Gourd Bowl Crafts                                                                                                       | 東亞포스트: 낙화, 매듭, 바가지<br>공예 특별강습                     |
| 1981.12.05 | <i>Maeil gyŏngje</i> ,<br>9    | Nakhwa: [Painting Made By] Using a Heated Iron, Originated from China; Making Portraits and Folding Screens, Popular Among Foreigners                                             | 烙畫: 불에 달군 인두사용,<br>中國서傳來; 초상화, 병풍<br>제작, 外國人에人氣   |
| 1981.12.21 | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 10         | Donga Post: Classes for Nakhwa and Knotting                                                                                                                                       | 東亞포스트: 강습, 낙화, 매듭                                 |
| 1982.03.16 | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 10         | Donga Post: Classes for Traditional Knotting, Gourd Bowl Craft, Flower Arrangement, Knitting, and Nakhwa                                                                          | 東亞포스트: 강습, 전통매듭,<br>박공예, 꽃꽂이, 손뜨개, 낙화             |
| 1982.04.02 | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 10         | Donga Post: Classes for Nakhwa, Gourd Bowl Craft, Flower Arrangement, Knotting, and Knitting                                                                                      | 東亞포스트: 강습, 낙화,<br>박공예, 꽃꽂이, 매듭, 손뜨개               |
| 1982.07.01 | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 7          | The Center for Everyday Wisdom, Nakhwa Class                                                                                                                                      | 생활지혜원,烙畫강습                                        |
| 1982.08.10 | <i>Donga ilbo</i> , 10         | Donga Post: Classes for Nakhwa, Knotting, and Gourd Bowl Craft                                                                                                                    | 東亞포스트: 강습, 낙화, 매듭,<br>박공예                         |
| 1986.07.28 | <i>Kyŏnghyang shinmun</i> , 7  | Profitable Calabash Bowl Craft: Continuing the tradition of Gourd Bowl Craft in the 1970s, Popular Desk Lamp and Wall-Hanging Decoration                                          | 잡짚한 收入 뒤옹박工藝:<br>70年代 박工藝 이어<br>電氣스탠드, 벽걸이로人氣     |
| 1987.09.29 | <i>Kyŏnghyang shinmun</i> , 16 | Along Marketplaces and Through the Ages (4): Tamyang Bamboo Product Market                                                                                                        | 장터따라 歲月따라 (4): 潭陽<br>竹物시장                         |

|            |                              |                                                                                                                                              |                                               |
|------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1990.10.16 | <i>Maeil gyōngje</i> ,<br>19 | Today, Competition of 30 Sports Begins (National Sports Festival in North Ch'ungch'ōng Province, Local Craftwork Exhibition Hall and Market) | 오늘 30 개 종목 본격경기 (충북 전국체전, 향토공예품 전시관매장)        |
| 1993.11.04 | <i>Han'gyerye</i> , 15       | Focus on TV Programs: Carrying on the Traditional Painting 'Nakchuk,' Searching for the Traditional Culture <Nakchuk>                        | 프로그램 초점, 텔레비전: 전통회화 '낙죽' 전통잇기, 전통문화를 찾아서 <낙죽> |

## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Figure 1.1** Wolfgang Paalen, *Smoke Painting (Fumage)*, 1938  
(Photo: <https://seattleartistleague.com/2018/06/27/sal-challenge-fumage/>).



**Figure 1.2** Cai Guo-Qiang, *Crocodile and Sun*, 2007, Gunpowder on paper, mounted on wood as six-panel screen, 233 x 463.8 cm (Photo: <https://www.eslitegallery.com/en/product/cai-guo-qiangscrocodile-and-sun/>).



**Figure 1.3** *Flowers and Birds* (Alan Carter Covell and Kyu J. Pak-Covell, 1991.80), 1800s, Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), ten-panel folding screen with designs and inscriptions burnt into paper (pyrography), 153.5 x 443cm (Photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art; <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1991.80>).



**Figure 1.4** Pak Kyedam giving a demonstration of nakhwa at the 1929 Chosŏn Exposition  
 (Photo: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage Collection;  
<https://www.nrich.go.kr/kor/subscriptionDataUsrView.do?menuIdx=1106&idx=154&gubun=J>)



**Figure 1.5** An iron holder/tugs (Photo: Kim, Inkyu, and Yŏngcho Kim. *Nakhwajang: Ch'ungch'ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* [낙화장: 충청북도 무형문화재 제 22 호]).



**Figure 1.6** *P'yŏngindu*, a 'flat iron' (Photo: Kim, Inkyu, and Yŏngcho Kim. *Nakhwajang: Ch'ungch'ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* [낙화장: 충청북도 무형문화재 제 22 호]).



**Figure 1.7. a** Aengmuburi indu, a 'parrot-beak' iron  
 (Photo: Kim, Inkyu, and Yŏngcho Kim. *Nakhwajang: Ch'ungch'ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* [낙화장: 충청북도 무형문화재 제 22 호]).



**Figure 1.7. b** The *aengmuburi indu*, a ‘parrot-beak’ iron handed down in the Pak’s lineage (Photo: Kim, Inkyu, and Kim Yŏngcho. *Nakhwajang : Ch’ungch’ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* [낙화장: 충청북도 무형문화재 제 22 호])



**Figure 1.7. c** Tools, including irons, iron holders, dust cleaner, and hand-operated bellow, still in use and owned by the contemporary nakhwa artist Kim Yŏngcho (Photo: the author).



**Figure 1.8. a** Bronze iron, Koryŏ, 34.7 x 15.1 cm (Photo: National Museum of Korea).



**Figure 1.8. b** Bronze iron, Paekche, Kongju Kŭmsŏngdong (百濟 公州 金城洞) Muryŏng wangnŭng (武寧王陵), 19.0 cm, (Photo: Gongju National Museum).



**Figure 1.9** (left) Boards especially designed for nakhwa craftsmen (Photo: Kim, Inkyu, and Yŏngcho Kim. *Nakhwajang: Ch'ungch'ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* [낙화장: 충청북도 무형문화재 제 22 호]); (right) Boards still in use marked with numerous burnt marks at Kim Yŏngcho's studio (Photo: the author).



