

**THE INFLUENCE OF KOREAN ART,
IDEAS AND AESTHETICS
ON ABSTRACT EXPRESSIONISM**

JUNG GYUN CHAE

M.PHIL.

HISTORY OF ART

SEPTEMBER 2013

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

ABSTRACT

I explored how Jackson Pollock approached Asian arts through his own practice and argued what are specifically Korean elements in his work, in order to excavate the relationship between Korean aesthetics and American painting in the middle of the twentieth century. When examining his paintings, I found the Korean features in his paintings, *Red Painting series*, exhibited at the Guggenheim Museum, 2009 and had been visible in his drawings in the 1940s. The route of Korean art work to America between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries will be examined first. How Americans reacted to Korean art discussed by reviewing the publication of Korean art in major museums, which led to the public collecting of Eastern pieces of art. What is Korean aesthetic and how it is different from Chinese and Japanese aesthetics is a crucial point in order to identify Korean characteristic in Pollock's work. Through more realistic approaches, the study of the literatures, magazines, letters and Iconographic analysis, I would like to rediscover the fresh Asian characteristic and restore Korean identity to Abstract Expressionism in the historical and ethnological context. Pollock's library catalogue suggests that his interest in Asian culture continued until the 1950s. Iconographic analysis will compare Pollock's work to illustrations with the text in Culin's study, *Korean Games* and *the American Indian Games*. Culin was a representative Indian ethnologist who was deeply interested in Taegeuk ideas in America at that time. He tried to find the link between American Indian and Korean cultures and considered Korean artifacts ethnologically important. Examination of the ethnological studies between America and East Asia will suggest why Pollock was affected by Korean folk art and Buddhist art. Pollock knew how Surrealists and Jungian therapists worked with psychic automatism but a painting of Jung's patient displayed her literary experience as Jung observed that she read Legge's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East* series and put the I Ching hexagrams from the content into the painting. Therefore, Pollock's Taegeuk

drawing, I Ching hexagrams and his unconscious could be explored by Culin's ethnological theory with relevant North East Asian ideas. His work displayed that he might have turned his eyes from Western ideas and arts to Asian ideas and arts.

John Graham, a very significant critic in Abstract Expressionism, also denoted Korean art in his book, *System and Dialectics of Art* (1937). It would be possible that John Graham introduced Picasso's primitive art element to Jackson Pollock and all of them were interested in Asian ideas and arts. *Secret Images: Picasso and the Japanese Erotic Print*, published in 2010, shows his interest in Asian characteristics.

The writer found while researching Greenberg's limitations that his idea was unconcerned about Asian art and idea, and lacked an understanding of them. After the Cold War, in contradiction of his claims, Asian Influence is accepted on American Art and European avant-garde. Those things as multi-viewpoints, shapes of cube, colors, and arrangement of the state of weightlessness seen in Picaso's works are very similar to the characteristics of Korean traditional folk paintings. It is known that Pollock had derived many influences from Picaso's works. This thesis means to suggest that the Asian characteristics seen in Picaso's works had come to Pollock. It could be said that there should be more researches on the Asian characteristics seen in Picaso's works to understand Pollock's works better.

During the Cold War, the strong political interference produced distortion and deception in art. The classical example of this practice was the active involvement of the CIA in promoting "the American way" in order to counter the menace and spread of Marxism in Far East Asia. CIA used Abstract Expressionism in order to advance so-called American style capitalism. This is the reason why the role of Asian idea and art was not fully discussed in this area. Therefore, it can be said that Korean art and idea was also disregarded by international relationship during Cold War.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| ABSTRACT..... | 3 |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS..... | 6 |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... | 10 |
| DECLARATION..... | 11 |
| INTRODUCTION..... | 12 |
| | |
| I. ENCOUNTER OF KOREAN ART WITH AMERICA..... | 21 |
| II. JACKSON POLLOCK’S CONTEMPLATION OF KOREA..... | 57 |
| III. POLLOCK’S WORK IN CONNECTION WITH KOREAN BUDDHIST, FOLK ART AND INKPAINTING..... | 100 |
| IV. HISTORY OF DISTORTION AND MISUNDERSTANDING..... | 143 |
| | |
| ILLUSTRATIONS..... | 174 |
| | |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | |
| i. PRIMARY SOURCES: UNPUBLISHED..... | 197 |
| ii. PRIMARY SOURCES: PUBLISHED..... | 197 |
| iii. SECONDARY SOURCES..... | 203 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Korean Pavilion in the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893¹
2. (1) Unknown artists. Korean Mortuary Pottery, Goryeo period (918-1392), lent by Russell Tyson² (2) Chinese Pottery of the Tang Period (618-906), lent by L.Maud Buckingham³
3. Unknown artist. Wine Jug, Goryeo Dynasty (930-1392), Metropolitan Museum, New York.⁴
4. Unknown artist. *Korean Trinity*, 15th Century, Cleveland Museum, Bronze with traces of gliding, h:40.60 w:16.50 d:54.60 cm⁵
5. The New York Times (June 18, 1915)
6. Unknown artist. *Sepulsonjabi hangari* (a jar with ox horn shaped hangers), *Horim* Museum, Seoul. (1) Korean Three Kingdom Period (1 A.D). 32.8cm (2) Korean Three Kingdoms Period (2 A.D). 42.3cm.
7. Unknown artists. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (1) Tang ware, Chinese Tang dynasty, H. 12.5, D. 5 in. (2) Lung-chan ware, Sung dynasty. H. 19.5 D. 11 in. (3) Goryeo grey-green celadon, Goryeo dynasty. H. 10¹/₂ D. 7in (4) Goryeo white ware, H. 10¹/₄ D. 6 in.
8. Unknown artist. Tang ware, Metropolitan Museum, New York. H. 5 D. 5¹/₂ in.
9. Unknown artist. *Guanyin Seated on a Lotus Throne*, 15th century, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ink on silk, 24 1/2 x 27 1/2 ins.
10. Unknown artist. *Brahma with Attendants and Musicians*, 16th century (Joseon dynasty, 1392–1910), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ink and color on hemp, 84 1/2 x 88 1/2 ins.
11. Unknown artist. *Suwolgauneum (Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara)*, early 14th century (Goryeo dynasty, 918-1392), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ink and colour on silk, 45 1/16 x 21 7/8 ins.
12. (1) Flank shaped Vase (Glazed in Blue-toned Green). Korean, Korai Period, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.(2) Unknown artist, Wine Pot (Glazed in White), Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹ Bancroft, 1893: 221.

² B. A. I. C, 1920: 22.

³ B. A. I. C, 1920: 23.

⁴ J.A.M, 1921: 121.

⁵ Warner, 1920: 79.

13. Unknown artists. Goryeo Pottery, Goryeo period (930-1932) Metropolitan Museum, New York. (1) Vase with Inlaid Decoration (2) Celadon Vase (3) Covered Sweetmeat Box (4) White Wine-Ewer Ting Type
14. Unknown artist. Portrait of a lady, the 17 Century, Painting on paper. Private collection, Wright Ludington
15. *Bangudae* Petroglyphs. End of the Neolithic or the start of the Bronze Age (4000-1000 BC). 200 x 800 cm, Ulju, Korea.
16. (1) Unknown Artist. Figure of Nahan (Arhat), Goryeo celadon with underglaze iron-brown painting. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. H. 18.3, Base W. 8.6 x 7 cm (2) Human Face on the *Bangudae* Petroglyphs
17. (1) Ando Hiroshige, *Rain Shower on Ohashi Bridge*, 19th c. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. Color woodblock print, 13 7/8 x 9 1/8 ins.(2) Xu Yang, *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six: Entering Suzhou and the Grand Canal*, c. 1770, Metropolitan Museum, New York. Handscroll; ink and color on silk, 27 1/8 x 784 1/2 ins.
18. Flowers and Auspicious Symbols (*Hwahwe-do*), late 19th c. colour on paper, Smithsonian Institution, Washington. 67.5 x 52 cm.
19. A sample of the methods of Japanese military autocracy in dealing with loyal Koreans⁶
20. Taegeuk flag on the book cover of *Korean Tales* by Horace N. Allen, 1889.
21. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled drawing (JP-CR3:521v)*, 1939-40, Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. Red and orange pencil and pencil on paper, 36 x 28 cm.
22. *Untitled drawing (JP-CR 3:521r)* 1939-40 Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. Red and orange pencil and pencil on paper, 36 x 28 cm.
23. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled Drawing (JP-CR:556)*, 1939-40, The Pollock-Krasner Foundation/ARS, New York. Pencil and charcoal pencil on paper, 13x20cm.
24. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1939-40, Formerly in the Collection of Marisa del Re Gallery, New York. Whereabouts unknown. © 2008 Pollock-Krasner Foundation/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Coloured pencil on paper, 15 x 11 ins.
25. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled (JP-CR 3:537r)*, 1939-40, Collection of Andrea and Glen Urban, Boston. Pencil on paper, 38 x 28 ins.

⁶ Kendall, 1919: 59.

26. The 64 Hexagrams.⁷
27. Jackson Pollock, *Untitled*, 1938-41, Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Coloured pencils and graphite on paper, 362 x 254mm
28. Kyu (圭), ceremonial sceptres carried by nobles in ancient Korea⁸
29. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1938-39, Pollock-Krasner Foundation/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Colored Pencil/Paper, 9.13 x 8.20 ins.
30. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled drawing (JP-CR 3:521r)*, 1939-40, Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Pencil on paper, 36 x 28 cm.
31. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1946, Peter Blum Gallery, New York. Ink and watercolor on paper, 40 x 30.5 cm.
32. Shadow-pictures (above) and Kites (below)⁹
33. Jackson Pollock, *Male and Female*, 1942, Collection of Philadelphia Museum of Art, Oil on canvas, 1861 x 1243 mm.
34. Sets of numbers on cards: meanings and marks for Hō-hpae (below) and O-koan or Five gateways (above) from Stewart Culin. *Korean Games*, Philadelphia, 1895.
35. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled drawing, JP-CR 3:520r*. 1939-40. Photograph courtesy Nielsen Gallery, Boston. Pencil on paper, 36 x 28cms.
36. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1939-42, Courtesy Jason McCoy Gallery, Inc., New York. Blue ink on paper, 13 1/8" x 36 1/4".
37. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled [Red Painting 1-7]*, circa 1950, The Pollock-Krasner Foundation/Artist Right Society, New York. Oil on canvas in six parts, and enamel on canvas, smallest 50.8 cm x 20.3 cm, largest 53.3 x 33cms.
38. Comparison between Red Painting 1 (left) and Unknown artist. Hyo Je Do, 19th century, Korean National Museum, Seoul. Ink on paper (right)
39. Triple-faced man riding a horse, painted on wood, 36cmx24.5cmx3.6cm, late 19th ~ early 20th century
40. *Moonbangdo* 문방도 [Painting of Books and Stationary] Late 19th century 53cm x 33.5cm, colour on paper
41. American Indian toys shown by Reuben Kadish in 1987 documentary (directed by Kim Evans)

⁷ Culin, 1895, 74.

⁸ Culin, 1895: xxxiii.

⁹ Culin, 1895: 10

42. Ceremonial Pottery Vase. Grave in Southeastern Missouri, Museum of Archaeology, Univ. of Penna.¹⁰
43. An Illustration of “Oni-Dako [Devil Kite]” in Korean Games¹¹
44. Unknown artist. *Amit'a (Amitabha) with Six Bodhisattvas and Two Arhats*, 19th century (Joseon Dynasty), Brooklyn Museum, LA. Ink and colours on silk, 31 ³/₄ x 35 ¹/₄ ins.
45. Jackson Pollock. *Bird*, 1938-41, The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Oil and sand on canvas, 27 ³/₄ x 24 ¹/₄ ins.
46. Unknown painter. *Perfect enlightenment Sutra illustration*, late 13th–early 14th century, Museum of Fine Art, Boston. Colors on silk, 65 ³/₁₆ x 33 ¹¹/₁₆ ins (Overall: 94 ¹/₂ x 42 ¹/₈ x 2 in)
47. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled [Naked Man]*, c.1938-41, Robert Miller Gallery, New York. Oil on plywood, 50 x 24 ins.
48. Jackson Pollock. *The Moon-Woman Cuts the Circle*, 1943, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Oil, 42 x 40ins.
49. (a) Unknown painter. *Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva with Water and Moon*, late 18th century, Museum of Fine Art, Boston. Ink and colours on silk, 53 ⁹/₁₆ x 47 ⁵/₈ ins, (b) Part-enlarged diamonds pattern
50. Unknown Artist. *Buddha of medicine and attendants*, late 16th century, Museum of Fine Art, Boston. Colors on silk, 48 ⁷/₁₆ x 50 ³/₁₆ in.
51. Jackson Pollock. *Masqued Image*, c.1938-41, Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, Fort Worth. Oil on canvas, 40 x 24 ins.
52. The left part of *The Buddha of medicine and attendants*
53. Jackson Pollock. *Birth*, 1941, Tate Gallery, London. oil on canvas, 45 ¹³/₁₆ x 21 ¹¹/₁₆ ins.
54. The right part of *The Buddha of medicine and attendants*.

¹⁰ Culin, 1895: 7.

¹¹ Culin, 1895: 18.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All this glory is for my mother, Cho Sun-Ja, my father, Chae Byeong-Hwa and my loving wife Kang Hye-Jeong. I am very appreciative of my supervisors Sarah Turner and Michael White who has been with me from start to finish of my thesis. Thanks to my professors in KNU in S. Korea, Dr. Park Nam-Hee, Oh Hae-Chang and Pf. Lee Dong-Jin who always encourage me to work on.

I would also like to thank the following people for helping me: Pastor Mike Harris, Justine Kruger and my friends Kim Jeong-Hee, Benjamin, Nina, Silvi and Alice.

Thanks to the Lord who has given me a new life.

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in the thesis is my own has not been submitted for examination at this or any other institution for another award. No person is allowed to use any part of the thesis without permission from the author.

INTRODUCTION

When Alexandra Munroe, the curator of the 2009 exhibition, *The Third Mind*, discussed “the use of Asian art and thought” in American modernism she clarified in the catalogue that Japanese art and Zen “dominated in part because America’s political and economic ties with Japan were historically stronger than those with China or India, the other prime source nations”.¹² The selection for the exhibition, *The Third Mind: American Artists Contemplate Asia, 1860-1989*, at the Guggenheim Museum in New York, featuring David Smith, Jackson Pollock and Robert Motherwell, showed, I want to argue, a restricted view which only included these artists’ works after 1950 when Japanese Zen went through a revival in America. In this exhibition and its catalogue, Japanese Zen and calligraphy are the main focus, together with South East Asian culture, but Korean art and ideas are neglected. In this writing, I argue that despite this lacuna, Korean art and aesthetics did nonetheless have an impact on Abstract Expressionism, and the work of Jackson Pollock in particular. This writing addresses these relationships, focusing specifically on the connections between Korean aesthetics, Pollock’s work and American painting before 1950. My purpose here in briefly mentioning this cast of characters is to set out the various channels through which Pollock could have come into contact with Korean culture in pre-1950s New York. Pollock’s interest in Asia would have begun with the ethnological literature and the collections of Asian culture and art which was actively fostered under American foreign policy in the early 20th century.

There has been some research into the influence of Asian art and ideas on Abstract Expressionism. In 1988 David Clarke explored the wide ranging and important effect of Oriental metaphysics and aesthetics on the Abstract Expressionists and their work.¹³ However, as he pointed out later in a 2002 article, *Contemporary Asian Art and its Western Reception*, the Asian influence on Abstract Expressionism has not been sufficiently

¹² Munroe, 2009: 21.

¹³ Clarke, 1988.

discussed in terms of art history. Conventionally, the Asian influence on Abstract Expressionism has been discussed (or caricatured) in the following ways. Firstly, Asian culture was widely considered to be a mystical element in Western Modernism. There was also a somewhat hostile attitude towards any approval of Asian cultural influence, for example, by Clement Greenberg and Clifford Ross which will be discussed in the final chapter. Last but not least, the studies of the cultural exchange between East and West have concentrated mainly on Japan and China, often on the basis of a distorted history of Far Eastern countries which has dominated art-historical accounts.

I have summarised some tendencies which prevailed in scholarship related to Asian influence on Abstract Expressionism, but which are in need of revision. Firstly, the Asian “world view”, Asian “Self” or Asian “unconscious” were altered to be easier to understand for a western audience. Gelburd and Paoli have mentioned differences of Buddhism and Taoism between America and their original places.¹⁴ The fundamental Asian idea, such as *Taegeuk*, is the principle of the creation of universe and the way of life for Asians, but has been treated unscientifically by the understanding of Western methodology. The Asian idea and unconscious remained to be mystical in Western Modernism. Secondly, Western empirical standpoint often misrepresented Asian cultures as transcendental. Thirdly, Asian cultures had participated in the development of American avant-garde but the impact of Asian ideas about religion and philosophy were leached out mainly by European psychology and philosophy.

The first tendency can be seen in the case of Mark Tobey. Mysticism was often cited in order to separate the Asian influence on Abstract Expressionists such as Mark Tobey from the New York School. Clifford Ross, the editor of *Abstract Expressionism: Creators and Critics* began the preface by excluding Mark Tobey from the confines of Abstract Expressionism in the book. He mentioned that “his works are always well-mannered and imbued with a quality of Eastern mysticism quite different from the confrontational and

¹⁴ Paoli, Gelburd, 1990: 5.

heroic aspect of the movement”, although “he shared with the Abstract Expressionists an interest in gestural paint”.¹⁵

Clement Greenberg could be an example for the second issue. He revealed seeming lack of understanding of Asian aesthetics as seen in the following: “The Chinese even require visual delight from the handwriting in which the poem is set down. And by comparison to their pictorial and decorative arts does not the later poetry of the Chinese seem rather thin and monotonous?”¹⁶ He does not seem to have understood how the unconscious is manifested in calligraphy. His perspective was superficial. Another example for this category could be an apparent misrepresentation of one of Jackson Pollock’s works in the catalogue for the 1964, June exhibition at Marlborough Fine Art Ltd. in London. The untitled painting, 1950, one of *the Red Painting* series, was displayed in the 2009 Guggenheim exhibition, New York, presenting the Asian influence on Abstract Expressionism. However, Lawrence Alloway does not seem to have been aware of Asian calligraphic features, explaining the strokes as ‘marks produced by physical touch’ which ‘anticipates his renewed use of the brush in combination with poured paint in 1951’. Moreover, the plate of the painting is illustrated upside down comparing the way it was displayed in the publication, *The Third Mind*.

Addressing the third issue is the fact that various cultural sources for the American Modern artists converged on Jungian theory, having been focused on the interest in the Jungian unconscious, at that time, as seen in W. Jackson Rushing, who related many artist’s interest in American Native art to their interest in the Jungian unconscious. This was possible because ‘Jung presents a picture of wholeness in his description of the mind which is closer to the model of the Oriental philosophies and which was developed (in part) through a study of them’¹⁷ and therefore, ‘Jung provides a framework within which the

¹⁵ Ross, 1991: 11.

¹⁶ Greenberg, 1940: 299 republished in O’Brian, 1986: 25.

¹⁷ Clarke, 1988: 59.

concepts of Oriental thought can be made accessible to a western audience'.¹⁸ The previous researches conventionally related the unconscious of the artists to the ancient myth, primitive relics and gender oppositions or pursue of uniting them. Michael Leja emphasised that the symbolic figures (snake, bird, cross, circle/mandala/quadripartite structure, yin-yang, disc-crescent) used in NYC-NY are related to Pollock's symbol in the realm of Jungian theory.¹⁹ He even saw the yin-yang or Taegeuk symbol as one of the Jungian unconscious. Panofsky's iconography would provide room for a new interpretation of abstract figures in Abstract Expressionism. He considered an artist's creative expression as not merely new but the outcome of recognizing cultural experience, writing that:

every artist's aesthetic views' contain contradictions: it is not the original view but the tendency first awakened by the crucial cultural experience-the view more capable of being reflected upon-which finds clearer programmatic expression in the artist's aesthetic theory.²⁰

According to him, Taegeuk and mandala could be evidence that Pollock could have been inspired by Asian culture. Jung was also aware of I Ching hexagrams, Eastern mandala²¹ and he wrote a commentary in 1929 for *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, the translated version of Taoism scripture. So far, nevertheless, Jungian psychology seems to have been employed to assist in part to promote European tradition in American avant-garde artists. This also allowed critics to separate a certain figure from an individual painting and relate it freely with unspecific personal experience. It permitted critics to apply the same source to different artists or different cultural sources to a certain artist. This manner of analysis often leads the ethnical studies of Abstract Expressionism to become sporadic.

The 'asymmetrical knowledge'²² from a western standpoint in the understanding of the Asian art history seems to have become worse due to what I want to argue is a Japan-centred analytical point of view; a result one might argue of the special relations with the

¹⁸ Clarke, 1988: 59.

¹⁹ Leja, 1994: 154.

²⁰ Panovsky, 1920 republished in Northcott, K. J. and Synder, J. (trans.) 1981: 22.

²¹ Jung, 1931: 137.

²² Clarke, 2002: 238.

U.S.²³ Geil Gelburd and Geri De Paoli also saw the Asian influence on American art increase mainly after World War II.²⁴ David Clarke also criticised the western standpoint and advocated Asian influence in the development of American art in 2002 but he was focusing on ‘Japanese Zen and Chinese calligraphy’.²⁵ Smith compared the Abstract art of Ad Reinhardt with Chinese landscape, Indian and Tibetan art but not Korean art , even though Korean art had been passed on to Japan and was introduced with its highly artistic value in America.

The American encounter of Korean art is often regarded to have begun after the Korean War (1950) as Jonathan W. Best observed that ‘The exhibition²⁶ has been travelling in the United States since May 1979 and has been featured at major museums in San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston and New York.’²⁷ It should, however, be acknowledged that the import of Korean art in to America began in earnest in the late 19th century when the large Eastern Asian collections were established in major American museums that this thesis will explore. This time is when ‘Buddhist immigrants from East Asia-Japanese and Korean-docked in Hawaii and along the Pacific Coast during the 1890s.’²⁸ The relation between America and Japan fast recovered after World War II and Japanese Zen Buddhist revitalize the interest in Eastern ideas in America. This thesis, however, aims to rectify the omission of the influence of Korean art on Abstract Expressionism and will argue that the relationship between American and Korean art has a longer history than is conventionally presumed.

The exhibition of Chinese paintings in the Cleveland Museum in 1954 which Ad Reinhardt reviewed was held only a year after the Korean War finished on July 27, 1953.

²³ Munroe, 2009: 21.

²⁴ Gelburd, Paoli, : 5.

²⁵ Clarke, 2002.

²⁶ The exhibition, “The 5000 Years of Korean Art”, was reviewed by Jonathan W. Best in *The Journal of Asian Studies* in 1981.

²⁷ Best, 1981: 559.

²⁸ Tweed, 1992: xi.

The relationship between America and China improved quickly while North Korea still remained an ideological enemy. A photo of Paek Nam-Jun, a video art creator, is on the cover of *The Third Mind* while inside the catalogue little Korean art and philosophy is explored which seems to be allegorical for having been able to ignore Korean art in American Modern Art for the 20th century. It was a rare case that a direct connection between Asian influence and Jackson Pollock had been portrayed by the Guggenheim Museum: 'It is surprising that though many artists' individual engagement with Asia has been documented, this is the first time Asian thought has been examined as a fundamental undercurrent in the creation of a new visual and conceptual language in American creative culture'.²⁹ However, it would be impossible to understand the Asian influence on the development of Abstract Expressionism in the early 20th century without understanding Korean art because Korean culture was a bridge between Japan and China.

Korean art had already been a subject of study before Yanagi Muneyoshi, a Japanese scholar of Korean folk art, by museums which had Korean art collections in America. He has long been considered to be the first foreign scholar who was a dedicated researcher and publisher on Korean folk art. The critics and art historians involved in the museums showed considerable professional knowledge and deep insight based on international relationships, the history and resources in Korea. However, Yanagi came to be known as the first man who wrote about Korean art. Yanagi's claim has led to confusion in Korean art history until today when Korean art collections in America are now under government-directed research.

Pollock appears to have developed a smooth and linear stroke with a strong sense of speed from the mid-1940s which can be seen as Eastern influence of brush strokes. I found that Jackson Pollock, from *The Third Mind*, shows Korean features in his abstract forms. I will analyse Jackson Pollock's paintings and drawings in order to re-evaluate the influence of Korean art and ideas on Abstract Expressionism which has not been sufficiently

²⁹ Patel, 2009: 53.

discussed. So far, formalism and psychology is dominant in the understanding of Abstract Expressionism, focusing on reading the mental state of artists in order to grasp the intention. This study will analyse the artists in terms of their sociocultural background in a historical and ethnological context rather than a psychological analysis of individual paintings.

The analysis of paintings in this study will be on the basis of Panofsky's iconographic analysis premises in which an artist's creative expression is not merely new but is the outcome of recognizing cultural experience. Abstract artists and other critics will be analysed by reviewing visual, literary and archival sources in order to read the Korean ideas in Pollock's work because there have been few studies of Jackson Pollock and his link with Korean art. Newspapers and magazines are also an important resource for understanding how Asia was communicated to an American audience at this time through the media. I will evaluate the influence of Korean Art and ideas on Abstract Expressionism with Pollock's work after the late 1930s as a central figure.

In the first chapter, the history of Korean collections from the late nineteenth century in some key American museums will be examined. This chapter will reveal literature to show that the museums paid a great deal of attention to Korean art following the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. From then on, it began to gain attention in America, but this is contrary to current understanding.³⁰ It is still commonly believed today that Korean art did not engage the art world in America in the early twentieth century.³¹ I

³⁰ 1979년 '한국미술 5천년전'의 미국 순회전을 계기로 한국미술의 국제적 위상은 날로 높아져 오늘날에는 런던 영국박물관, 파리 기메미술관, 뉴욕 메트로폴리탄미술관, 샌프란시스코 아시아미술관, LA의 LACMA 등에 한국실이 속속 개관되었다. 유홍준, 한국미술사 강의 1, 2010: 8-9.

('Korean Art for 5,000 years', an exhibition in 1979 initiated to improve international standing of Korean art so that, today, there are Korean art departments in the British Museum in London, Musée Guimet in Paris, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in L.A.) Yu Hong-Jun, *Story of Korean Art I*, 2010: 8-9.

³¹ A palanquin, cupboard, plates, a bronze table, straw shoes, leather shoes, a fire pot, a Korean chessboard, a kite, and ceramic are visible. An embroidered screen, military official's uniform, gentlemen's clothes were displayed inside the hall. In the official catalogue, Korea is listed as having participated in categories such as agriculture, horticulture, mining, transportation, manufacturing, liberal arts, and forestry. It did not participate in the categories of livestock, machinery, electricity, fine arts, and ethnology. Therefore, Korea apparently did not send items that could be characterized

will examine how Korean collections were established in America from the late nineteenth century in order to discuss how Korean art influenced American art. Some Goryeo Buddhist paintings were regarded as Chinese or Japanese paintings however Goyreo ceramics were commonly understood to be Korean. How Korean art was originally introduced and mis-attributed upon introduction into the American art scene during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and what specifically was misinterpreted, should be cleared up before examining the Korean influence on American art in the first half of the twentieth century.

In the second chapter, how Pollock came into contact with Asian culture, art and the Far East issues will be examined with references as well to Pollock's biography. Asian-related subject matter in letters to his family will lend credence to his interest in this subject. Stewart Culin, an important American ethnologist, emphasised the link between American Indian and Korean cultures and found 'the most direct evidence in Asia of the ceremonial use of the arrow in divination'³² in Korea. Therefore, I will investigate whether the comparative study of American Indian and Asian cultures provided Pollock with ethnological access to Korea. Pollock drew the Taegeuk (Taiji) of the Korean flag (Taegeukgi) and the Sam (three)-Taegeuk used widely in Korea. I will consider whether the *Korean Games* by Stewart Culin and other ethnological materials such as those by Allen were able to be linked with Pollock's interest in ethnology. Pollock had *The Way of Life according to Lao-Tzu* (1944) and *100 Masterpieces Mohammedan and Oriental* with illustrations of Korean art. *Zen in the Art of Archery* (1953) from his library catalogue suggests that his interest in Asian culture seems to have continued through the 1950s.

In the third chapter, I examine the Taegeuk-like figures and its colours in both Picasso and Pollock's works, evident symbols, as one can see, in the Korean national flag. Picasso was a patron of Korean dancer, Choi Seung-Hee. This chapter suggests a possibility that the Korean characteristics seen in Picasso's paintings had come to Pollock. The reason

as being "arts," instead showing grain, food, ordinary products like clothes and handicraft items. Kim Young-Na, *Twentieth-Century Korean Art*, 2005: 49-50.

³² Culin, 1895: xx

why Jackson Pollock's paintings and drawings are explained in terms of Korean ways of paintings and ideas will be discussed, extracting common ideas among Jackson Pollock, John Graham – referring to Korean art his book, *System and Dialectics of Art*, and Pablo Picasso. Pollock had already been interested in Indian ethnology and Eastern ideas, particularly the primitive arts when he had psychoanalytic sessions with Henderson. I would like to discuss which features in Pollock's work are Korean and how they differ from Chinese and Japanese art. I suggest that Korean aesthetic ideas would have been synthesised into Pollock and avant-garde painting through a variety of sources. Therefore, I believe that the dualism and trinity in Pollock's work should be studied in the connection with Taegeuk, and Sam Taegeuk idea.

In the fourth chapter, the reason why there was little discourse about Korean art in America after World War II will be discussed and, more specifically, why Pollock and other abstract Expressionists art works have not been studied in the relation with Korean art in terms of international cultural relations.

For the past few decades, the portrayal of the character of Orientalism has been misrepresented by Western art critics and the Japanese in many areas such as art, history of art, religion, philosophy and culture. In this connection, through a more realistic approach, it is necessary to discover afresh the Asian character and restore its distinctive identity in an historical context. After the Cold War, the role of the Third World in international relations came to the fore. In recent times, East Asia has achieved prominence both politically and economically. I expect to be able to set the foundation of the concept of Asian ideas in relation to contemporary art history.

CHAPTER I

ENCOUNTER OF KOREAN ART WITH AMERICA

Korean art became well known in curatorial scenes as part of Far Eastern art collection together with Japanese and Chinese arts since its official introduction in the U.S.A at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition. Many publications in the early twentieth century displayed considerable understanding of Korean art in terms of its distinctions and cultural role in the development of Far Eastern art. I argue, in this chapter, that public access of Korean art influenced an appreciation of these works which had an important, but under appreciated, impact on Abstract Expression. Furthermore, I argue that the reception and display of Korean art in America and its cultural impact on American artists has yet to be fully examined. It is this longer history of the cultural context of Korean art in the United States from the late nineteenth century that I explore in this chapter.

The first section outlines the brief history of Korean collections in major American museums (Brooklyn Museum, the Museum of Fine Art of Boston, Honolulu Academy Institute and Metropolitan Museum) from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century based on the survey of The National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage of Korea. In the second section, how American writers and critics reacted to Korean art is discussed by reviewing the publications of Korean art in museum publication and other critical articles by curators and researchers such as Langdon Warner, Lorrain Warner, Henderson and Reitz who led the introduction of Asian art to America in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Having considered how the characteristics of Korean art were understood, in the third section, I will outline the characteristics of Korean aesthetics before proceeding to the next chapters.

1. HISTORY OF KOREAN ART COLLECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

The National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage of Korea has undertaken research surveys in the major museums of Japan, the United States, Russia, France and Germany in order to identify and compile data on Korean cultural properties currently housed in foreign institutions. The survey in the United States included the Brooklyn Museum (2000-2003), the Museum of Fine Art, Boston (2003), Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University (2003), Honolulu Academy of Arts (2004-2005), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2006), Cornell University (2005), Philadelphia Museum of Art, New York (2005), the American Museum of Natural History (2006), Yale University (2006) and the U.S. Navy Academy Museum, Annapolis (2006). According to the report, 'Survey History of Korean Antiques Housed in Foreign Institutions' in 2006, the number of Korean cultural properties in the above museums and institutes amounts to 6,005 pieces³³. The range of artifacts varied in terms of period and form. It covered everything from the prehistoric period to the mid twentieth and included ceramics, metalwork, wooden objects, paintings, calligraphy and sculpture. Compiled data on Korean cultural properties provides a basic ground for the history of collections.

(1) 1893 CHICAGO EXPOSITION

Korea concluded a commercial treaty with America on 22 May 1882 when cultural exchange with Europe and America began in earnest. The 1893 Chicago Exposition was the first international event in which Korea participated. It was followed by the Exposition *Universelles* in 1900, Paris and the Japan-British Exposition in London in May 1910. Kim Young-Na's, *The Twentieth-Century Korean Art* (2006) is the first English book by a Korean author on the twentieth century Korean art history, observed the response of American media about unacquainted Korean art and culture, writing that:

³³ N.R.I.C.H: 2006, 31.