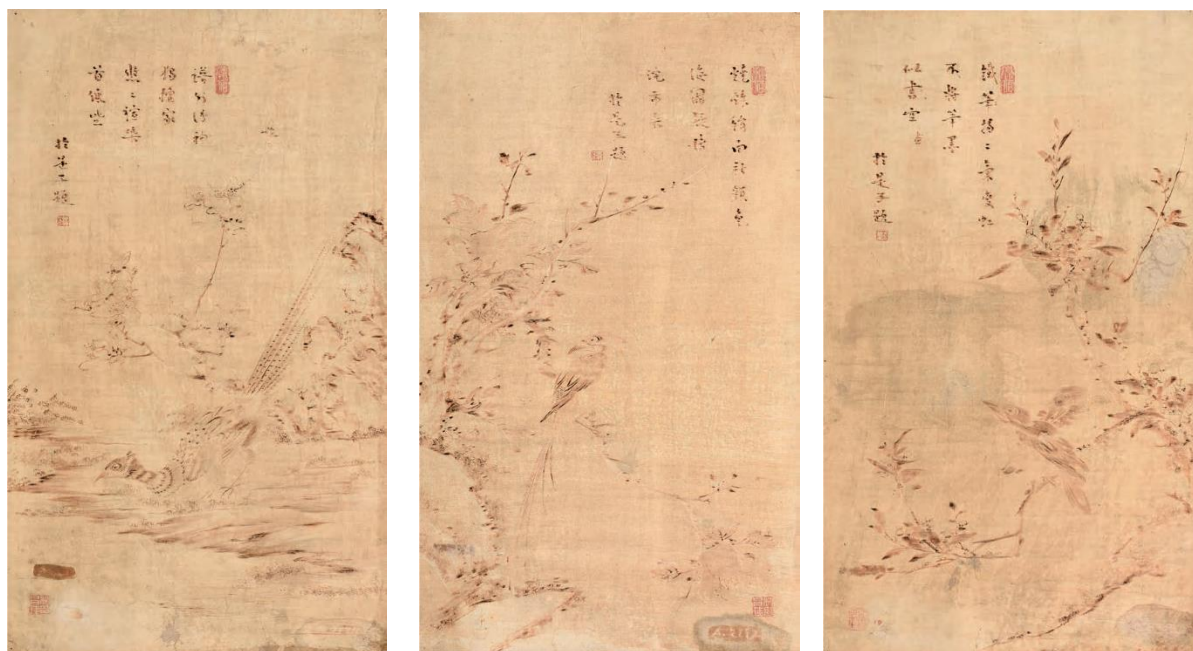
**Figure 1.10** Scene of nakhwa demonstration showing how to write with the tip of the parrot-beak iron in one hand and an iron holder in the other (Photo: Kim, Inkyu, and Yŏngcho Kim. *Nakhwajang: Ch'ungch'ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* [낙화장: 충청북도 무형문화재 제 22 호]).



**Figure 2.1** Attributed to Sin Saimtang, *Insects and Flowers painting* (傳申師任堂筆草蟲圖) (Sinsu 3350), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), ink and color on paper, 28.0 X 32.8 cm (Photo: The National Museum of Korea).



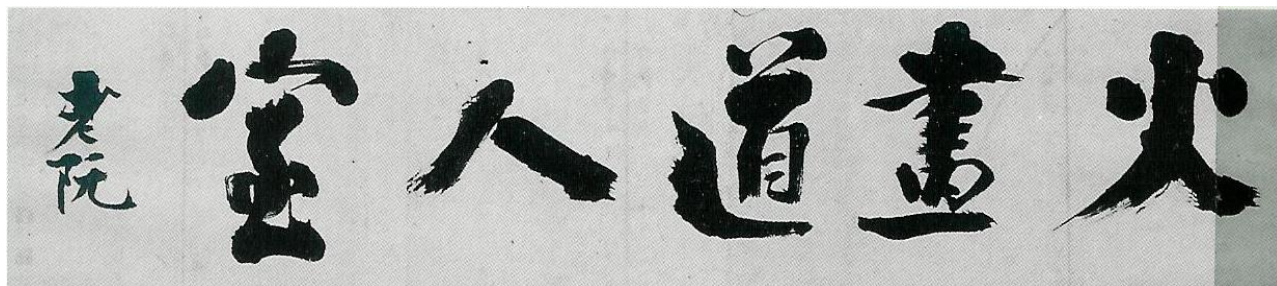
**Figure 2.2** Pak Ch'angkyu, *Rocks, Flowers, and Birds* (낙화 화조괴석도; 烙畵 花鳥怪石圖) (Heinrich Constantin Eduard Meyer, 1997:09; 1998:09; 2015:09), first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, pyrography on paper, 88.2 x 30.6 cm each (Photo: The Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg).



**Figure 2.3** Pak Ch'angkyu, *Flowers and Birds* (낙화 화조도; 烙畵 花鳥圖) (Carl Christian Gottsche, A2146; A2147; A2148), first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, pyrography on paper, 56.8 x 33.5 cm each (Photo: The Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg).



**Figure 2.4** Pak Ch'angkyu, *Flowers and Birds* (낙화 화조도; 烙畵 花鳥圖) (Carl Christian Gottsche, 12.24:92 dop 1), first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, pyrography on paper, 55.0 x 33.0 cm (Photo: The Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg).



**Figure 2.5** Kim Chŏnghŭi, *Hwahwatoin* writing gifted to Pak Ch'angkyu, Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) (Photo: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage Collection).



**Figure 2.6. a** Hō Ryōn, *Landscape* (許鍊(小痴)筆山水圖)(Dongwon 3261), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), ink and color on silk, 88.2 x 35.2 cm each (Photo: The National Museum of Korea).



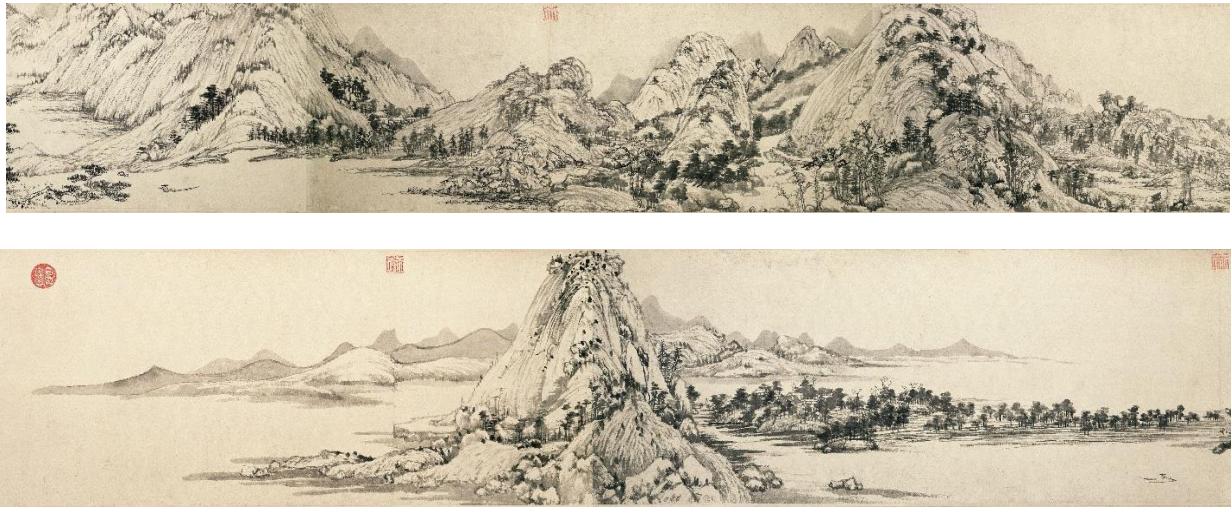
**Figure 2.6. b** Hō Ryōn, *Landscape* (許鍊筆山水圖) (Duksu 3971), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), ink and color on silk, 27.0 x 53.0 cm each (Photo: The National Museum of Korea).



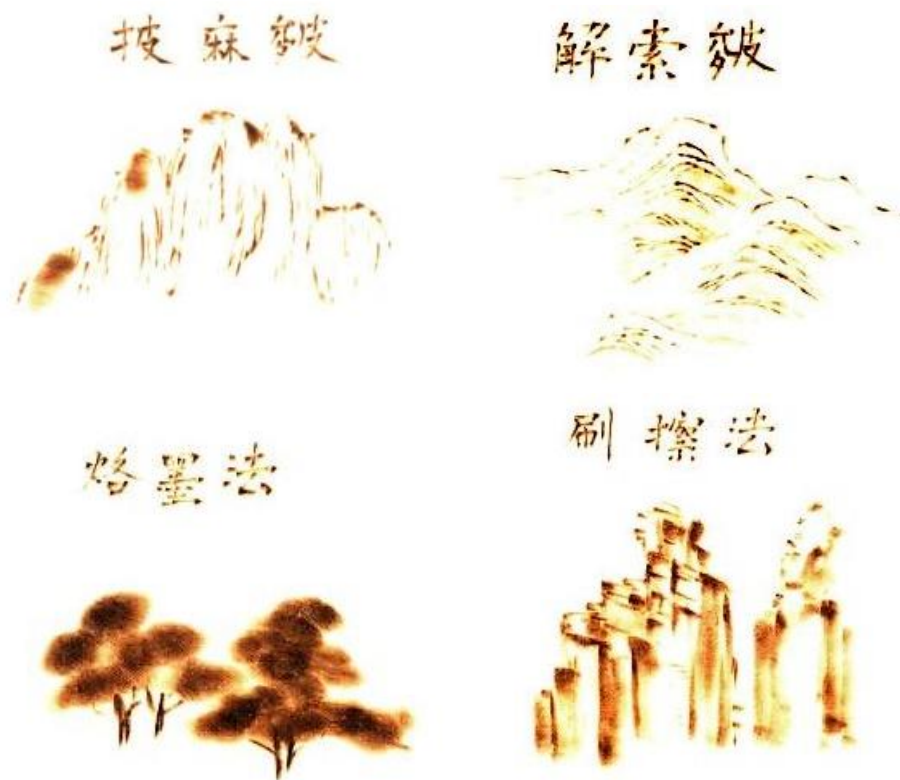
**Figure 2.7** Hō Ryōn, *Landscape* (扇面山水圖), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), hand fan, ink and color on paper, 21.0 x 60.8 cm (Photo: Seoul National University Museum; Chōng, 870).



**Figure 2.8** Ni Zan, *Wind among the Trees on the Riverbank* (元倪瓚江渚風林圖軸) (1989.363.39), Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), hanging scroll, ink on paper, 59.1 x 31.1 cm (Photo: The Metropolitan Museum; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/41154>).



**Figure 2.9** Huang Gongwang, parts of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (富春山居圖), Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), handscroll, ink on paper, 31.8 x 51.4 cm  
(Photo: Zhejiang Provincial Museum; [https://www.npm.gov.tw/exh100/fuchun/en\\_02\\_1.html](https://www.npm.gov.tw/exh100/fuchun/en_02_1.html)).



**Figure 2.10** Various types of burnt marks of nakhwa emulating the brush strokes (Photo: Kim, Inkyu, and Yŏngcho Kim. *Nakhwajang: Ch'ungch'ŏng-bukto muhyŏng munhwajae che 22-ho* [낙화장: 충청북도 무형문화재 제 22 호]).



**Figure 2.11** Pak Pyŏngsu, *Ten Panels Nakhwa Landscape Painting* (烙畫山水圖十幅屏風) (Minsok 045452), folding screen, pyrography on paper, 109.5 x 29.5 cm (Photo: The National Folk Museum of Korea).