In American newspapers and magazines at the time, there were only a few articles that touched briefly on Korean life, custom, or goods like the palanquin, national flag, oiled paper for floors, tiger skin, ginseng, and kites. (...) Bancroft commented that the country, exhibiting in “the toy-like pavilion of Corea,” was a “strange and isolated nation.” He continued by saying, “They claim to have taught the Japanese what they know of the manufacture of pottery, or rather that their southern neighbor forcibly carried away their artisans and their secrets”.³⁴

Despite the patchy start of the introduction of Korean art, one of the achievements was arguably the official introduction of the Korean national flag, Taegeukgi, in the 1893 Chicago Exposition. Jackson Pollock later reproduced the shape of Taegeuk, the main emblem of the flag, in his work which will be discussed in Chapter II. Stewart Culin (1858 - 1929), a leading ethnologist and a curator of Ethnology at the Institute of Arts and Sciences of the Brooklyn Museum in New York, also used the Korean flag design on the whole cover of his 1895 book, *Korean games with notes on the corresponding games of China and Japan* in which he introduced about one hundred Korean traditional games before he visited Korea. He organised an exhibition of his game collection in the Exposition which he examined in the *Korean Games*.³⁵ The description of the games was furnished orally by Pak Young-Kiu, the accomplished Secretary of the Korean Commission to the Columbian Exposition, and Chargé d'affaires of the Korean government in Washington. It has not been researched but the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that the Brooklyn Museum acquired a Korean folk art collection from the Korean Commission to the Columbian Exposition with Culin as an intermediary. Korean folk materials, official uniforms, armour, ceramics and folding screens at the current collection of the Brooklyn Museum displayed a similar composition to those exhibited at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (fig. 1). According to *The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (The True Record of the Joseon Dynasty)*, Assistant Interior Minister Jeong Gyeong-won reported to Gojong after he

³⁴ Kim Young-Na, 50

³⁵ Culin, 1895: v.

returned from the Exposition as a Korean commissioner, that they planned to distribute the exhibited items to museums in different places in the U.S.A³⁶.

(2) HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

The possibility that New York school artists encountered Korean arts housed in the Honolulu Academy of Arts was less likely than in the museums around New York. However, the first dedicated Korean room opened in the Honolulu Academy of Arts and part of the collection was sent from New York. Since then, a large collection has been on display serving as a reflection of the diverse history of Korean art collection on the American continent. Immigrants from Korea increased in Hawaii and North-west America after Korea-United States Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation in 1882. They were usually Buddhists and would contribute to the development of Buddhism in America. This led to the formation of multi-ethnic communities in Hawaii from various backgrounds such as Korea, China, the Philippines, Northern Europeans and Native people. In 1927, Anna Rice Cooke (1853-1934), a patron of arts, saw the importance of sharing different cultures of the people and established the Honolulu Academy of Arts. She hoped all others would recognize “the ideals embodied in the arts of their neighbors” and create a new culture based on the past traditions and the arts in Hawaii.³⁷

Among them, the representative Korean artworks were a wooden sculpture, *Child Monk* (18-19th C) and Buddhist painting *Sakyamuni Preaching on Mt. Gradrakuta* (16th C). Both are on display together with furniture and crafts. Honolulu Academy of Arts purchased *The folding screen of Sea, Cranes, and Peaches* used in the royal court of the 19-20th C in 1927 and *Arhat* through Yamanaka’s Fifth Avenue gallery in New York. *Arhat* had originally been known as a Koryeo Buddhist painting but was later re-dated to the eighteenth century, Joseon. Such an occasional misdating seems to have been caused by the fact that Korean

³⁶ Kim YN, 2006: 48.

³⁷ Eichman, 2010: 15.

Buddhist paintings carried forward with earlier traditions much more than other Asian countries. This was noticed by Sigisbert Chrétien Bosch Reitz, the first curator of the Department of the Far East of Metropolitan Museum.

Mrs. Cook had a close relationship with special dealers and experts such as Nomura Yozo and Osvald Sirén and they advised her in part to develop the collection for the Academy.³⁸ In particular, Korean Koryeo Buddhist painting seems to have gained fame among specialists when looking into the fact that Mrs. Cooke purchased *Arhat* from Yamanaka's Fifth Avenue gallery in New York. Mrs. Cook donated over 100 pieces of art work, 80% which were porcelain, which became a great exhibition with other donations. For example, Cylindrical Pedestal for Vessel (5th-6th century) has a very unique shape and exquisite decoration. The circles, triangles and quadrangles in the body show the distinct characteristics of Gaya confederacy (42-562 BC) of Korea. The Japanese vessels from the same period were influenced by Korea which is on display with description in the Japanese room of the British Museum. The Academy has a considerable amount of Goryeo pottery collection which is one of the representative collections in the world. The inlaid dragon of a Koryeo celadon suggests its use in the royal court. With an increasing level of donation the collection reached 1,000 pieces once the Korean room opened.

(3) BROOKLYN ART MUSEUM

The Brooklyn Art Museum houses the third largest Korean art collection in the United States and is an important site for this study. The collection contains the *Amitabha Buddha Triad, Amit'a (Amitabha) with Six Bodhisattvas and Two Arhats* and rank badges (mandarin square). This diverse collection includes ceramics, paintings, textiles and costumes, furniture, sculpture, metal work, arms and armour, and other decorative arts amounting to 665 individual pieces, dating from the Neolithic period to the early twentieth century. According to 'the history of the Korean collection in the Brooklyn Museum' by Amy G. Poster, Lisa

³⁸ Eichman, 2010: 13.

and Bernard Selz, Curators of Asian Art at the Brooklyn Museum, indicated that Stewart Culin (1858-1929) acquired a great quantity of Korean holdings from 1903 to 1929 during his tenure as the first curator in the Department of Ethnology, which was the predecessor to the Department of Asian Art. Although Culin had a strong interest in Asia, his early collecting activities for the Brooklyn Museum focused on Native American culture. In Poster's writing, he began to significantly increase Asian holdings in 1909 when he paid several visits to China and Japan. He acquired around 1800 pieces during those visits. He visited Seoul and Busan in 1914 in order to collect items for his collection accompanied by Lockwood de Forest (1850-1932) who was a writer and designer.³⁹

According to Poster, the Korean collection was first installed in the museum in 1916. The Chinese Hall of State was installed on the first floor of the museum. Korean collections were then displayed together with Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan collections. The Korean collection remained on display after Culin died in 1929.⁴⁰ The *Amitabha Buddha Triad* was presented as a gift by Professor Harold G. Henderson, an expert on Haiku, in 1964. It is reasonable to conjecture that this Amitabha Buddha was moved from a shrine or temple in Japan to America like many other Goryeo Buddhist paintings had been. If so, this painting has been in America since 1948 when he returned to America from Japan. Many Asian works of art were rented to museums by collectors on condition that they would be given to the museums after the collector passed away. So the painting could have been displayed earlier than the year donated which is worth examining. *Amit'a (Amitabha) with Six Bodhisattvas and Two Arhats* was donated by Mr and Mrs. Herbert Greenberg in 1986. These artifacts are currently kept in the Museum and being treated as important and valuable, showing high stature.

(4) MUSEUM OF FINE ART, BOSTON

³⁹ Poster, 2006: 13-5.

⁴⁰ Poster, 2006: 10-14.

The Museum of Fine Art in Boston also began to collect East Asian artifacts from the late nineteenth century when there was a growing interest in Eastern culture. According to the report of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage in 2003, the Museum of Fine Art houses seven-hundred and seventy three pieces of Korean property which consists of prehistoric relics (173), paintings (42), sculptures (12), ceramics (324), crafts (163) and folk materials (8). The cultural assets of the Goryeo period comprise 48 percent of the Korean collection. A considerable number of Asian collections were acquired in Japan. Tung Wu, Emeritus Curator of Asian Art explained that ‘laws regulating the protection of Japan’s cultural heritage were lacking’ when Emperor Meiji was preoccupied with westernization in Japan. Japan opened its door to the West early, so Japan was the most suitable place for many foreigners to collect Eastern art.⁴¹ Soon after the Meiji Restoration began in 1868, the Japanese government actively publicized Japanese culture at the 1873 Vienna World Exposition. The Japanese works of art were spread out by art collectors from various areas who were interested in Eastern culture.

Japanese cultural properties were destroyed due to the escalating conflicts between the old and the new culture during the early Meiji Restoration. The newly-appointed officials strongly supported a new policy which was intended to separate traditional gods from Buddhas, encouraging people to persecute Buddhism and destroy Buddhist assets. In 1868, the first year of the Meiji Restoration, temples, Buddha statues, and altar fittings were destroyed on a nationwide scale. The Japanese government issued a proclamation of the ‘preservation of old cultural properties’ in order to settle the disruption.

The turbulent period which called for the destruction of these cultural properties was favourable for collectors because it propelled the rush to acquire Japanese materials in Japan. The Museum of Fine Art in Boston established its Japanese Department in 1880 to meet an urgent need to accommodate the increasing number of Japanese collections on demand. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, a specialist in East Asia who had been a professor at

⁴¹ Wu, 2004: 26.

Tokyo Imperial University, became the founding curator of the new department. According to Tung Wu, in the 2004 research, the Asian collection was established by several contributing collectors who offered their possessions on long-term loans, with the understanding that the objects would later be donated permanently. Prominent collectors were Edward Sylvester Morse, William Sturgis Bigelow, Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, Denman Waldo Ross and Charles Bain Hoyat. Interestingly, Korean and Chinese masterpieces were among their Japanese acquisitions.⁴²

Tung Wu, the emeritus curator of Asian art, may have caused unnecessary misunderstanding of Korean art history by mentioning what “the initial collectors such as Fenollosa did not know was that among their Japanese acquisitions were Korean and Chinese masterpieces”⁴³ in the joint research between Korean National Institute of Cultural Heritage and the Boston museum in 2003. The Boston Museum of Fine Art was the first museum which exhibited Korean art and the curators knew well about Korean art. As seen in the *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (12th ed.) in 1916, the museum was trying to understand Chinese and Japanese art as the centre of Far Eastern art. This seems to have been influenced by Fenollosa’s Greco-Roman point of view in describing world art history. The catalogue of the Boston museum focused on Chinese and Japanese art and introduced Korea as a nation with featureless art except from pottery. This assertion was possible apparently because the central figures in the museum were pro-Japanese Americans and influential Japanese like Okakura Thenshin. Needless to say, Korea was illegally occupied by Japan at this time.

The number of pieces of Korean art in the museum continued to increase through the early twentieth century.⁴⁴ According to Wu, William Sturgis Bigelow’s enormous collection

⁴² Wu, 2004: 28.

⁴³ Wu, 2004: 26-7.

⁴⁴ Wu, 2004: 28.

became one of the most significant parts of the Korean collection⁴⁵. Among his collection from Japan was the Korean masterpiece such as *Perfect enlightenment Sutra illustrationchap*. This Korean classic had long been considered a Chinese work from the Sung dynasty by its previous owner in Japan until it became identified as a Korean work from the Goryeo period. *Yaksa Yorae (Buddha of Medicine) and Attendants* was donated by the heir of Henley Adams in 1919. In 1950, Charles B. Hoyat, an honorary curator at Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum, made a large contribution to the Korean collection of the museum. In 1952, a special memorial exhibition of a great range of collections dating from the Three Kingdoms period to the Joseon dynasty showed pottery, stoneware, porcelain, eighteen bronze, brass, and stone pieces with 145 illustrations in the catalogue.⁴⁶

(5) METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is known to house the most comprehensive Asian collection in the U.S. The museum established the Department of Far Eastern Art in 1915 with a collection acquired from the late nineteenth century. The Metropolitan Museum seems to have been encouraged by The East Asian Art Museum in Cologne which was founded in 1909. Winifred E. Howe published her inspection in *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* in 1914 a year before the Department of Far Eastern Art was founded. She was impressed by “scientific lines adhering to an historical sequence” of “the arrangement of the collections”⁴⁷ in the rooms of the East Asian Art Museum which seems to have been rather scientific than the later time when Asian art became focused on Japanese art. Korean art work was displayed mixed with Japanese and Chinese art collections but the perception of having been unknown in the 20th century should be arguably corrected because the role of Korean art was, as she noticed: “Korea provided a bridge for Chinese

⁴⁵ Wu, 2004: 28.

⁴⁶ Wu, 2004: 26-33.

⁴⁷ Howe, 1914: 172-74.

civilization to make its way into Japan, so the exhibit of Korean art is logically placed between the art of China and that of Japan; while Japan, the youngest of the three lands of Oriental culture, is fittingly last in the museum plan”⁴⁸ while she emphasised of the same cultural area as “the teachings of Buddha have united the art of all three lands in one spirit”.⁴⁹ In Far East Asia the last Buddhist Kingdom which flouished Buddhist culture was the Goryeo dynasty of Korea. It means that the arts had been produced, which were based on the accumulated technology and artistry. Therefore, the historical values for Korean art should be reevaluated.

⁴⁸ Howe, 1914: 172-74.

⁴⁹ Howe, 1914: 172-74.

2. CURATORIAL AND CRITICAL RESPONSES TO KOREAN ART

(1) LANGDON WARNER (1881-1955)

Among the most significant American researchers in Korean art, Langdon Warner, Lorraine Warner and Sigisbert Chrétien Bosch Reitz were the ones who showed a great interest in studying Korean art history in depth. However, Reitz never visited Korea and his study was influenced by Fenollosa. Fenollosa tried to find a Greco-Roman flow in East Asian art regarding China as the central culture. Langdon Warner was lecturer of Asian art at Harvard (1927-1950) which was the first time. He worked as an Associate Curator in the Boston Museum of Art from 1906 to 1913 and became the first curator of Oriental Art in the Harvard University Fogg Art Museum in 1912. He visited Korea in 1911 and led the first and second Expeditions to China in 1923 and 1925. His expedition to Tun-huang is well known for unique examples of T'ang wall-paintings and sculpture to the Fogg Museum.

Langdon made a profound evaluation of developments in Korean bronze art and as a result he wrote 'Korean Bronze spoons of the Korai Dynasty' in 1917 and 'Bronze Korean Trinity' in 1920. In March 1950, he also wrote 'Far Eastern Art' in the Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum where Korean pottery was illustrated. He studied early Japanese Buddhist sculpture and he pointed out the key role of Korean craftsmen in producing the early masterpieces of Buddhist sculpture in Japan in *The Craft of The Japanese Sculptor* (1936). He was a model for Spielberg's film, *Indiana Jones* and worked for the Arts and Monuments Section of the Supreme Commander Allied Powers in Japan in 1946. He was well known for his efforts to protect cultural heritage in Nara and Kyoto from the atomic bombing during World War II. There are monuments in the Horyuji and Gamakura temples in honour of his contribution. The Horyuji temple is also known to have a mural painted by a Korean monk. Langdon Warner also contributed significantly to establishing the Asian art

collection in the Philadelphia Museum as the Director of the Museum, part of over 10,000 paintings, sculptures, textiles and decorative arts from China, Korea and Japan.⁵⁰

Lorraine Warner, his wife, was also a devoted scholar of Korean pottery. She wrote ‘Grave Pottery of the Korai Dynasty’ (1918) in *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum* which was reproduced in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* in April 1919 when the Korean independence, March 1st movement, was in the progress of its 60 days protest. This nationwide movement was a non-violent demonstration and drew worldwide interest. There were democracy and independence movements internationally immediately following the March 1st movement: the Pro-democracy movement in China was launched on May 4th in the same year; Gandhi started to lead a non-violence campaign and planned a general strike for March 30; Vietnam, the Philippines and Egypt also witnessed their independence movements more actively than at any other time after the March 1st movement of 1919.

Lorraine Warner wrote a long explanation of Korean pottery in the 1930 issue of *Eastern Art*. A clearer understanding of Korean art is seen in Lorraine D’O Warner’s 1919 article in the *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum* than in any other writings. She made a sensible point of distinction between Korean Goryeo pottery and Chinese Sung. The clear, thick, vitreous of a greenish-blue glaze was, she observed, easily distinguished from Chinese celadon⁵¹ while the use of incised methods were sometimes mistaken as the best ornamented Chinese wares. She pointed out the incorrect estimation again about the white pieces “that are sufficiently near of kin to the Ting Yao ware of China to be wrongly attributed to that country even by some of our foremost museums today”.⁵² She described unique Koryeo inlaid technique which painted under the glaze in a reddish-black pigment; filled with an inlay of white clay either with or without black paint accompanying details; and merely incised to allow the glaze to flow thicker in the incisions. She also provided the information

⁵⁰ P.M.O.A, 2006.

⁵¹ Warner, 1919: 46.

⁵² Warner, 1919: 46.

of its fame and the “strong influence on that of Japan, especially on the various wares favoured by the tea-masters”.⁵³

In Japan the term for undecorated celadon-like ware is Korai seiji (Korai celadon); this name is also applied to pieces decorated with incised or moulded patterns. The celadon pieces with inlaid designs are known as Korai unkaku (Korai clouds and storks) from the frequency with which this pattern appears, and those with painted ornament are called Egorai (picture Korai).⁵⁴

Korean art was well understood although the Goryeo porcelain was termed Japanese Korai unkaku. However, 72 years later, Columbia University published *East Asian American Culture* in 1992 where there were only works of Japanese and Chinese art studied as central figures of East Asian Art of the earlier time in America. This is also in contrast with the 1920 introduction of Korean pottery which appeared side by side with Chinese pottery in the Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 2).

She believed the Koryeo dynasty was when “the most beautiful pottery and porcelain dates from” while “the white wares of the succeeding period, Ri, is coarse in shape, technique, design and glaze”.⁵⁵ The high appreciation of the Goryeo pottery regards Joseon ware as “lacking in taste and beauty,” having been degenerated from the fine craft and lost “its original simplicity”. The Joseon white ware was often underestimated at this time apparently in contrast with the highly artistic value of Koryeo ware. She also deeply appreciated ‘Korai unkaku’ as “the most interesting of those types” and “being perhaps unique in the history of Eastern pottery”.⁵⁶ She brought the Korean characteristics into relief throughout the article, exploring the unique inlaid method and the designs which follow ancient traditions.

American interest in Korean art evidentially flourished in the 1920s as evidenced by the increase in the number of pieces of Goryeo pottery. The pottery was displayed not only to the professional scholars but also to the public at this time. J. A. Mack’s 1921 article in

⁵³ Warner, 1919: 46.

⁵⁴ Warner, 1919: 46-49.

⁵⁵ Warner, 1919: 52.

⁵⁶ Warner, 1919: 52.

The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, ‘Korean Art in Gallery X’, witnessed “many visitors and students of art as a complete surprise” comes to the “ensemble convinced one of the importance of Korean art”⁵⁷ (fig. 3). This provides evidence of the early public access to Korean art in America which has not been fully researched so far. The current understanding has been relative to the opening of Korean rooms in American museums, which is widely believed to be the result of the popularity, so that the research is focusing on the later time, for example, Brooklyn Art Museum in 1974, Los Angeles County Museum in 1978 in the Continental U. S. What is noteworthy is that Mack mentioned “national consciousness” which was probably the first time in research on Korean art: “that Korea had a thoroughly developed national consciousness when these objects of art were current, namely six hundred years ago, is obvious. She had a national art.”⁵⁸

Korean art was known for its beauty and value in America though Korea was rendered unstable by the Japanese invasion. Langdon Warner’s writing about Korean Buddhist sculpture, *The Korean Trinity*, in 1920 suggested that Korean art became known within the varied range of Buddhist art, Goryeo Buddhist painting to sculpture. Korean Buddhist sculptures have a distinctive quality from any other countries. The Buddha Trinity in the Cleveland Museum, which has an extensive Asian collection, is one of the representative Asian art works (fig. 4). He started by providing two ways how Korean sculptures were accessible at this time, describing that they were accessed “through some splendid publications of the Japanese government and of Prince Yi’s Household Museum in Seoul, students now have access to reproductions of a dozen early statues in bronze”. He displayed content with acquisition of the Korean bronze Buddhist sculpture, saying “though we are spared the detail, all the surfaces are left to a sculptor’s satisfaction, all the proportions are just and the design of the features, if the phrase is permissible, is definitely pleasing,” because he knew the fact that “bronze sculpture in China since the end of the

⁵⁷ Mack, 1921: 121.

⁵⁸ Mack, 1921: 121.

fourteenth century did not flourish as paintings did” as he pointed out: “There is no record of an academy of sculptors which kept alive the sound traditions of a more inspired age. Ming painting is decorative, delicate and able; Ming sculpture, as we know it, is decadent”.⁵⁹ To sum up what Warner discussed regarding Chinese sculpture from a curatorial standpoint, the best example of Chinese sculpture is stone figures and there are good iron figures from the Ming time but artistically inconsiderable. Langdon Warner also made an interesting comparison between Korean art and Chinese one like Lorrain Warner did in Korean ware.

(2) CULIN AND KOREAN GAMES

Culin’s folkloristic research book, *Korean games with notes on the corresponding games of China and Japan* (1895), introduced not only games but also a great store of Korean ideas, culture and art. The description of the games was furnished orally by Pak Young- Kiu, the accomplished Secretary of the Korean Commission to the Columbian Exposition, and Chargé d'affaires of the Korean government in Washington. The book included illustrations for each game and also twenty two pieces of coloured plates which were copied by a local artist, Gisan, in Busan who later became an important folk painting artist in history. Gisan’s folk painting was published in America which is a significant fact in Korean art history. The style of his painting captures the movement of only two or three people without any background. They include scenes of people sitting on the floor and playing games, for example, dice play, go, *yut*, money-throwing and jacks or swinging, seesawing, shooting an arrow and playing shuttlecock with feet. His paintings display clear Asian primitive expression, multiple perspective and colours which the folk painters preferred at this time. In particular, he used Korean letters for the title on the upper side of a blank background which looks more decorative. The use of letters in Korean paintings seems to have influenced American modernism as the same way Chinese and Japanese calligraphy did.

Culin claimed that games ‘must be regarded not as conscious inventions, but as

⁵⁹ Warner, 1920: 79.

survivals from primitive conditions, under which they originated in magical rites, and chiefly as a means of divination' and 'they furnish the most perfect existing evidence of the underlying foundation of mythic concepts upon which so much of the fabric of our culture is built'.⁶⁰ He clarified that 'Korea' is 'a land most prolific in survivals for confirmation of' his theory. This fact has been practically related to ideas and daily life, politics and administration, religion and art.

This book has provided critical information for those who were interested in the 'language of objects' and the relation between 'games and divination'⁶¹. The book is not by an art historian but nevertheless takes a very critical position not only in Korean art history but also in American art history for various reasons: He demonstrated that mythical archetype and primitivism remained in Korean culture and lives; Modernists had a strong interest in Orientalism, primitivism and ethnology at that time. Gisan's folk paintings were published in colour to show the characteristics of Korean painting.

(3) SIGISBERT CHRÉTIEN BOSCH REITZ, METROPOLITAN

The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum discussed significant recent acquisitions from each department. Some valuable Korean art works were introduced in the bulletin after the Department of the Far East was founded in 1915. The first curator of the department, Reitz was expected to play a critical role in the museum by the media (fig. 5). The New York Times conveys a highly elevated mood with interest and competition in the acquisition of Far East Asian art work in Europe and America:

The European war, in the many changes it has wrought, is directly responsible for the opening of a Department of the Art of the Far East by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This was decided on Monday last at the June meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Museum and was announced yesterday.⁶²

The establishment of Far Eastern Art in America seems to have been accelerated by the War in

⁶⁰ Culin, 1895: xviii.

⁶¹ Culin, 1895: xviii.

⁶² The New York Times, 1915.

Europe at that time, in which the American was interested.

Just previous to the outbreak of the war, Reitz had been engaged to take charge of the Gandidier Collection of Far Eastern Art, one of the famous ones of the world, particularly rich in porcelains, in the Louvre, Paris. With the coming of the war the French authorities found this inexpedient and Reitz came to America to study the private collections and publications were opened with him by the museum authorities and resulted in his acceptance of the offer to remain. The new department will be opened in September.⁶³

He offered comparison between Korean ware and Chinese ones in the 'Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Chinese Pottery and Sculpture' which was published in 1916, three years before Lorraine Warner made a sensible point in comparison between Korean and Chinese wares. This catalogue contained 280 pieces of Chinese pottery, forty pieces of Chinese sculpture and 23 pieces of Korean pottery which was intended to study the comparison between Chinese Tang pottery and Korean Goryeo pottery. As Lorraine Warner concerned the wrong estimation of Koryeo pottery as Chinese one, he criticised "those who in their great admiration of everything Chinese cannot admit the ability of other and contemporary". He offered the comparison because of the reasons: the Chinese claimed "the white Korean Ting ware found abundantly in Korean graves must have been of Chinese made imports into Korea" and the Japanese authorities claimed "white Korean ware had been made, and though they say that the difference cannot be described, they still assert that to the connoisseur the difference is discernible".⁶⁴ What he offered was about the colour as like Lorraine Warner concerned. He explained:

Certain Korean white ware not of the finest quality has a distinct green tinge where the glaze runs thick, which seems characteristic, especially as much later and even quite late Korean ware shows the same transparent green glaze. Some more common Chinese pottery and some ware of the T'ang period exhibited here certainly show the same glaze, especially where white slip was used, and the same difficulty of differentiation exists.⁶⁵

He also observed the different quality of earth between the Sung time and Korea.

⁶³ The New York Times, 1915.

⁶⁴ Reitz, 1916: xvi-xvii.

⁶⁵ Reitz, 1916: xvi-xvii.

The great difference between these several kinds seems to have been the quality of the earth, which in some cases contained more iron and in consequence reddened in the kiln or even turned quite dark where exposed to the more or less direct heat of the fire, while in the early times it is probable also that the natural presence of iron in the produced the green colour.⁶⁶

In addition, one of the significant features Korean pottery distinguished from Chinese one, I suggest, is that there are European characteristics in Chinese pottery as Fenollosa claimed but, Korean pottery less traces Greco-Roman features (figs. 6, 7). That means Korean pottery had maintained its unique Far East Asian characteristics different from Japan and China. Rietz found the Korean technique was reproduced on some Chinese globular pot with wide, low neck (fig. 8), describing ‘this vase is interesting as the prototype of the technique used by the Koreans in their decoration of Korai celadons’.⁶⁷ Scholar of South Asian art, Ananda Coomaraswamy also noticed a certain prototype which was found in most abundant numbers in Korea.⁶⁸ He was known as an expert in Chinese pottery but he also had an artistic eye to Buddhist painting even when there was not much historical research. He introduced one Buddhist painting without illustration in the bulletin in 1918 but I suggest one painting remained in the Metropolitan museum collection (fig. 9) would be the one on the basis of the content: “...early Buddhist Korean art and dates from the later part of the Korai period, 935-1392. It presents Buddha sitting on the lotus which rises out of the water”.⁶⁹ Comparing the year of donation and the donor, the painting in the article apparently refers to the *Guanyin Seated on a Lotus Throne*. According to him, a dealer sent an ancient Korean picture to the Museum from Seoul without explanation but a man, named Maurice Abrams, called to explain that it was a gift to the Metropolitan Museum in memory of his friend Leo Stein. The dealer purchased the painting in Seoul and moved to Peking and India where he would have collected more. What he was really accurate about was arguably of the characteristic of Korean art which adhered to the tradition. He appreciated that “the

⁶⁶ Reitz, 1916: xxii.

⁶⁷ Reitz, 1916: 5.

⁶⁸ Coomaraswamy, Kershaw, 1928-29: 127.

⁶⁹ Reitz, 1918: 290.

picture is a specially valuable addition to our collection because it shows how the Koreans adhered to the early form of painting which they received through China and kept up the tradition in times when Chinese art itself had developed along quite different lines".⁷⁰ He recommended a comparison what the 15th century Korean Buddhist art stick to and the sixth-century fresco exhibited in the next room. The long-persisted originality in Korean Buddhist art often led to an incorrect estimation of the date even by Reitz who already knew such characteristics.

Corean art, which stood very high in its early days, came more or less to a standstill, the hermit empire proved even more conservative than China, taste developed and changed little, and the later Corean paintings continued to bear a strong resemblance to those of the earliest Buddhist times.⁷¹

Reitz wrote about a Korean Buddhist painting, *Brahma (Pômch'ôn, late 16th century, fig.10)* from acquisitions in the Metropolitan in 1921. This 16th century painting was firstly vague with date and nationality as seen in the caption under the plate: Chinese? Korean? He regarded the picture as "of the greatest importance for the study of early Buddhistic art"⁷² which confused him to make decision between the early Korean paintings and the Kyotan paintings. His assumption of the date before Tang is related to the mural at Horiuji (c. seventh century) which was known to have been painted by Damjing from the Goguryeo dynasty of Korea.

It was along this southern route, by way of Corea, that Buddhism came to Japan, and we find in the famous Horiuji frescoes, which can be dated as belonging to the seventh century, a great resemblance to the Khotan paintings mentioned in the beginning of this article. Next in importance and age to the Nara and Horiuji shrines comes the famous group of temples built on the sacred mountain Nantai-san, which are likewise full of the most precious heirlooms of early Buddhist times.⁷³

However, examining the article allows one to know that the painting was among looted goods taken from Korea to Japan when Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592.

⁷⁰ Reitz, 1918: 290.

⁷¹ Reitz, 1921: 125.

⁷² Reitz, 1921: 126.

⁷³ Reitz, 1921: 125.

It is from one of these temples on Nantai-san that the very important painting here reproduced came. It was presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art by S Edward S. Harkness and is now shown in the Room of Recent Accessions. According to tradition, it was brought over by the famous Taiko Hideyoshi from his expedition in Corea, as an early Chinese painting.⁷⁴

Not only with this painting, there were also many mistakes made when it came to identifying other Korean Buddhist paintings. In particular, most errors were related to Goryeo Buddhist paintings. It is in sharp contrast with the fact that Buddhist art from the Three Kingdoms (Shilla, Goguryeo, Paekje) period and the Joseon dynasty were well understood. Furthermore, Goryeo celadon from the same period was loved in America but the paintings were often concluded as being Japanese or Chinese art work. In this article, the painting was not clearly identified as Chinese or Korean. His misrepresentation of Goryeo painting could be a natural result on the ground of the previous researchers such as Fenollosa.

There are not many Goryeo Buddhist paintings in America; three in the Metropolitan Museum, one in the Brooklyn Museum, three in the Museum of Fine Art in Boston, two in the Cleveland Museum, one in the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, one in the Harvard Art Museum and one in the Smithsonian Museum. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Mansfield introduced one Japanese Buddhist painting in 1914, which is thought to be a Goryeo Buddhist painting, *Suwolgauneum*, which still remains in the current collection in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 11). *Suwolgauneum* is also recorded to have been donated by the Charles Collection in the same year, 1914. *Suwolgauneum*, in fact, recently became identified as a Korean Buddhist painting in the 1970s. The painting in the article cannot be found in any recorded Japanese Buddhist painting history. Howard Mansfield, the writer was a lawyer and a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and later became its first acting curator of Asian art until a staff curator was appointed.

Mansfield noticed the scarcity of representative Japanese paintings in America:

⁷⁴ Reitz, 1921: 125-26.

“other public institutions outside Japan are not known to possess representative collections of Japanese paintings, but only, here and there, a comparatively few examples”.⁷⁵ The article also observed an increasing difficulty of the acquisition of Japanese painting because of the rising interest of their own work by themselves in Japan. It would be not surprising the mistake of identity for the reasons that Japanese painting was not fully understood at that time and many Koryeo Buddhist paintings were in Japan. A great amount of cultural properties were plundered by frequent invasions of Japan in the Goryeo (918-1392) and Joseon periods (1392-1910) and also the colonial period from 1910 to 1945. Most of the Goryeo Buddhist paintings were not identified as Korean until the late twentieth century. Their absence in history led to a misunderstanding in classifying Buddhist paintings before and after the Goryeo period. This is why Joseon Buddhist paintings were sometimes regarded as from the earlier Goryeo period.

The characteristics of different periods between Korea, Japan and China in Buddhist art does not seem to have been fully understood in 1921. Nevertheless, S. C. Bosch Reitz showed a comparably better understanding of Korean art history from his analogy of the period of the painting in connection with Holiuji and Chinese Buddhist painting. He grasped the Korean Buddhist painting adhered the aesthetic of the early time.

(4) FRANCIS STEWART KEHSHAW (1869-1930), GORYEO POTTERY

Compared with Goryeo Buddhist painting which was worshiped, Goryeo ceramics seem to have been studied free from the influence of nationalism. By contrast with Tung Wu’s statement of not knowing Korean masterpieces well, Francis Stewart Kehshaw’s 1911 article about Goryeo ceramics, with illustrations (fig. 12), shows a good understanding which differs little from current knowledge. It is an interesting article because it is before Lorrain Warner (1919) and even Mansfield (1916), the first curator of the Far East Department in the Metropolitan Museum. A comparison between Korean and Chinese

⁷⁵ Mansfield, 1914: 196.

pottery seems to have been rather accurate at least for the experts in the early 20th century.

Korean Pottery is the one great product of art in Korea that has come down to us. Like Korean painting, sculpture and architecture, it had its source in China and passed on its tradition to Japan; but unlike those greater arts, pottery making in Korea developed in its own way, growing into something rich and quite different from anything produced in China, and teaching Japan everything but the secret of its own beauty.⁷⁶

The Goryeo pottery was considered to be the best of Korean art in America so that pottery before and after the Goryeo dynasty was considered artistically negligible. Goryeo pottery became so popular as early as in the 1910s was in debt of Japanese people highly appreciated them as they called “Korai-yak” which Kehshaw also used in the article.

Corea was an anglicised form of Goryeo and was used together with Korea until the early twentieth century. Korean art work spread and was dealt with by Japanese who referred to Goryeo Korai in Japan and America. Therefore, Goryeo for Korai and Joseon Dynasty for Yi Dynasty are correct terms. His 1911 article reviewed the the collection of Korean pottery on exhibition in the Court Gallery of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art. The collection was selected by Warner and several specimens were lent by F. G. Macomber and Desmond FitzGerald.⁷⁷ It provided the variety of selections in terms of the quality of the glaze, colours and decorations.

...its tones, white, greenish white, clear green, olive, brown-olive, and blue-green, all modified by the color of the underlying clay. The clay is always hard, sometimes fine, white, kaolinic, sometimes ruddy and rather coarse. The decorations are noteworthy: dragons, scrolls, cloud motifs, foliage, flowers, and flower motifs, and one instance of the "playing boys, carved in low relief, inlaid in white clay and in black, or painted in black or in deep olive brown, under the glaze."⁷⁸

His observation of “a subtle sense for proportion in the modeling”, and “a slight but charming irregularity of form” are still regarded as of representative characteristics. Asymmetrical form is one of the figurative factors in Korean art which provides visual amusement by adding comfort, naturality and removing artificiality. The asymmetry draws a

⁷⁶ Kehshaw, 1911: 63.