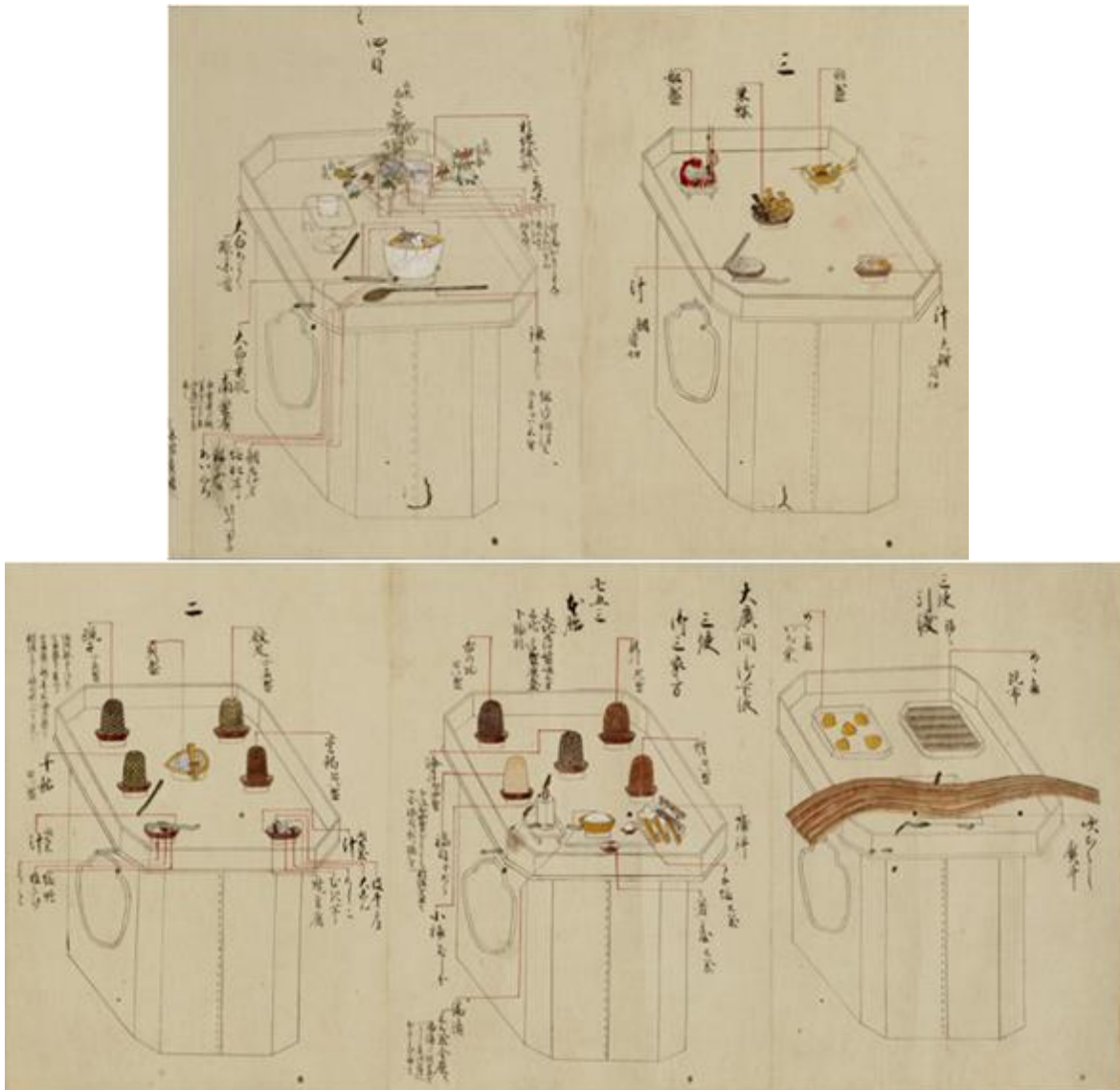
**Figure 2.12** (left) Cho Sökchin, *Village Far by River* (水抱孤村圖), mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 128.0 x 33.5 cm, private collection in Seoul, Korea (Photo: [http://www.methodos.co.kr/bbs/board.php?bo\\_table=study\\_5&wr\\_id=392&sca=tb08&page=4](http://www.methodos.co.kr/bbs/board.php?bo_table=study_5&wr_id=392&sca=tb08&page=4)); (right) An Chungsik, *Landscape* (安中植筆山水圖) (Dongwon 2695), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 186.5 x 56.3 cm (Photo: The National Museum of Korea).



**Figure 2.13** *Ten Panels of Eight Views of Xixiang Painting* (瀟湘八景圖十幅屏風) (Minsok 029626), folding screen, pyrography on paper, 32.5 x 100.0 cm (Photo: The National Folk Museum of Korea).



**Figure 2.14** Pak Ch'angkuk, *Flowers and Birds* (花鳥圖), 19<sup>th</sup> century, pyrography on paper, 52.0 x 33.0 cm (Photo: Gahoe Museum; Hwang, Hŏn-man).



**Figure 2.15** Ikai Shok, *Chosōnin ōhyangūng ch'irosamsōnbudo* (朝鮮人御饗應七五三膳部圖), 1810, 32 leaves painting albums, ink and color on paper, 30.3×21.0 cm (Photo: [https://enchiren.com/documents/map\\_none/%E4%B8%83%E4%BA%94%E4%B8%89%E7%9B%9E%E4%BB%98%E7%B9%B0%E5%87%BA%E9%A0%86%E4%B9%8B%E7%B5%B5%E5%9B%B3-2](https://enchiren.com/documents/map_none/%E4%B8%83%E4%BA%94%E4%B8%89%E7%9B%9E%E4%BB%98%E7%B9%B0%E5%87%BA%E9%A0%86%E4%B9%8B%E7%B5%B5%E5%9B%B3-2))



**Figure 2.16** Asai Midori, *Bonito fish* (初図) pyrography on paper (Photo: Tabe Takayuki).



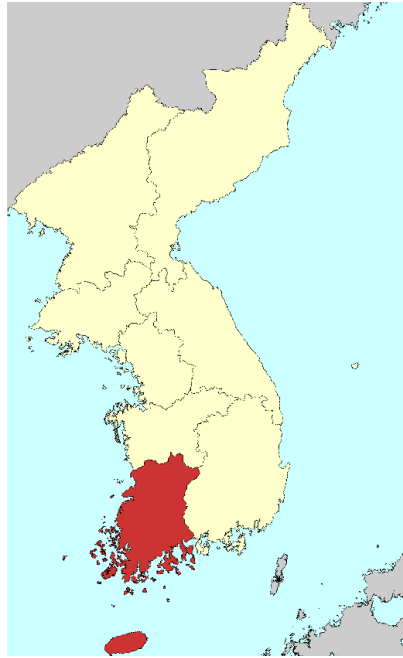
**Figure 2.17** Koikawa Hakuga *Horses and Mt. Fuji* (富士駒図), pyrography on paper (Photo: Tabe Takayuki).



**Figure 3.1** “T'uksaegi innün nak'wa.” (特色이 있는 烙畫; Distinctive Nakhwa) *Maeil shinbo*, November 5, 1918. (Photo: National Library of Korea, Newspaper Archive).