⁷⁷ Kehshaw, 1911: 63-64.

⁷⁸ Kehshaw, 1911: 64.

dynamic flow from the top one side to bottom the other side. Two noteworthy pieces were reproduced in the article with description:

It is a large flask-shaped vase, the fluted sides of which are incised to represent the markings on slender, tapering stems of bamboo. The glaze is a blue-green in tone, much grayed by the white clay over which it lies. The second illustration is of a wine-pot with fluted sides, evenly glazed in clear warm white over a white clay.⁷⁹

However, it is regrettable to witness that the variety of the selection was made up of pieces dug up from the graves of the Koryeo period during the Japanese illegal occupation. He also confirms the view in America that Goryeo pottery is only remarkable art work in Korean art: “only in pottery did the Koreans apparently do anything remarkably distinctive; they produced a grey-green ware and a green-toned white, which show a high appreciation for a certain delicate beauty.”⁸⁰ The Korean Goryeo Dynasty (934-1392) celadon was only included in the book, *100 Masterpieces Mohammedan and Oriental* (1931), Pollock had.

He is thought to have been affected by the pro-Japanese atmosphere in the museum which led him to China and Japan centred point of view of Asian art. He underestimated Korean art, saying “Bronze and pottery seem to be the only productions of the minor arts in Korea that are worthwhile, and in both kinds the derivation seems distinctly traceable to China”.⁸¹ Earnest Fenollosa was the first curator of the Japanese Department, the precursor of the Asian Department and Okakura Thenshin was in charge of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art before he died in 1913. Kehshaw worked with Kojiro Tomita in the museum in the 1930s and 1940s. He was studying with pro-Japanese scholars who had a narrow focus on Korean art and history, therefore, naturally his interest in Korean art seemed to be only focused on poetry.

(5) HENDERSON, JAPANESE COLONIAL POLICY AND AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM

⁷⁹ Kehshaw, 1911: 64.

⁸⁰ Kehshaw, 1916: 330.

⁸¹ Kehshaw, 1916: 330.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin published 'Korean Ceramics' with illustrations by Harold G. Henderson in 1927 when Korean sovereignty was being violated by Japan (fig. 13). During this time, Japan was trying to diminish and destroy Korea's last dynasty culture and history. His writing shows a trend which is similar to Japan's colonial policy, because he was the representative of the pro-Japanese scholars acting as the president of the Japan society in New York.

He began by introducing the brief history of the Goryeo from its birth to the fall. The article also confirmed the prevailed idea of Joseon pottery which declined from the Goryeo pottery, the best Korean art. The ruling class changed their taste in art according to the change of governing ideology from Buddhism to Confucianism, as Joseon was newly established. In contrast with Henderson's view, potters were kidnapped to Japan so they deeply influenced Japanese ceramics in the Joseon period. The scholarly mood in Joseon sought for spiritual freedom in simple, moderate and fine art. The simple line and form and liberal pattern of design in Joseon pottery display modern features as seen in American or European modern abstract art.

Henderson reasons that Joseon's culture lost its foundation and this point is in the same vein as the Japanese colonial point of view concerning Korean history. He also used Korai, the Japanese term for Korea which remains in some languages, such as Coreé in French. However, Henderson gave incorrect information in writing: "The United Kingdom was then called Korai, a name which we have anglicized to Korea". It is not surprising to see the wrong naming of Korean dynasties because Japanese cultural genocide was carried out in every field. Japan tried to achieve international legitimacy for Korean colonization and restrained the Korean independence movement abroad after 1919, so Japanese international policies are traced in Korean cultural history.

Interestingly, the collection Henderson discussed here was purchased from Desmond FitzGerald who had lent his Koryeo pottery collection on exhibition to the Court Gallery of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art in the Museum of Fine Art which Kehshaw

reviewed in 1911. According to Henderson, the recently purchased twenty pieces were on exhibition with the rest of the collection KORAI in Gallery DI. He also made a good confirmation of excavated pottery of the graves were Korean although “some authorities have believed them to be Chinese importations. He said that “the Koreans were clever potters too, and there is no good reason to suppose that most of the porcelain and pottery found around Song-do was not made in the vicinity”. The article also provided the information of the excavation of the graves in Song-do carried on by the Japanese at Korean kiln-sites and the dealing with Koryeo pottery was severely engaged by the Japanese who called them ‘Korai-ware’.⁸²

Richo is the contemptuous word for Joseon used by Japan. Henderson described Joseon as a corrupt dynasty although the late Joseon independently developed culture and art. He also focused on ‘disastrous political factions’ without reviewing the political system in Joseon where there was a centralized system with parties. This is one of the most significant distortions made by Japan. Japan had long been governed by military power, so they were afraid of the academic and cultural power of Korea.

Henderson estimated the time of “a large Richo jar” before “the first Japanese invasion” and added his observation of the history: “From 1592 to 1636 successive invasions by the Japanese and Manchus decimated the population, and after this time Korea became a "hermit kingdom," her whole desire being to keep foreigners away.”⁸³ It does not seem to be necessary to mention the Japanese invasion because Korean ceramics had developed without Japanese influence. His mention of a Japanese invasion might have caused confusion for the reader. He overlooked the fact that Korean pottery taken to Japan in this Japanese invasion led to the development of Japanese ceramics although he knew Japan “imitated it extensively”.

⁸² Henderson, 1927: 172-73.

⁸³ Henderson, 1927: 174-75.

(6) KOJIRO TOMITA, BUDDHIST SCULPTURE

A statue of the Healing Buddha was introduced in the Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Art in Boston in 1933 with the photo on the bulletin's cover. The writer, Kojiro Tomita well described the feature of Korean beauty in the statue of the Healing Buddha. The full text includes the Healing Buddha's twelve intense desires prepared for saving the people from all diseases. It explained that the Healing Buddha was widely loved in Korea, China, Japan, Tibet and Mongolia because he was able to save the people not in the afterlife but in this world. Such writings would have spreaded the knowledge of Buddhism, for example in this article, the meaning of the Buddhistic hand positions and doctrine at this time. This article provided the information of Silla, unnoticed time in the Korean art history while many authorities were paying attention to the Goryeo pottery. Kojiro Tomita, the Japanese expert, would have more familiar to Korean ancient art which influenced on Japanese art.

The work dates from about the eighth century...The successive Silla kings, being profound devotees of Buddhism, were responsible for a great stimulus to Buddhist art. The Korean art of the late Silla period received its inspiration, on the one hand, from the contemporary Chinese art of the T'ang dynasty, and, on the other hand, exerted its influence upon the contemporary Japanese art of the Nara epoch.⁸⁴

Therefore, Korean art was mistaken as Japanese even by Okakura Tenshin who learned under Earnest Fenollosa to earn a Masters in Arts at Tokyo Imperial University in 1880.

This statue was acquired by Okakura for Holmes in Nara, Japan, in 1908, and was at that time considered to be of Japanese workmanship of the early Nara period (7th-8th centuries), having been in a Japanese temple for centuries. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that this image was one of the objects brought to Japan by a Korean envoy from the Kingdom of Silla during the Nara period.⁸⁵

Tomita complimented the statue by mentioning "the excellence of the workmanship of the statue is self-evident."⁸⁶ I would like to question, in this point, about the "self-evident" workmanship which was favoured to use in describing of Korean art in the early 20th century by Japanese experts such as Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889-1961) because the history

⁸⁴ Kojiro Tomita, 1933: 38

⁸⁵ Kojiro Tomita, 1933: 38

⁸⁶ Kojiro Tomita, 1933: 38.

witnessed their ignorance about the ancient tradition and history of Korean art while they played a role as Asian Art experts internationally, in particular, in American Museums. This will be discussed more in Chapter IV.

(7) RESPONSE OF PRIVATE ORGANISARIONS

In 1934, the Chinese Art Exhibition was organized by the Friends of Far Eastern Art at Mills College, California. The exhibition was contributed mainly by private collections such as Charles H. Ludington which included a Korean portrait of a girl from the seventeenth century (fig. 16). This beautiful painting gained attention and the picture was released in the article in *Parnassus* published by the College Art Association.⁸⁷ The painting earlier appeared also in *the Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum* in May 1928 which published a review of the Ludington Memorial Exhibition.⁸⁸ It is noteworthy Horace H. F. Jayne focused on the difference between Korean and Chinese painting in this article.

There is a difference, ever so slight though it may be, between the Korean and the purely Chinese school of painting. It is difficult to analyze, but when once apprehended, is immediately grasped. The rich patterning of these two pairs with their exuberant flowers thrusting out among the soft foliage, gives them great aesthetic value and they well illustrate the grace and ability of the Korean painters.⁸⁹

He also used “purely Korean in concept” which is noticeable together with many good comparisons between Chinese and Korean art in the early 20th century. In this magazine in 1933, there was an introduction of the galleries which have Asiatic artwork in ‘a Brief Review of the Asiatic Galleries’⁹⁰. It suggests that Asian Buddhist art work was easily accessible in certain galleries in New York. Ananda Coomaraswamy, an early interpreter of Indian art, also knew well about the quantity and the range of shapes in his writing, ‘A Chinese Buddhist Water Vessel and Its Indian Prototype’⁹¹ in 1928-29.

⁸⁷ Salmony, 1934: 15.

⁸⁸ Jayne, 1928: 6.

⁸⁹ Jayne, 1928: 5.

⁹⁰ Eastman, 1933: 20-21.

⁹¹ Coomaraswamy, 1928 – 29: 122-41.

3. KOREAN AESTHETICS AND ITS INTRODUCTION

In recent years many have agreed with Kim Won-Yong's claim about Korean beauty. In his 1980's book, '한국 고미술의 이해 (Understanding Korean Antique Art)', he summarized the characteristics of Korean beauty as artless art, planar and linear beauty and an ensemble with natural environment. He supported his claim with the two scholarly opinions of Dr. D Seckel and Robert Griffing. In 'Some Characteristics of Korean Art' in *Oriental Art* in 1977, Dr. Seckel defined "Koreanness" as "the decomposition of form-complexes into small elements, much like a music, and a flatness in form and graphically linearity in surface design". He sees "vitality, spontaneity and unconcern for technical perfection, i.e. nonchalance" in Korean art⁹². The other is from Griffing, a former president of the Honolulu Academy of Art, who clarified "the fundamental distinction between the ceramics of Korea and those of China and Japan", writing that they "have neither China's supremely rational classicism nor any of Japan's studied artifice". Griffing added that "To approach the ceramics of Korea from a purely art-historical point of view would be an exercise in fertility. It would be much more fitting to their nature to swing to the opposite extreme and simply to accept them: *existent ergo sum*, to paraphrase Descartes".⁹³

Kim gives examples of 'artless art' by mentioning curved timbers used for pillars and rafters in architecture and the coincidental effect of glazing in pottery. 'Artless art' does not mean that art work has 'no technical skill' but it eliminates artificiality by avoiding physical perfection and pursuing an overall harmony. It reflected the influence of Taoism, Buddhism and traditional religions on Korean art in which nature in the raw is regarded as the most beautiful. However, Kim Won-Yong's definition is somewhat modernistic from the contemporary point of view. His definition is so abstract that one cannot easily grasp the meaning because it requires intuitive knowledge as scholars in the Joseon period cultivated

⁹² K.F, 1997: 28.

⁹³ A.S, 1968: 13.

their minds by studying Confucianism. Moreover, Kim Won-Yong regarded Goryeo Buddhist painting not as artistic painting but as typical diagrams for sacred purposes despite its highly artistic value. He also was not concerned with Goryeo Buddhist paintings which were located in Japan although he profoundly appreciated them. Buddhist art and culture flourished most in the Goryeo Kingdom in Korean art history and left many significant cultural heritages in various areas: painting, sculpture, architecture and pottery. However, Goryeo pottery was introduced as the only representative Korean art.

A Korean art exhibition, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* was held in America from 1957 to 1959. According to Chung Mu-Jung (2000), the exhibition also displayed Goryeo pottery as a main part of the show. There were two American Selection Committees, Alan Priest, curator of Far Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Robert Treat Paine, Jr., curator of the department of Asiatic Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and 17 other Korean Selection Committees. However, Chung noted that the final decision was made only by the two American committees.⁹⁴ This matter was covered in the *Korea Daily* on 23 June in 1957. The newspaper criticised the selection process which did not include representative Korean art work. According to the newspaper, the selection focused on ceramics but not Shilla earthenware, Goryeo gilt bronze Buddhist and Joseon calligraphy. Therefore, the exhibition did not successfully introduce Korean primitive relics or the artwork of the ancient kingdoms and the Buddhist art of Korea. The Joseon calligraphy is a refined art presenting the academic development of Confucianism during the 500 years of the Joseon period. The American committees seem to have regarded Joseon calligraphy as a mere imitation of Chinese calligraphy, while Korean realistic landscape and folk painting of the later 100 years of the period were selected. The calligraphy and literary artistic painting directly reflected the academic development. However, Japanese colonial policy intended to misrepresent that the Joseon Kingdom as being exhausted condition due to excessive factionalism and disparaged the Korean literary artistic painting, despite it was a popular

⁹⁴ Chung, 2000: 98.

style in Japan and China. Another reason why the calligraphy was not selected was seemingly a lack of understanding, as seen in Clement Greenberg's misunderstanding of the calligraphy.

Kim Chewon, a Korean historian reviewed the exhibition in the *Artibus Asiae* in 1957. His historical standpoint seems to be inclined to the colonial view in the article where he mentioned that Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592 and a large amount of cultural heritage was destroyed which was not helpful for the understanding of Korean art. He also called Joseon Richo, a term used by Japanese people to belittle Joseon. He explained that the show was selected to display art work which was distinct from Chinese art, but his explanation seems to have meant that part of Korean art was Chinese imitation while the selection was biased. Above all, as he observed, the exhibition was "the first large exhibition in America" which was likely to portray the understanding that Korean art had not been introduced to America in earnest before. However, this exhibition now seems to have been defined as a starting point of international reception of Korean art although those American committees worked already for museums with large collections of Korean art. This seems quite unfortunate in art history scene of Korean art in the contrast of the mutual assistance in the cultural exchange between America and Japan continued during the Cold War after World War II. Harold G. Henderson actively advertised Japanese culture as the president of the Japanese Society in New York at that time.

Nevertheless, American researchers paid attention to Korean art was arguably because of the unique aesthetic of Korean art, old traditions and ideas. One of the most significant features of Korean art, I suggest, is its Asian primitive nature long preserved and developed in a certain cultural background; Buddhism, Confucianism and other traditional ideas. Rietz noticed, in earlier time, the Korean Buddhist painting adhered to its original tradition which was received from China while Chinese painting developed a different way. The Asian primitive nature of Korean art was uniquely recreated by showing its own style with the changing times. Korean culture has something in common with China, being from

the same East Asian cultural area but Korean aesthetic has developed its own unique taste. One reason could be that the two countries have different cultural origins. Chinese culture has claimed to have originated around the Yellow River while it is most likely that Korean culture is related to the *Hongshan* culture which originated near the *Liaoho* River in Manchuria, although there are still other theories being discussed. The Hongshan culture came to the fore after the many archaeological discoveries and pieces of research in the late 20th century. Professor Yi Hyung-Gu at the Seonmun University, Korea wrote in his book *코리아 루트를 찾아서* (Looking for the Korean Route) where Korean cultural origins were investigated in connection with Hongshan culture:

1980년을 전후로 중국 고고학계는 한족 중심의 세계관을 뒤흔들 만큼 충격적인 유물과 유적을 발굴하면서 정신적인 공황에 빠진다. 지금까지 ‘중국문명은 황허문명[황하·黃河]’이라는 중화주의를 고수해 왔지만 더 이상 그런 주장을 할 수 없기 때문이다. 한낱 오랑캐[동이·東夷]의 영역으로 폄훼했던 발해만(渤海灣) 일대에서 황허문명보다 앞서서 문명이 존재했다는 사실이 속속 드러났으니 말이다.⁹⁵

[Around 1980, the Chinese academic world was in a panic over the excavation of remains which shook their own Sinocentrism. They cannot hold on to the Chinese-centered idea with which they claim ‘Chinese culture is the Hwangho (Yellow River • 黃河) Culture’. Many evidences became available to show that an advanced civilization existed before the Hwangho Culture in the Balhaeman (Balhae Sea) area which they regard as enemy, 東夷 (East Barbarian) territory.]

Thorp questioned in his book, *Chinese Art & Culture*, in 2001 if the ancient relics discovered in the contemporary Chinese territory could be seen as “Chinese”.

In historical retrospect, and until earlier examples become known, many scholars will see these artifacts as the beginnings of Chinese art. Yet such an evaluation has limited validity. In this discussion, “China” can only stand for the modern geographical entity which did not exist at the earlier time. Later historic cultures within China probably did not know of these artifacts.⁹⁶

Stubingchi(蘇秉琦), a great authority on archeology in China responded the question that “the Rhaoh civilization of Dong-Yi and the Hwangho civilization of Han developed in harmony and cultures from the South and Northwest drew toward the Chinese centre that

⁹⁵ Yi, 2009: 20.