**Figure 3.2** Pak Kyedam, *Flowers and Birds* (花鳥圖), four panels screen painting, pyrography on paper, includes the inscription “Han'gukchönju Wölsan” (韓國全州 月山), private collection (Photo: Tabe Takayuki).



**Figure 3.3** Honam (湖南) region is marked in red in the map of the Korean Peninsula  
(Photo: <https://ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/%EC%A0%84%EB%9D%BC%EB%8F%84>).



**Figure 3.4** Pak Kyedam, *Flowers and Birds Iron Painting* (Photo: Onyang Folks Museum).



**Figure 3.5** Pak Kyedam, *Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen* (Jin 1107) (Photo: Jinju National Museum).



**Figure 3.6** Pak Kyedam, *Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen* (花鳥圖十幅屏風) (Minsok 029691), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), folding screen, pyrography on paper, 31.2 x 127.2 cm each (Photo: The National Folk Museum of Korea).



**Figure 3.7** Pak Pyöngsu, *Birds and Flowers Twelve Panels Screen* (朴秉洙筆 烙畫花鳥圖十二幅屏風) (Gu 5211), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), folding screen, pyrography on paper, 99.8 x 29.5 cm each (Photo: The National Museum of Korea).



**Figure 3.8** A seal inscribed with *hwahwa* (火畫), “fire painting,” on the fifth panel of *Birds and Flowers Twelve Panels Screen* (Figure 3.7) screen.



**Figure 3.9** Paek Namch’öl, *Orchid and Rock* (烙畫石蘭圖), pyrography on paper, 108.0 x 45.0 cm, Private collection (Photo: Intangible Heritage Digital Archive)





**Figure 3.10** Pak Pyöngsu and Pak Sangp'il, *Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Nakhwa Screen* (烙畫花鳥圖十幅屏風) (Minsok 057829), folding screen, pyrography on paper, 133.0 x 331.5 cm (Photo: The National Folk Museum of Korea)  
 (lower four panels) Pak Pyöngsu's orchids and apricot blossoms from the same screen.

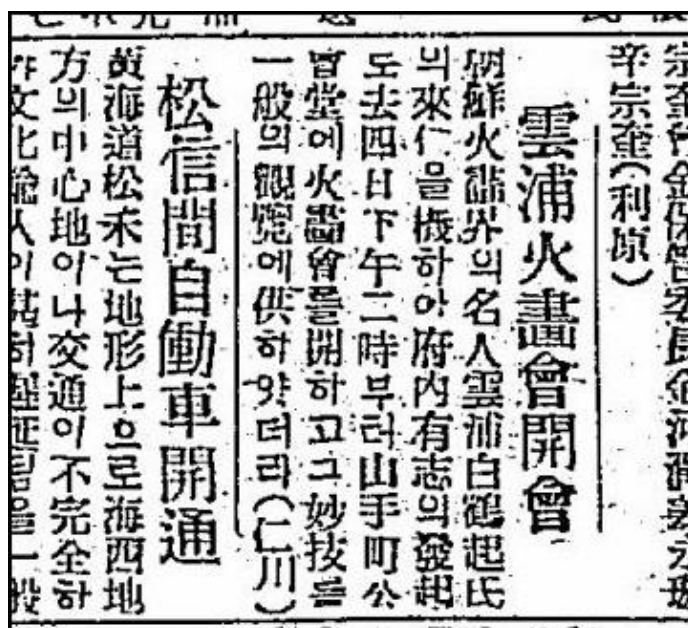


Figure 3.11 “Unp'o hwahwahoe kaehoe” (雲浦 火畫會 開會; Unpo, Hosting a Pyrography Demonstration), *Donga ilbo*, July 8, 1923. (Photo: Naver News Library).

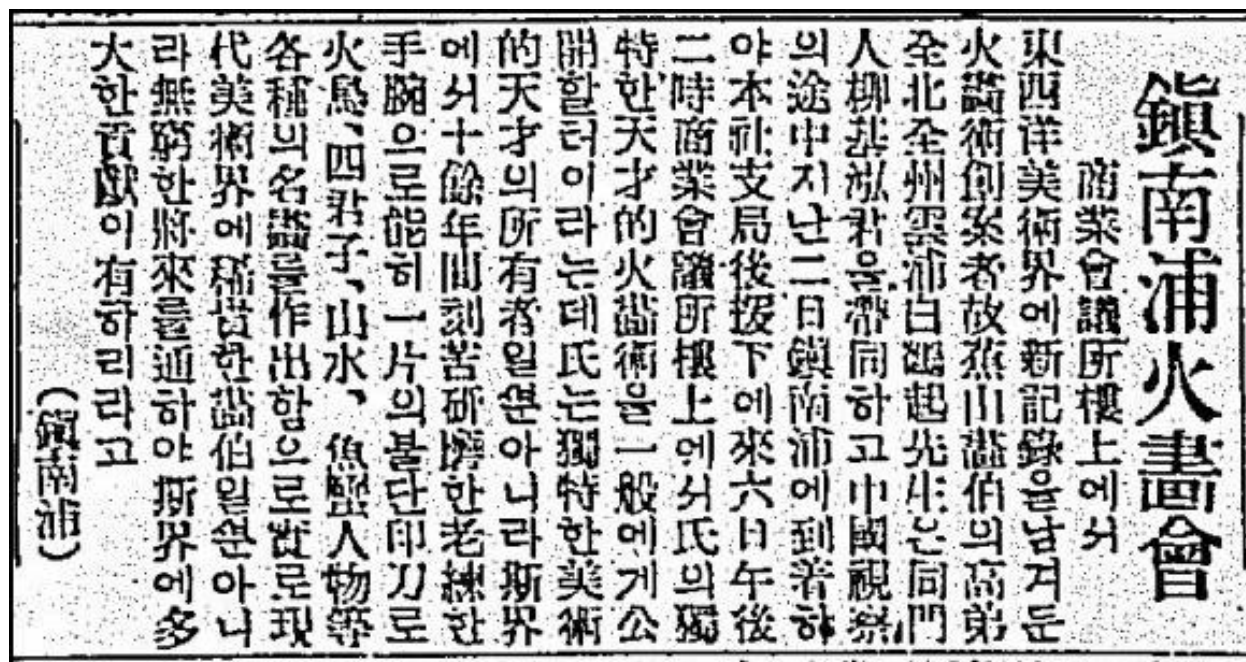


Figure 3.12 “Chinnamp'o hwahwahoe: Sangö'p'oeüisonusangesö” (鎮南浦 火畫會: 商業會議所樓上에서; Chinnamp'o Pyrography Demonstration: At the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Pavilion), *Donga ilbo*, September 5, 1924. (Photo: Naver News Library).



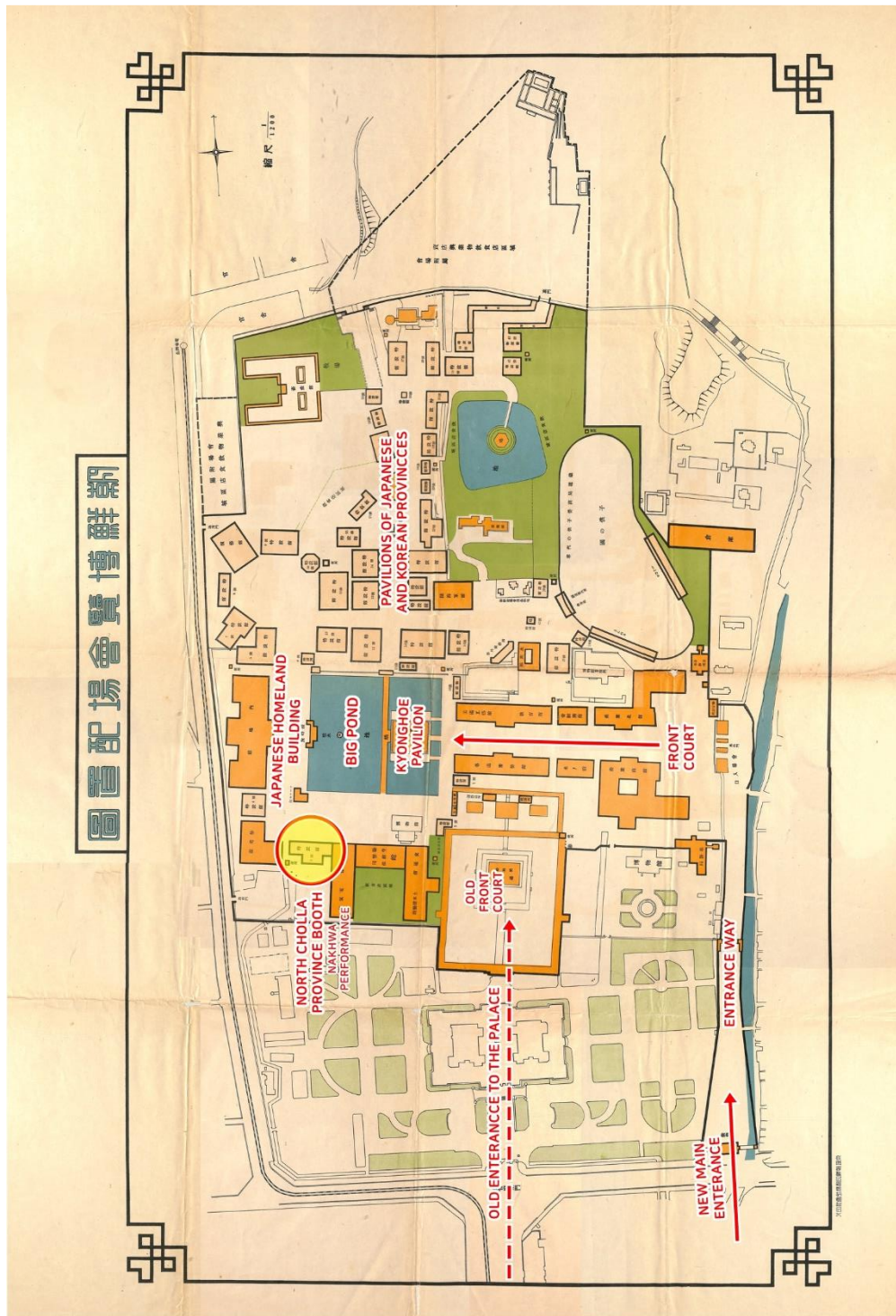
**Figure 3.13** Paek Hakki, *Nakhwa Birds and Flowers Ten Panels Screen* (烙畫花鳥圖十幅屏風) (Minsok 047242), folding screen, pyrography on paper, 139.2 x 347.0 cm (Photo: The National Folk Museum of Korea).



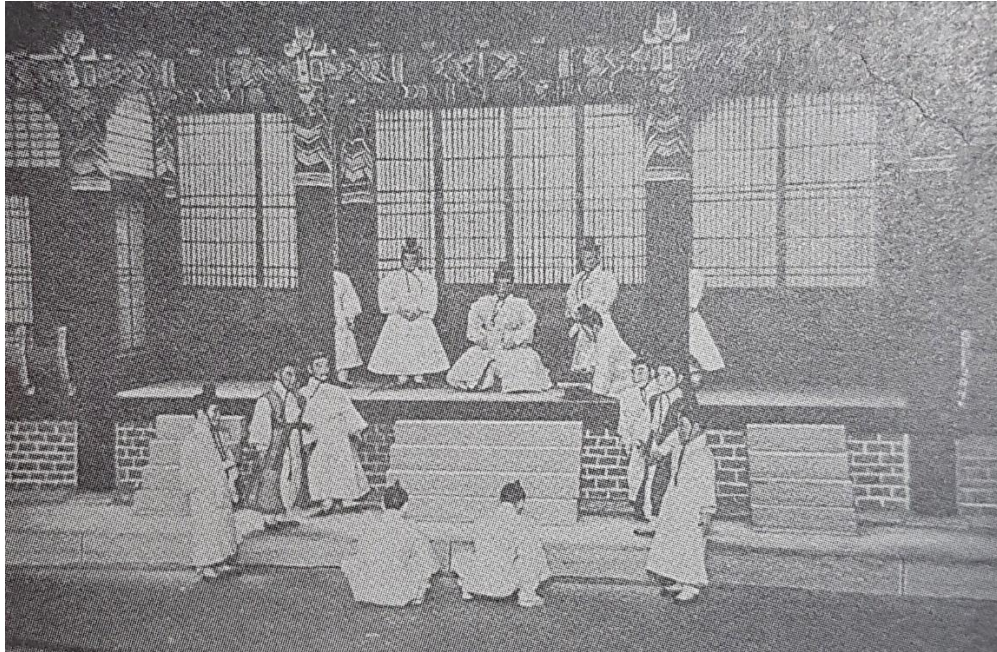
**Figure 3.14** (left) “Hwahwahoe kaech'oe” (火畫會開催: 白鶴起氏の來新으로; Hosting Pyrography Demonstration: Mr. Paek Hakki's Visit), *Shidae ilbo*. September 18, 1924; (right) “Shinūiju, Hwahwahoe Sŏnghwang” (新義州: 火畫會盛況; [In] Shinūiju, Hwahwa Convention, a Big Hit), *Shidae ilbo* (September 24, 1924) (Photo: National Library of Korea, Newspaper Archive).