⁹⁶ Thorp, 2001: 174-76.

completed Chinese culture today”.⁹⁷ It is a significant change in the interpretation of Chinese civilization from a unitary origin to plural origins. Yi Hyung-Gu clarified in similar vein: “발해연안 일대가 현재 중국에 속해 있다 하더라도 역사 연구까지 지금의 영토를 기준으로 한정할 필요는 없는 것이다. 8,000년 전 동이는 결코 한반도라는 좁은 영역에서만 살지 않았으니 말이다⁹⁸ [To study history one does not need to be constricted by the view of the current territory although Balhae Bay now belongs to China. The Dong-Yi people, 8,000 years ago, never lived only in the Korean peninsula]”. The Hongshan culture area is now part of Chinese territory but was once located outside the Great Wall. In this area there was the first kingdom of Korea, Gojoseon, and its successors, Buyeo, Goguryeo and Balhae. That is why China launched “東北邊疆歷史與現狀系列研究工程, the fundamental project of the history and the present state of the northern area of China” in 2002 which is a plan to place the histories of neighbouring countries, in particular, Goguryeo, in the context of general Chinese history. Goguryeo was one of the enemies of the Tang of China and its area expanded from Manchuria to South Korea with its capital located in Pyeongyang, North Korea.

Korean art displays various aspects according to different kingdoms and periods over a 5,000 year old history. Korean art is the product of amalgamating various ideas and accepting new ideas, meeting the demands of the time. A permanent tradition and a new creation were being pursued at the same time. Although the general Europeanization of Asia was the trend in the 20th century which was discussed in Introduction with the point of Upton Close, Korea had long maintained its primitive nature in art and culture. The most significant representative of Asian primitive nature is shown in the *Bangudae* Petroglyphs from BC 6000 which is the same era as the *Hongshan* culture. The *Bangudae* Petroglyphs

⁹⁷ Original text (중국 고고학계의 태두 쑤빙치[소병기•蘇秉琦]는 “동이의 라오허 문명과 한족의 황허문명이 조화를 이뤘으며, 여기에 남방 서북문화가 중원으로 모여 오늘날의 중국문명이 완성됐다.”고 결론을 내렸다.) Yi, 2009: 21.
⁹⁸ Yi, 2009: 105.

are engraved rock art which was rediscovered in South Korea in 1971 (fig. 15). It is estimated to have been made towards the end of the Neolithic or the start of the Bronze Age. The description of the rock art panels and motifs presents primitive art itself with engraved linear forms of animals and human facial representations. Among the 200 individual petroglyph motifs depicting 75 different land and sea animals, there is a tiger caught in a trap, a pregnant female tiger and whales with spears embedded in their bodies which are described in their freeform. The liberal use of lines and planes shows the essence of primitivism. The primitive nature was remembered over the ages, for example, in Goryeo celadon with underglaze iron-brown painting (fig. 16) and Joseon Buddhist painting, folk painting and craft art. Korean art maintained primitivism while it developed into various forms according to the times. This is the reason why Korean art looks familiar and artless on the one hand while it also displays a modernistic sense which breaks conventionality.

The other important feature, what I suggest, is that Korean art pursued a metaphysical value which religion and scholars sought. Art work contains the ultimate aim of religions, study and thoughts in society by using colour, symbol or pattern. Therefore, Korean art can be said to pursue 'metaphysical idealism'. In particular, nothing shows this characteristic with a refined modern sense more clearly than the '*Hojechungsin*' letter paintings. The '*Hyojechungsin*' letter painting is a creation combining primitivism in Korean art and the social atmosphere which respected study. Joseon, a hierarchical society, wanted to propagate Confucian ideas in order to establish social morals and customs by using painting even for the lowest class of people who could not read. This kind of practice was not found in any other Asian countries. The letter painting is not a mere decoration with objects of letters but displays *depaysement* as seen in surrealist painting and those style of abstraction present the attitude and humour of Korean people. Korean art began showing modernistic, humorous and simple characteristics at least in the 18th century. Such a modern sense is traced on a simple design of Joseon white pottery and folk art (fig. 18). In particular, the designs on the painting provide a refined transformation of objects with multiple

viewpoints. The multiple perspectives cannot be seen in Chinese and Japanese painting after the 17th century while they still remained until the 20th century in Korean art. They allow painting to show the greatest pictorial liberty on two dimensions without restriction by Western perspective. Korean people tried to visualize ‘metaphysical idealism’ in their art which actually began in everyday life.

For example, *Uigwe*, a Korean ceremonial painting records (registered in the UNESCO Memory of the World, 2007), in the royal court in Joseon. There are three different viewpoints. The artists always look for the most ideal form of the world and objects are not defined by a fixed perspective. It seems to have looked like uncivilized customs to the American who introduced Korea in *Scientific America*, March 1894 (v.LXX, no.10, 151) accompanying the Chicago Exposition in 1893.

He (the King of Joseon) would rather die than have surgery because of superstition... These strange people have lots of virtues and good points compared to their cultural standards. Though they were not educated in how to use machines properly, these exhibited items show that Korean people are skilled craftsmen.”⁹⁹

Korean people refused to have surgery in order to practice respecting one’s parents before superstition. The first lesson on the basis of Confucianism was that one should not harm the body which was firmly believed to be dishonouring to parents. Therefore, both men and women never had their hair cut. When people were forced to have their hair cut under ‘the ordinance prohibiting topknots’ in 1895, antipathy to westernization grew to hostility against Japan so that it finally triggered the use of the army in the cause of justice. People regarded it as serious persecution of the body. To respect one’s own parents and other’s parents, that is, the elderly, was the first virtue, as seen in ‘*Hojechungshin*’ letter painting. The cultural activity of scholars in Joseon reflected literary style painting in which one should demonstrate his/her level of academic and artistic achievement. It would have been difficult for the American to understand the different cultural characteristics, although there was a growing cultural exchange between the countries at that time.

The Korean government had denied making contact with West until the end of the

⁹⁹ Kim, 2006: 50.

nineteenth century. This preserved the typical ideas, ideas of Taegeuk and Buddhism, and also preserved Asian aboriginality. It is very possible that Korean arts, which has been made on the basis of Asian religions and thoughts, have been an inspiration to western artists who were interested in Asian ideas and arts.

CHAPTER II

JACKSON POLLOCK'S CONTEMPLATION OF KOREA

The importance of ethnology for the American art scene in the early half of the 20th century has been discussed in terms of western philosophy and psychology. In Pollock's case, American Indian art was the main ethnological subject on the basis of Jungian analysis because he had experienced Jungian psychology treatment and referred to the unconscious: "The source of my painting is the unconscious."¹⁰⁰ However, his biographical materials display that his interest in indigenous cultures reached to Far Eastern art and ideas, and the link with Zen just has begun to be studied,¹⁰¹ but not the Far Eastern original idea of primitive art in the ethnology itself. In a period of active research into ethnography, I will argue that Pollock's interest could well have expanded to Korea. In the first section, how Pollock approached the Far East Asian culture, art and political issue, including Korean objects will be revealed by examining the evidence of Asian-related subject matters in his letters to and from his friends. Newspapers and magazine are also an important resource for understanding how the Far East was communicated to an American audience at this time through the media. Above all, this section looks into how the ethnological books Pollock possessed dealt with Korea-related contents. The second section focuses on whether the comparative study of American Indian and Asian cultures would have provided Pollock with the ethnological access to Korea through Culin's study: 'American Indian Games' (1898) and *Korean Games* (1895). Stewart Culin advanced his theory in *Korean Games* (1895) which emphasised the originality of Korean games and his theory has a strong similarity to the "collective unconscious" which Pollock and other artists were fascinated with. The third section enlightens Pollock's significant use of arrows and trigram-like lines and men together which would have relation with Culin's claim: the arrows, originally divinatory tools, became a stick throwing game in which the counters stand for "men".

¹⁰⁰Statements quoted in O'Connor, 1967: 40.

¹⁰¹Levin, 2010: 5-16.

1. POLLOCK AND ASIA

(1) POLLOCK AND POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE FAR EAST ASIA

Pollock sometimes expressed his opinion on politics and social issues. He wrote to Charles and Frank, two of his brothers, in 1929 that he attended a number of Communist meetings¹⁰² and said “there can be no doubt about fascism in America”¹⁰³ in a letter to his mother after he read *the Black Legion in Michigan* in 1936. He painted *War* in 1947 and later, in 1950, confessed that modern art to him was “nothing more than the expression of the contemporary aims of the age that we’re living in”. He had already displayed a plain reaction to political matters in his home and other countries including Far Eastern Asia in the 1930s. This inclination would have led him to reflect on international conflict or realistic issues on his art from the early 1930s to the 1950s while he had alcoholic depression and showed symptoms of “irresponsibility, depressive mania, over intensity” from 1937/38 to 1941. When he participated in the Federal Art Program in 1932, Pollock wrote to his father that he liked Ernst’s article ‘If I were a Constitutional Dictator’ in *Nation* which Pollock supposed his father would have.¹⁰⁴ In the same letter, he also wrote that he wanted to talk about the ideal life and civilization. The Ernst article discussed 88 procedures that the writer should undertake if he were a dictator. Among the 26 clauses in pursuit of international good-will, one is to “liberalize the immigration laws so as gradually to restore us to the position of open door. This means for Japanese, Chinese, and all other people.”¹⁰⁵ He also delivered to his father the fact that America was enlisting capitalism and that Manchurian business was going to be involved.

The Manchurian business Pollock mentioned was the Japanese invasion of the Manchurian area in 1931. The world was watching Japan’s move regarding whether their

¹⁰² Pollock, 2011: 16.

¹⁰³ Pollock, 2011: 86.

¹⁰⁴ Pollock, 2011: 26.

¹⁰⁵ Ernst, 1932: 37.

strength was focused only on colonizing (illegally occupying by force) the Korean peninsula or advancing towards Manchuria. Japan felt a need to conquer Manchuria in order to recover from the economic conditions resulting from the Great Depression of 1929. Japan established a supply base in Korea and invaded Manchuria which led to the Chinese-Japanese War in 1937. Interestingly, there was an article entitled ‘Japanese Imperialism’ in the *Nation*, 13 January 1932 in which Pollock read Ernsts article. Pollock would have been more informed by this article. Mauritz A. Hallgren, the writer of the article, clarified that the real aim of Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria were its economic interests which lay behind the superficial conflict over the railway rights. He reviewed six relevant books: *Japan, An Economic and Financial Appraisal* by Harold G. Moulton; *The Japanese Population Problem* by W. R. Crocker; *Japan’s Special Position in Manchuria* by C. Walter Young. The Johns Hopkins Press; *The International Legal Status of the Kwantung Leased Territory* by C. Walter Young; *Japanese Jurisdiction in the South Manchuria Railway Areas* by C. Walter Young; *British Far Eastern Policy* by R. Stanley McCordock. He finished the article having given a hint that there would be more than economic pressure in Japan’s “Drang nach Westen”.¹⁰⁶

Pollock’s interest in the Far East conflict would have been accompanied with an understanding of the relation between Japan, the ruling party, and the subject peoples in Korea and Manchuria. Hallgren also recalled the fact that Korea was an illegally occupied state, having pointed out that there was no natural barrier (mountains) in Vladivostok, Siberia and central Asia to Lake Baikal unlike in Korea. The Chinese-Japanese war broke out five years later which showed that his prediction was quite right. The Manchurian incident at that time reminded people in America of the terror of World War I. *The Living Age*, an American periodical, released an anti-Imperialist article in August 1932 which

¹⁰⁶ Hallgren sarcastically borrowed ‘Drang nach Osten’ which referred to the medieval German eastern colonization, Hallgren, 1932: 49-50.

began “the second world war is here! Japanese imperialism has begun it.”¹⁰⁷ The anti-Imperialists did well to raise public indignation over the fact that Koreans were suffering and being exploited by Japan. The 1932 anti-Imperialist article revealed that “more than one and half million persons are faced with death from starvation” in Korea.¹⁰⁸ The press responded to the tension increasing in the Far East in the late 1930s when Japanese Imperialism strengthened its military power in the face of worldwide criticism. *The New York Times* carried a review entitled “Japan drives on, deaf to world opinion: Japan holds to her course in China despite condemnation, even though, paradoxically, she is sensitive to criticism.”¹⁰⁹ Japan attacked indiscriminately when the China-Japanese War broke out and the American gunboat Panay was attacked in the Yangtze River on December 12, 1937 despite rising international concern. As a result of the bombing of the gunboat and other similar incidents, America re-examined her neutrality policy.¹¹⁰

The Ludlow Amendment, 1937 was the response in America to the terror of war even though it was negated by Congress. Representative Louis Ludlow proposed a national referendum on any declaration of war by Congress with supporters who argued that ordinary people, who were called on to die during war, should have a direct vote on American involvement.¹¹¹ President Roosevelt and the Congress approved the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 and all men between 21 and 35 in America were required to register with Selective Service.¹¹² It was 20 years later that the Selective Service of 1917 was discontinued. The young men in America faced the fact that they were eligible to be drafted for any war. Pollock might not have been an exception who felt apprehensive about the war although he had medical deferment in 1940. He started psychological treatment in 1937 when Japanese imperialism was increasing the tension in the Far East and starting the war.

¹⁰⁷ Magyar, 1932: 484.

¹⁰⁸ Magyar, 1932.

¹⁰⁹ Peffer, 1937.

¹¹⁰ Hinton, 1937.

¹¹¹ Rhodes, 2001: 151.

¹¹² New York Times, 1940.

Pollock's reaction to the current issues of the unstable situation in the Far East in which America was largely involved, has not been fully accounted for, while his art of this period has been analysed in terms of his interest in myth, psychology and non-figurative art. Moreover, discussing Asian characteristics in Pollock why I rather focus on Korean art than Japanese is because Japan and America were once enemies of each other in the early 20th century. His 1932 letter to his family shows he knew Manchuria was attacked by Japan, and America was also attacked by Japan in 1941. This tragic incident was well represented by Thomas Hart Benton who taught Jackson Pollock and his brother Charles at the Art Students League of New York. Benton's *Exterminate!* from *The Year of Peril* 1942, shows a rage against imperialism in which the brutal image of a Japanese man grasping the national flag is described as being monstrous. Considering the historical facts of anti-Japanese imperialism, that Pollock's interest in Asian culture at that time was solely in Japanese Zen and culture, would be beyond all.

Japan killed many people in order to suppress anti-imperialist activity even before it occupied Korea in 1910. Those tragic events became known in the United States and elsewhere across the world through media and publications which revealed the real facts of its cruelty. *Things Korean*, 1908 by H. N. Allen, the *Tragedy of Korea*, 1908 by F. A. Mackenzie, *The Passing of Korea*, 1906 by Homer Hulbert are examples. These publications often carried illustrations of the killing of Korean people and one in the *Truth about Korea*, 1919 by Carlton W. Kendall showed a public execution on a cross with a caption of "A sample of the methods of Japanese military autocracy in dealing with loyal Koreans" (fig. 19).

Therefore, the brutal image Pollock painted in the 1930s before World War II broke out in 1939 might have related to the Koreans or Chinese who were suffering from Japanese imperialism. Pollock, I am suggesting, might have expressed his sympathy for the victims of violence and felt that such activity would be the contemporary aim of modern art concerning the fact that he was interested not only in Asian ideas, religion, philosophy and art but also

in Far East political issues.

(2) POLLOCK AND ETHNOLOGY

Pollock's interest in indigenous art and ethnology was often attested by his contemporaries and many critics associated Pollock with American Indian art which even extended to the Inuit. Evan R. Firestone discussed 'shamanic trance' that is ubiquitous in Eurasian tribal cultures in 'Jackson Pollock's *The Magic Mirror*, Jung, Shamanism, and John Graham'.¹¹³ He stressed not only that Graham reproduced an Eskimo mask (Inuit) in "Primitive Art and Picasso" but also that 'Landau and Rushing have discussed the utilization of Eskimo masks in Pollock's work of the early 1940s'.¹¹⁴ He regarded Pollock would have read about the soul flights of Eskimo shamans which was researched in the *BAE report* Pollock had. However, Far Eastern Asian native ideas and philosophies have never been explored in the connection with Pollock's affinity to primitive art although the early ethnological study of American Indians related to the cultural and ethnic similarity to East Asia. For example, J. Walter Fewkes wrote in 1912 that 'it is evident that the transfer of arts has been common in sub-arctic Asia and America and some of these arts have wide connections'.¹¹⁵ He discussed:

Plate armour of Japan and Korea, and the horn armour of Mindanao and other East Indian islands, has been observed on both sides of the Bering Strait, the most perfect type made of plates of ivory occurring among the Eskimo.¹¹⁶

These ideas continued to be discussed well into the twentieth century. The ethnological materials Pollock had in his personal library, for example, included the Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology often displayed understanding both Indian and Asian culture in tracing the common origin of Indian and Asian cultures. Pollock showed a strong interest not only in Indian culture but also in human civilization through their countless art work. He was certain that the basic tenants of universality of art were evident through Indian

¹¹³ Evan R. Firestone, 2008 MODERNISM/modernity vol. 15 no 4, 703-724: 713

¹¹⁴ Evan R. Firestone, 2008 MODERNISM/modernity vol. 15 no 4, 703-724: 713

¹¹⁵ Fewkes, 1912: 40.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 40.

creativity.