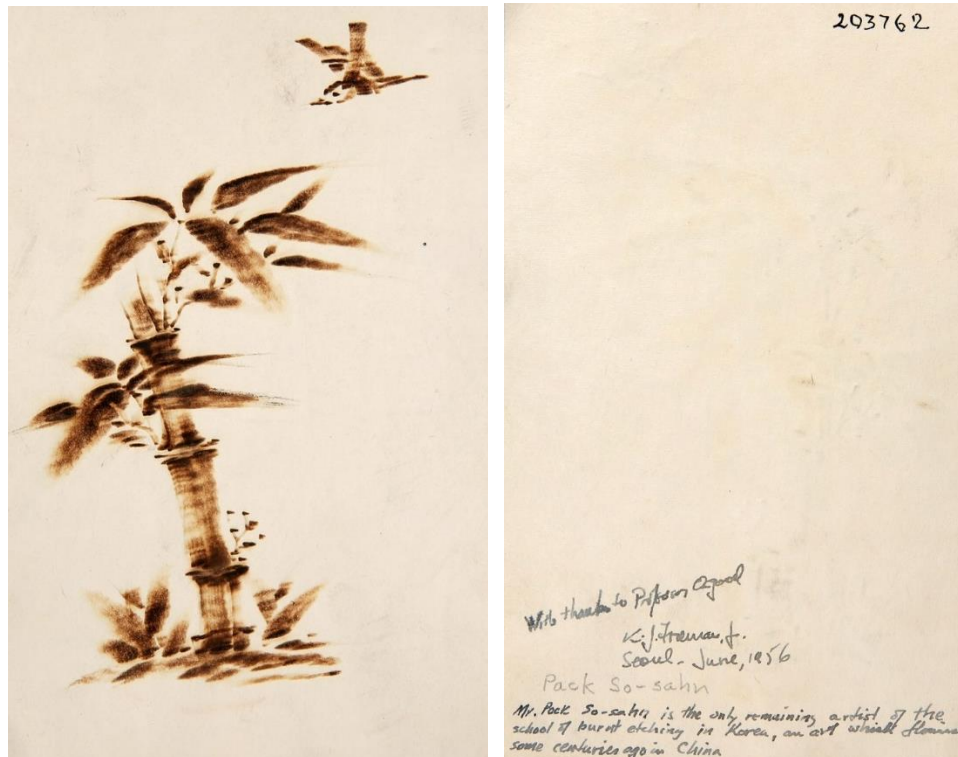
**Figure 3.15** Paek Hakki, *Peacock on Blossoming Plum Branch* (Designated Purchase Fund, 75.65.3-6), late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), branding, ink, and light color on paper, 98.3 x 30.4 cm each (Photo: Brooklyn Museum Collection).



**Figure 3.16** Floor plan of the 1929 Chosŏn Exposition with the author's notations  
 (Photo: National Museum of Korea; [https://www.museum.go.kr/modern-history/docubj.do?aseq=561&group\\_nm=%EC%A1%B0%EC%84%A0%EB%B0%95%EB%9E%8C%ED%9A%8C%20%EB%B0%B0%EC%B9%98%20%EB%8F%84%EB%A9%B4&major=%EA%B8%B0%ED%83%80](https://www.museum.go.kr/modern-history/docubj.do?aseq=561&group_nm=%EC%A1%B0%EC%84%A0%EB%B0%95%EB%9E%8C%ED%9A%8C%20%EB%B0%B0%EC%B9%98%20%EB%8F%84%EB%A9%B4&major=%EA%B8%B0%ED%83%80)).



**Figure 3.17** Display of a torture scene at the 1929 Chosŏn Exposition (Photo: Ch'oe, Kong ho. *Sanŏp kwa yesul ūi kiro esŏ: Han'guk kŭndae kongyesaron*, 75).



**Figure 3.18. a** Pak So-Sahn [Pak Sangchŏn], *Bamboo and Bird* (YPM ANT 203762), burnt etching postcard (Photo: Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History; <https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-ANT-203762>).