The Asian characteristics of his painting, *Red Painting 1-7*, were presented in the 2009 New York Guggenheim exhibition. His link with Zen through Alfonso Ossorio who first met Pollock in the late 1940s has just begun to be considered in 'The extraordinary interventions of Alfonso Ossorio, Patron and collector of Jackson Pollock and Lee Krasner' by Gail Levin in 2010.¹¹⁷ Ossorio was a student at Harvard when Langdon Warner taught Asian art. He knew scholars of Asian art, such as Benjamin Rowland, and the important Indian philosopher and art historian Ananda K. Coomaraswamy at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and anthropologist Frederick Pleasants at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. He also developed a wide ranging collection of medieval, Asian, American religious folk art and Native American work. I argue that Pollock would already have developed an interest in Asian art which was to be strengthened by interactions with Ossorio because of Pollock's contact with Eastern culture which is considered exceptionally early for his time.

Asian culture was introduced to him by one Japanese family, the Moris, who lived just north of him across Sherman Street in Phoenix, Arizona. The Pollocks moved from Coronado in 1913, about the same time as the Moris' arrival in the Salt River valley. Yoshiro Mori had a daughter (Shizuko) and a son (Akinabu) who hung around with Pollock. They played an "important role in Jackson's private world".¹¹⁸

He watched the mother, who spoke no English, dressed in a long white dress, quietly preparing dinners of Japanese vegetables. He studied the strange-looking newspaper that arrived every week from Los Angeles, so unlike his parents' papers and magazines, and stood enchanted at Ayame's elbow as she wrote letters to relatives in Japan, creating pages of intricate calligraphy with hand movements even finer and more delicate than those of his mother crocheting.¹¹⁹

After these kinds of experiences in childhood, his interest in Eastern ideas seemed to have begun to flourish in earnest after he first met Frederick John de St. Vrain Schwankovsky. He

¹¹⁷ Levin, 2010.

¹¹⁸ Naifeh, 1989: 55.

¹¹⁹ Naifeh, 1989: 55.

was introduced to Hinduism, Buddhism, yoga, reincarnation and karma by Schwankovsky, head of the art department, after he entered the Manual Arts High School in 1928.¹²⁰ Pollock later became interested in theosophy and occult mysticism. In Pollock's letter to his family in 1929, he once stated to himself that "Should I follow the Occult Mysticism it would not be for commercial purpose".¹²¹ He also wrote to Charles in 1930 that "I am still interested in theosophy and am studying a book, *Light on the Path*, everything it has to say seems to be contrary to the essence of modern life but after it is understood and lived up to I think it is a very helpful guide."¹²² Charles, his brother, would also have a strong influence on his understanding of Asia. He once wrote to Pollock in 1929 that:

...progress in the past has been made slowly and laboriously over centuries of time and in China and India had crystallized prematurely and imperfectly and though those peoples had a marvelous culture it was a means nevertheless of subjecting countless millions of human beings to virtual slavery.¹²³

Charles studied art so that he would be a good discussion partner for Pollock. The book, *Light on the Path* by Mabel Collins (1888), Pollock studied, lists forty two rules in two parts for disciples to meditate on such as "5. Kill out all sense of separateness." The teachings are based on Eastern religions and ideas. She provided its strapline of "A Treatise Written for the Personal Use of Those Who Are Ignorant of the Eastern Wisdom, and Who Desire to Enter within Its Influence." His fascination with the Oriental mind would have been prior to his contact with Jungian psychological therapy. The dialogue of Oriental civilization from the letter with family seems to have related his interest in international issue among Asian countries.

Pollock's letters to the family in the 1930s in which he mentioned "the Manchurian business"¹²⁴ provide evidence of his interest in, and response to, the unstable state of affairs in the Far East. This might be understood as more than simply assimilating from East Asian

¹²⁰ Langhorne, 1988: 50.

¹²¹ Pollock, 2011: 16.

¹²² Pollock, 2011: 19.

¹²³ Pollock, 2011: 13.

¹²⁴ Pollock, 2011: 26.

art into his own work as a critical topic. He referred to particular areas of Asia, for example, China and Manchuria, as “the Orientals”.¹²⁵ Oriental, when referred to in the book, meant of Asian descent, considering Pollock had *100 Masterpieces Mohammedan and Oriental* (1931) in which Oriental art was confined to India and Far Eastern art. This book from Pollock’s library catalogue suggests his early interest in Asian art. The book covers various works, Buddhist art, ceramics, painting and craft from the Middle East and Far Eastern countries. It includes images of a Chinese Shang Dynasty (1766-1123 BC) bronze colander and Korean Goryeo Dynasty (934-1392) celadon and 19th century Japanese armour. It is noteworthy that this thesis reveals, for the first time, that there is a Korean pottery in the book Pollock had.

Therefore, I am suggesting that it was through such publications that Pollock became acquainted with not only the arts of China and Japan but of Korea, too. At the time of Pollock’s birth, the modern system had already been established in Japan. Japanese imperialism had exercised its muscle through the occupation of Korea in the early 1900’s. Moreover, the late 30’s saw an intensified anti-Japanese sentiment throughout the world. Naturally, Pollock was mature enough to be able to understand the consequences of the world around him. Artists like Pollock had strongly been drawn to primitive art however countries rich with cultural heritage, such as Japan, were moving forward with modern systems, as reflected in the art of the time. On the contrary, Korea had been seen as a semi-barbaric country largely due to its lack of modernization, famously coined, “The Hermit Kingdom.” I claim this, if Pollock had been interested in Asian countries, Korea would have been seen as having the purest views and most primitive insights into the Hermit Kingdoms artistic styles, a more curious source of inspiration.

There might have been many opportunities for Pollock to be exposed to Asian art, including Korean art, in his radius. In *Jackson Pollock: An American Saga*, one of the most

¹²⁵ Pollock once said that “I paint on the floor and this isn’t unusual – the Orientals did that,” O’Connor, 1967: 80.

comprehensive biographies of Pollock written by Steven Naifeh and Gregory White Smith in 1989, Pollock's life was examined in detail. According to the biography, Pollock was a keen traveler within the U.S. He left New York for a hitchhiking trip to Los Angeles with Manuel Tolegian in early June 1931. They went to Cleveland, Cuyahoga, Toledo, Chicago, and Dayton before the two friends parted company in Indianapolis. Pollock arrived in New York on June 29, while Tolegian arrived in New York only four or five days later. Kadish, one of Pollock's friends, recalled his visit to museums and galleries in New York with Pollock in July of the same year, as follows:

At the Los Angeles County Museum near Exposition Park, not far from the Pollock's old bungalow court on West Fiftieth Street, they bypassed paintings by the old masters and exhibitions of local art and headed for the deserted cellar to wander the "ethnographic" exhibits of South Pacific cultures-glass cases filled with boldly sculptural ceramic bowls from the Pava cultures of the South Pacific, carved knife hilts and sword handles brought back from the Philippines by sailors, tapa cloths in vivid geometric designs.¹²⁶

Pollock visited many museums and galleries before 1943 when he had his first solo exhibition at the Peggy Guggenheim gallery. He spent a great deal of his time visiting museums to find art works and "ethnographic" material. During his travels he remained within the confines of the U. S. he used museum collections to vicariously travel across borders.

Although Pollock had a book containing a picture of Korean porcelain, nothing about Pollock's encounter with Korean art in museums has been mentioned. However, it is important to notice that Pollock enthusiastically observed the ethnological objects in the museum from Kadish's retrospection; "we had to lie down on our bellies sometimes to see what was in the bottom of the cases".¹²⁷

Marvelous things were just stuck back in there. At the time, those things were thought of as mere ethnological data, but we didn't care. We would eyeball them for hours rather than waste out time with the show that the Los Angeles County Art Association was putting on upstairs.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Naifeh, 1989: 203-204.

¹²⁷ Naifeh, 1989: 204.

¹²⁸ Naifeh, 1989: 204.

He also participated in clay modeling class at the Art Student League in 1929-30 and often mentioned about the class in his letter: “I have started doing something with clay and have found a bit of encouragement from my teacher”.¹²⁹ He produced bowls and plates which Rita later sold at the Ferargil Galleries in 1932.¹³⁰ Therefore, the foreign pottery, including the Korean one, in the very thin book would have attracted him. When considering his interest in ethnological materials and his frequent visits to museums and galleries, Pollock might have come into contact with Korean art in the key museums of Los Angeles, New York and Boston in the 1930s. Korean collections were already enhanced in large museums and a considerable amount of Far Asian art work was being circulated among private galleries.

As examined in Chapter I, the East Asian art collection and ethnological materials had been available to be seen by the public since the late 19th century, so that many artists adapted them in their art work. A Buddhist statue appeared in an Orozco mural painting, *The Epic of American Civilization* (1932-34). Joan Miró displayed Asian characteristics in his early painting in the early 1900s and Robert Motherwell highly appreciated the attitude of Chinese scholars to art and literature.¹³¹ Many other New York artists also discussed Asian art which Abe observed in *Discrepant abstraction*: “Alfred Stieglitz, Georgia O’Keefe, John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Morris Graves and many others discussed the works of Ananda Coomaraswamy and other early interpreters of the Oriental mode such as Lafcadio Hearn, Ernest Fenollosa and Lawrence Binyon.”¹³² As discussed in the first chapter, Korean arts were being traded in New York at that time. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Langdon Warner and Ernest Fenollosa studied Korean art and introduced the critical role of Korea between China and Japan when they discussed Far East Asian art.

Above all, Korean art influenced Japan in many ways and Korean Buddhist paintings

¹²⁹ Pollock, 2011: 18.

¹³⁰ Naifeh, 1989: 264.

¹³¹ Motherwell, 1939; 1992: 80.

¹³² Abe, 2006: 59-60.

in Japan and America have always had a high quality of colour and size. Langdon Warner was regarded 'as special consultant on China, Japan, Korea and Siam' and stated clearly that 'The first casters were Koreans, lent from the nearby peninsula to practice their art and to teach it on the islands' in *The Craft of the Japanese Sculptor* (1936). This provides a clue that Korean Buddhist art and traditional art could have been treated as 'the Oriental mode' in the American ethnology. John Graham, a very influential critic and artist in Abstract Expressionism, also discussed Korean art in his book, *System and Dialectics of Art* (1937).¹³³

The Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, that Pollock possessed, was well known among artists.¹³⁴ The 19th Annual Report which dealt with the myths of the Cherokee by James Mooney. He wrote that rabbits were a main part of the animal myth of the Cherokee people which was quite general and "even in far-off Korea it is the central figure in the animal myths".¹³⁵ He quoted Korean Tales by Horace N. Allen saying, "the animals, too, have their stories, and in Korea, as in some other parts of the world, the Rabbit seems to come off best, as a role".¹³⁶ Allen introduced tales with "the rabbit and other legends" as the first part. Interestingly, among the three books Allen wrote on Korea, the *Korean Tales* which was quoted in the Annual Report had a note on the Taegeuk emblem and an illustration of the diagrams of the Korean national flag which was on the book cover (fig. 20).

The national emblem of Korea, pictured on the cover, represents "the male and female elements of nature; the dark blue representing Heaven (the male), the yellow representing Earth (the female). As seen across the Eastern Sea, the heavens seem to lap over and embrace the earth, while the earth, to landwards, rises in the lofty mountains and folds the heavens in its embrace, making a harmonious whole.

The characters represent the four points of the compass, and belong to the original eight characters given by the first King, and from which "all language" sprung. The whole set is as follows¹³⁷:

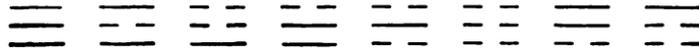
¹³³ Graham, 1971: 130.

¹³⁴ Levin, 2010: 10.

¹³⁵ Mooney, 1888: 232.

¹³⁶ Allen quoted in Mooney, 1988: 447.

¹³⁷ Allen, 1889: 1.



Allen believed that “the object could be accomplished best in displaying the thought, life and habits of the people as portrayed in their native lore”.¹³⁸ He selected the folk tales for the book seemingly because of the public demand at that time as he clarified, in the introduction that more books about Korea would not be necessary with *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (1882) by Dr. Elliot Griffis. However, he still wanted to correct the erroneous impressions, so he inserted the short note before the introduction probably in order to correct the wrong form of the Korean flag illustrated in the Griffis book. Allen stayed not only in Korea, but also in China and Japan which would have allowed him to have a better understanding of Far East Asian culture. Allen’s profound knowledge of Korea would have been partly influenced by Park Jung-yang who was one of the most influential persons in diplomatic matters in Korea. Allen respected Park so he suggested that they have a father and son relationship. His observation of Korea and Far Eastern Asian situations would provide a word picture for the readers accompanied by the illustrations.

I suggest that the Taegeuk (Taiji) symbol in Pollock’s drawing, are probably related to the Korean Taegeuk. Pollock loved to repeat the eum yang (yin yang) Taegeuk shape in his drawing, *Untitled (JP-CR3:521v)* 1939-40 (fig.21). The repetitive Taegeuk symbols had already been noticed by Michael Leja, referring to ‘circle/ mandala/ quadripartite structure, yin and yang’.¹³⁹ Pollock also drew a Sam Taegeuk (red, blue and yellow three coloured Taegeuk) like figure in *Untitled drawing (JP-CR 3:521r)* 1939-40 (fig.22) and used the red, blue and yellow colours of Sam Taegeuk from the 1930s. Michael Leja also pointed out this prominent use of ‘blue, red and yellow accents’ over the background in *The Key*.¹⁴⁰ The Taegeuk is the emblem of the Korean national flag. The Sam-Taegeuk became the official emblem for the 1988 Seoul Olympics in Korea. Korean people love to use Taegeuk and

¹³⁸ Allen, 1889: 3.

¹³⁹ Leja, 1993:54.

¹⁴⁰ Leja, 1993: 292.

Sam-Taegeuk as they manifest the Korean spirit and their view of the world. They use Taegeuk in every area: architecture, art, decoration of objects and daily items. Taegeuk was internationally used for official purposes as early as 1893 in the US when the dinner invitation card to the commissioners from each country in the Chicago world Colombian exposition had the Taegeuk flag. Michael Leja observed that ‘Pollock, like the Jungians, used the mandala both as an image of the structure of the psyche and as a form of the unification and synthesis of symbolic oppositions’.¹⁴¹

However, long before Jung discussed the uniting of the opposites in his 1932 article on Picasso, Stewart Culin regarded ethnology as a discovery of ‘only additional confirmation in its correspondence of that great truth to which all investigation seems to lead, namely, psychological unity of man’.¹⁴² He became the first curator of the ethnology department in the Brooklyn Museum in New York in 1903, emphasised the commonness between Koreans and American Indians, having brought Asian eum yang and the Samshin (three gods: sky, earth, men) idea into American ethnology. He was not only the author of *Korean games* (1895) but also a collector, a curator, and an influential ethnologist who worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology. His ethnological study preceded by thirty eight years Jung’s interpretation of psychological unity on Picasso and he regularly compared the American Indian with the Korean in his studies. The Jungians tried to trace a past primitive time which they believed to have been connected through the unconscious but what might have confirmed Pollock’s inquiry into the past would have been ethnological evidence and its theory rather than Jungian psychology itself. This is because Culin described the ‘psychological unity of man’ together with Asian ideas before Jung in America and the ‘psychological unity’ is semantically a similar meaning to No 5. Kill out all sense of separateness in *Light on the Path* by Mabel Collins (1888).

Culin’s book, *Korean games with notes on the corresponding games of China and*

¹⁴¹ Leja 1993: 156.

¹⁴² Culin, 1894: 358.

Japan (Korean Games, 1895) also uses the Korean flag for the book cover as Allen's *Korean Tales* does. While Culin was examining Korean toys and games in the book, he also referred to Horace Allen's *Korean Tale* in explaining a tortoise toy with a rabbit on its back. *Korean Games* was introduced as his best known published book. *Korean Games* gained public attention and spread his fame when it was published. It was introduced as "a beautiful book in mechanical execution" by a very high ranking researcher in *The Dial* review. Frederick Starr willingly gave space to describe the cover in a long review of the book in *The Dial* as he wrote "the white cover, bearing the two - principles symbol in blue and red at the centre and four of the trigrams at the corners in blue, presents a striking appearance".¹⁴³ The Taegeuk on the entire cover of the two popular books display the same rotated direction as Pollock did in *Untitled, 1939-40* (fig.21). Taegeuk is also well known to the Chinese but the form of the Taegeuk in Pollock's work is different from the Chinese one which has a dot on each eum and yang part.