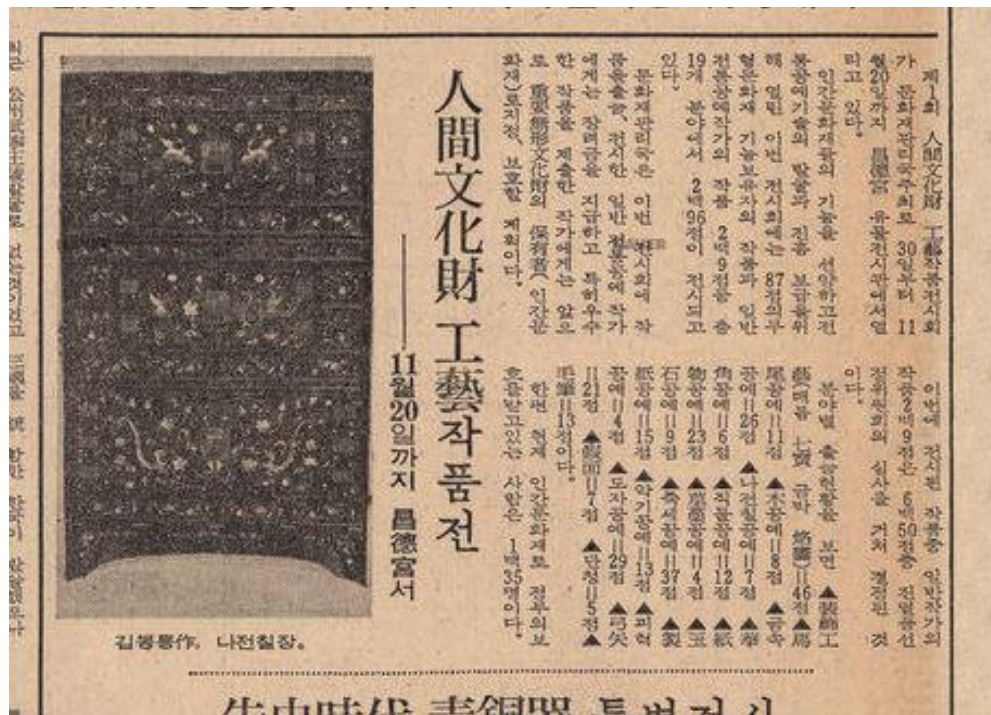
**Figure 3.18. b** (left) Pak Sangchŏn, *Apricot Blossom Painting* (梅花圖) (Hwach'o 2-151), pyrography, ink and color on paper; (right) Pak's signature, "Pak Sosan (朴小山)" on the top of the last panel with the bamboo trees (Photo: Gahoe Museum, the author).



**Figure 3.19** Pak Hakrim, *Ten Panels Nakhwa Screen* (烙畫屏十幅) (Minsok 005634), folding screen, pyrography on paper, 100.8 x 29.4 cm (Photo: The National Folk Museum of Korea).



**Figure 4.1** (above) The office of the Korea Handicraft Demonstration Center (KHDC) in Seoul and the employees working on the design for an inlaid marble gameboard and bass jewelry, respectively (Photo: [Industrial Activities Bulletin](#));  
(below) President Pak visited the center in February 1970.  
(Photo: 한국디자인포장센터 20 년사, 한국디자인포장센터, 1990, 90).



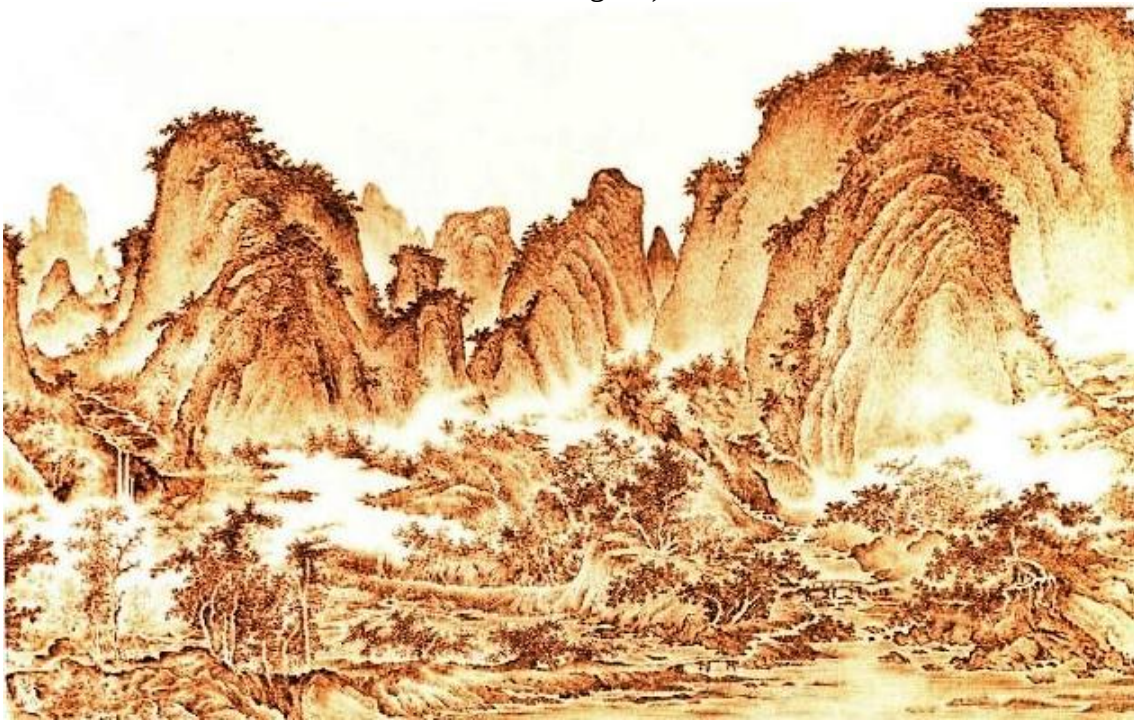
**Figure 4.2** “Che1hoe In'ganmunhwajae Kongyejap'um Jönshihoe” (人間文化財 工藝작품전: 11 월 20 일까지 昌德宮서; The First Intangible Cultural Asset Craftworks Exposition: Exhibition Held at The Ch'angdök Palace Until November 20<sup>th</sup>), *Maeil gyöngje*, October 2, 1981 (Photo: Naver News Library).



**Figure 4.3** “Nak'wa changnong sangilgagur: Chönt'ong sansuhwasaegyö punwigi küük” (烙畫 장롱 상일가구: 전통山水畵새겨 분위기 그윽; A Nakhwa Cabinet by Sangil Furniture Company Displayed at the First Fine Furniture Show: Depicts a traditional landscape evoking the tranquility and solitude), *Kyönggyang shinmun*, October 20, 1981 (Photo: Naver News Library).



**Figure 4.4** Scene of Kim Yŏngcho's shop at Tŏkyu Mountain, North Chŏlla Province (Photo: Kim Yŏngcho).



**Figure 4.5** Kim Yŏngcho, *Summer Mountains* (2009), pyrography on Korean mulberry paper (hanji), 180 x 60 cm, owned by the artist (Photo: the author).



**Figure 4.6** Kim Yŏngcho, *Shinsŏnam Seated Bodhisattva Maitreya* (2007), nakhwa on paper (hanji), 52 x 150 cm, owned by the artist (Photo: the author).



**Figure 4.7** Work by Kim Yuchin, an imitation of one of Pak Ch'angkyu's work from The Museum of Ethnology Collection (Photo: the author).