Culin's texts appeared in some publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology which Pollock possessed: Culin showed that "among many primitive peoples games are conducted ceremonially rather than for amusement, and that the games are commonly divinatory" in the 16th Annual report which is flourished later in *Korean Games* in 1895. His 846 page monograph of American Indian Games was released in the 24th Annual Report, although it is not on the Pollock library list according to American Art Archives. However, Culin's research purpose and process concerning *Korean Games* was reported in detail in the 23rd Annual Report, 1901-1902. He was often quoted in relation to American Indian games in the 20th (1888-89), 25th (1903-04) and 29th (1907-08) Annual Reports.

Both Culin in *Korean Games* and Allen in *Things Korean* (1908) pointed out the ethnical resemblance between Korea and American Indians which seems to have been a popular idea in the period. Allen felt "certainly there is a strong resemblance between some of our native Indian tribes and the Koreans", having recalled, "in 1888 the minister from

¹⁴³ Starr, 1896: 302.

Nicaragua expressed himself to me as being much struck with the resemblance of the Koreans to the educated natives of his country.”¹⁴⁴ He also affirmed in the book that “according to the verdict of certain scientists our aborigines are supposed to have come from Korea.”¹⁴⁵ Rev. Wade Koons, a missionary reported what he witnessed in Korea to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions after he received a letter from an author who had visited Korea and said “that the religious beliefs of the Alaskan Indians and the native Koreans have anything in common seems almost incredible.”¹⁴⁶The interest in the lineage of “the brown and yellow races” seems to have been quite prevailed from the late 19th century. In *Christian Advocate* article Bishop Flower said that “Koreans, Japan and North American Indians cannot deny the blood”.¹⁴⁷ In 1907, an article observed magic power of dolls by evidencing with the fact that “in Korea and among the North American Indians images are made out of various materials, each kind having peculiar power over some special form of disease”.¹⁴⁸

Culin noticed that Korea divided the administrative areas according to “four cardinal points and the middle” which was in common with Indian tribes.¹⁴⁹ Pollock also displayed his interest in directions in his drawing (figs. 21 and 22). Culin mentioned ‘the highest importance’ of Korean collection (the ceremonial costumes of the court and military officials, the banners of the various military camps, the dresses of the kaisan or singing girls, the native musical instruments, the instruments, writing, and papers from the government examinations, native chairs and conveyances, with jewellery and ceremonial ornaments).¹⁵⁰ His study might be able to provide the reason why Pollock continuously had an interest both in American Indian and Asian ethnology and art because what Pollock expressed throughout his work seems to have similarities with Culin’s comparative study of Korean and American

¹⁴⁴ Allen, 1908: 73.

¹⁴⁵ Allen, 1908: 73.

¹⁴⁶ The Washington Post, 1905: E12.

¹⁴⁷ Flower, 1889: 64.

¹⁴⁸ W.P., 1907: M2.

¹⁴⁹ Culin, 1895: xviii.

¹⁵⁰ Culin, 1894:54.

ethnology. Pollock had Eastern philosophy books and studied Eastern ideas but those books do not provide any ethnological and anthropological information of American Indian culture. However, Culin had a great interest not only in American Indian but also in Korean idea, myth and relics which corresponded with Chinese and Japanese ones. He applied Asian eum yang ideals and samshin ideals into American ethnology so that he brought out the 'psychological unity of men' corresponding with eum yang unification.

Culin's death in 1929 was announced in the *New York Times* which confirmed his international fame for "his ethnological work and for a number of authoritative studies of primitive tribes and costumes and the origins of many modern games and fashions."¹⁵¹ Culin's theory that card games and chess games which were originated from the arrows was circulated in media even after he died. Culin was well known to have studied games scientifically for the first time, so his studies would influence many people who were interested in American Indians and the origin of their games. Pollock had a great interest in American Indians so he would probably have known the idea, which some ethnologists held in this period, that there was a racial relationship between American Indians, the Inuit people and Koreans.

¹⁵¹ Solomon, 1929: 31.

2. CULIN AND POLLOCK

(1) CULIN'S ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY AND POLLOCK'S DRAWING

In this part, the possibility Pollock might have encountered Culin's research will be examined in the link of his fascination in American Indian art and the East. Culin believed that "games must be regarded not as conscious inventions, but as survivals from primitive conditions, under which they originated in magical rites, and chiefly as a means of divination".¹⁵² *Korean Games* and 'American Indian Games', ethnological studies by Culin have rich ethnological, philosophical information and many illustrations which can be comparable with the numbers, figures and "the basic universality" in Pollock's work and his idea.

Culin claimed that Korean people strictly followed philosophical ideas of Taegeuk in every field such as art, customs and even games. Pak Young Kiu, the accomplished Secretary of the Korean Commission to the Columbian Exposition, and Charge d'affaires of the Korean government at Washington, furnished his knowledge of this matter to Culin for the *Korean Games*.¹⁵³ It was three years after the *Korean Games* that Culin wrote 'American Indian Games' in the *Journal of American Folklore*. He wrote that "division and classification of the people according to the four cardinal points and the middle" was "the remarkable survival of primitive social conditions that exist in Korea" and mentioned that it was "the common among the American tribes".¹⁵⁴

He knew well, in *Korean Games*, that the capital of Korea was "divided into five wards, agreeing with these directions" and the eight provinces (there are 360 magistracies) in the nation corresponded "the four quarters and the intermediary points". His in-depth observation explained that "every free-born Korean boy was enrolled by the government as

¹⁵² Culin, 1895: xviii.

¹⁵³ Culin, 1895: v.

¹⁵⁴ Culin, 1895: xviii.

belonging to “one of the quarters or the middle”.¹⁵⁵ It is noteworthy that Korean classification and extension to “every domain of energy and thought” is based on Asian philosophy.

They explain the relations that are supposed to exist between natural phenomena, we find classification, according to the four quarters and the middle, extended not only to the regions, but to the seasons of the year, the elements, colours, planets, and the notes of the musical scale. We discover, too, an extension of the system to a nine-fold division of the universe in accordance with the four quarters, the four intermediary points, and the middle, and the classification almost indefinitely extended to every domain of energy and thought.¹⁵⁶

He clearly understood how the division system affected lives in Korea and also the Korean understanding of the directions which he studied in the *Korean Games* thusly would have been helpful for him to theorize the American Indian concept of the directions. American Native Indian was the most actively researched category in ethnology in the early 20th century but, as far as Culin’s research, there was a lack of common ideas in American Indian tribes which might have brought Korea into relief. Culin observed that ‘another fact of importance should also be noted: the connotations of direction and color are not invariable, and do not agree in the Old and New Worlds, in fact, between adjacent tribes on the American continent’.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, he would find it convenient to apply the East Asian systems to American Indian studies. He cited a table from Mayer’s Chinese Reader’s Manual in order to provide “some idea of the system of classification as it existed in Eastern Asia”.¹⁵⁸

| Directions. | Seasons. | Colours. | Elements. | Planets. | Metals. | Grains. |
|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|------------------|---------|
| East, | Spring, | Green, | Wood, | Jupiter, | Lead and Tin, | Corn. |
| South | Summer | Red | Fire | Mars | Copper | Millet. |
| West | Autumn | White | Metal | Venus | Silver | Hemp. |
| North | Winter | Black | Water | Mercury | Iron | Pulse. |
| Middle | | Yellow | Earth | Saturn | Cold | Rice. |

This table might have provided a definite frame for Pollock to experiment arranging colours,

¹⁵⁵ Culin, 1895: xix.

¹⁵⁶ Culin, 1895: xix.

¹⁵⁷ Culin, 1898: 245-46.

¹⁵⁸ Culin, 1895: xix.

mental states and the directions together in his drawings (fig. 23). Those categories could be the elements of “the basic universality” in every art which Pollock mentioned. According to ‘the American Indian Games’ the key idea of American Indian directions is based on the premise that the world consists of four directions as Dr Daniel G. Briton, his colleague, claimed. However, Culin already knew that such a traditional system was being applied in everyday life while exploring Korean games. In ‘American Indian Games’, he tried to expand the division of directions to seasons, colours and further to cognitive faculty as he provided the relation between colour and direction in the *Korean Games*.

Corresponding with the world quarters, we have the four seasons. With these, again, are associated the primary colors. By the aid of simple and obvious analogies we may extend the classification to beasts, birds, and men; to human relations, family and communal, secular and sacerdotal; to inanimate nature, the stars, the sentiments, emotions, to everything, in fact, for which the tongue has framed a name.¹⁵⁹

Culin argued that the American Indian cognitive faculties were characterized by the four cardinal directions, three “beast, men, bird” categories, two opposite items and that those categories were available for everything to be named. The “beast, men, bird” category reminds one of Pollock’s “man, bull, bird” which is a parallel idea to Korean samshin (sky, earth, men). The Samshin idea originated from Korean foundation myth which was mentioned in *Korean Games* when explaining tops: “this wood is from the tree under which it is said the first king of Korea sat when he came from heaven. His Majesty the King of Korea is therefore called Tan-Koun from the name of this tree”.¹⁶⁰ What Culin pointed to as a “simple mental process” could be actually the ‘eum and yang’ principle. Culin already explored the eum-yang idea with the eight trigrams and Samshin idea in *Korean Games*. Three years later he adapted it to the generalized American Indian idea, stating “such indeed is the comparatively simple mental process that we find to have been practically common to mankind”. This simple mental process Culin found could be American Indian vision which has “the basic universality”.

¹⁵⁹ Culin, 1898: 245-46.

¹⁶⁰ Culin, 1895: 24.

I should mention here that with the Four Directions was associated a fifth, the Centre, thus establishing categories of fives instead of fours, and again with these Five Directions, the Above and Below, the Upper and Lower regions, extending the number of directions to seven.¹⁶¹

Culin also explored the seven directions in American Indian culture with the same manner in which he explored the *Korean Games* when he mentioned the same seven directions used for the Arabic Meiser game.¹⁶²

Culin's employment of Taegeuk-gi (Korean national flag) on the book cover shows that he understood the visual symbol of Samshin ideas, the Korean view of the world, the four cardinal quarters, the eight divisions, and that the eum-yang idea which Allen observed, in *Korean Tales*, that national emblem represents "the male and female elements of nature; the dark blue representing Heaven (the male), the yellow representing Earth (the female)". The flag on the book cover is in the same manner of Allen's book cover, unlike the original direction, so was in Pollock's drawing (fig. 21). Pollock also used repeatedly the Taegeuk colours, red and blue or Sam-Taegeuk colours, red, blue and yellow from the 1930s. The Sam-Taegeuk and eum-yang Taegeuk manifest perfection or universe which is always regarded as wholeness, harmony and oneness in Korea. According to Allen, the trigrams of the flag represent the four points of the compass, and belong to the original eight characters given by the first King, and from which "all language sprung".¹⁶³ Allen noted this on the first page of the *Korean Tales* to which Culin made reference in the *Korean Games*. What should be noticed is that both focused on the significance of trigrams. Allen regarded the eight trigrams as the origin of all language and Culin saw "the origin of all the games" was Korean Nyut sticks which had been used for recording trigrams.

Pollock could have considered the *Korean games* with illustrations to be significant because Culin looked at Korea as the origin of worldly throwing stick games including American Indian game although their counterparts were more widely available in China and

¹⁶¹ Culin, 1898: 245-46.

¹⁶² Culin, 1895: xxxiv.

¹⁶³ Allen, 1889: 1.

India. Culin claimed that Korea is “a land most prolific in survivals for confirmation of my theory” to connect “the remote past with the present”.¹⁶⁴ Pollock’s interest in American Indian games, divination and totems could have driven himself to refer to them in his work. He often used trigrams, colours and the Taegeuk of the Korean national flag, Taegeuk-gi and construction also in his drawing and painting. A connection between the Taegeuk and Pollock’s work would be stronger because Allen said that the Taegeuk emblem represents the “Male and Female elements of nature” and Pollock entitled his work *Male and Female*. Pollock also said “I am nature”.¹⁶⁵

(2) KOREAN TAEGEUK IN *KOREAN GAMES* BY CULIN AND POLLOCK’S TAEGEUK

Lee Krasner recalled in 1967 that Pollock replied “I am Nature” when he was asked by Hofmann “you do not work from nature”.¹⁶⁶ She added that “it breaks once and for all the concept that was still more or less present in Cubist derived painting, that one sits and observes nature that is out there, Rather, it claims a oneness.”¹⁶⁷ Is the oneness the same as the ‘Nature’ or ‘unconscious’ which Pollock referred to as the source of his painting? Pollock highly appreciated American Indian art, mentioning in 1944 after he had the 1943 exhibition at the Peggy Guggenheim Gallery that “their vision has the basic universality of all real art”.¹⁶⁸ What did actually “the basic universality of all real art” in “American Indian art” mean? I argue the American Indian vision of the basic universality might be related with the unconscious, nature and oneness, considering the fact that Pollock saw American Indian universality as being in all real art which would include Pollock’s own art. Culin pointed out a “simple mental process” in the American Indian cognitive faculties. I will link the Korean Taegeuk idea (‘eum and yang’ principle) to the Indian mental process which Pollock was

¹⁶⁴ Culin, 1895: xviii.

¹⁶⁵ Glaser, 1967 republished Karmel, 1999b: 28.

¹⁶⁶ Pollock quoted in Karmel, 1999: 15.

¹⁶⁷ Krasner quoted in Karmel, 1999: 28.

¹⁶⁸ Pollock quoted in Karmel, 1999: 15.

interested in.

Francis O'Connor questioned "when Jackson Pollock says 'I am Nature', and elsewhere claims his painting comes from the unconscious, is he talking about the same thing or different things?", having advised one to use the term 'unconscious' with caution because "the psychodynamically understood unconscious is that which by definition is unknown to the conscious minds of the creator and the interpreter."¹⁶⁹ However, Jungian theory enables critics to be aware that "Jungians, and admirers of 'primitive' art subscribed to Jung's belief that in certain circumstances modern man could access the collective unconscious."¹⁷⁰ Even if Pollock had contacted the unconscious from which he brought figures or universal signs, they need to account for myth, history and primitive relics in terms of ethnology. This is because some symbols bear the culmination of the traditional idea, philosophy and religion of a certain culture and Pollock also had a strong interest in various cultures. Jung also acknowledged that the Eastern hexagram in one of his patient's drawing came from the patient's interest in the East. Jung observed that "The I Ching hexagrams in picture No.4 come from the reading of Legge's translation in the Sacred Books of the East series."¹⁷¹ Therefore, the Eastern symbols such as hexagrams seen in Pollock's work can also be regarded to have come from Eastern culture which Pollock was interested in.

Taegeuk and mandala are Eastern symbols which manifest Eastern unconscious or vision of the world and directly inherited into religion, philosophy and art. When Suzuki Daisetz said that "the mind has first to be attuned to the Unconscious"¹⁷² the unconscious does not mean the 20th psychological term but the unconscious in Eastern tradition. It is noteworthy that Jung paid attention to "Eastern philosophy" and its parallelism to

¹⁶⁹ O'Connor, 1988: 222.

¹⁷⁰ Firestone, 2009: 709.

¹⁷¹ Jung, 1931: 137.

¹⁷² Herrigel, 1953: Vi.

“unconscious European ideas in their formative state”.¹⁷³ The Eastern unconscious is the ideal status of mind used in religion, philosophy and even in daily lives. It is called by many names, Do (Tao), Mu (Wu), Gong and Taegeuk (Taiji) while Do (Tao) is preferred in daily lives. In the East, the unconscious is said to be unable to be defined by languages. Nevertheless, self-contradictory process is repeated by explaining the unconscious in language.

The Tao that can be told is not the eternal Tao.
The name that can be named is not the eternal name.
The nameless is the beginning of heaven and Earth.
The named is the mother of the ten thousand things.¹⁷⁴

Therefore, the understanding of the Eastern unconscious can be related to the self-contradictory element in Pollock’s statements. David Clarke claimed that Pollock displayed his interest in the East when he stated, “it is only when I lose contact with the painting that the result is a mess” and “when I am in my painting I am not aware of what I’m doing”. Because Pollock left many symbols relevant to Buddhism or Eastern idea: Taegeuk, 卍, Bodhisattva’s face and trigrams. He also had some Asia related books, *Life according to Lao-Tzu*, *Light on the Path* and *Zen in the Art of Archery*.

According to Wilhelm Worringer, abstraction psychologically functioned as “a point of tranquility and a refuge from appearance” to “a great inner unrest inspired in man”.¹⁷⁵ This could have explained Pollock’s urge to abstraction if he had wrested “the object of the external world out of its natural context” in order to obtain “its absolute value”.¹⁷⁶ However, he declared himself “nature” which seems to be distant from an “insecure” modern man who “entangled inter-relationship and flux of the phenomena of the outer world”.¹⁷⁷ Nature has the same meaning as Do (Tao) or Taegeuk in Eastern philosophy. Pollock might have considered himself one who already achieved with the absolute value because Lao-Tzu was

¹⁷³ Jung, 1931: 137.

¹⁷⁴ Bynner, 1900.

¹⁷⁵ Worringer, 15-17.

¹⁷⁶ Worringer, 17.

¹⁷⁷ Worringer, 16.

quoted in the *Life according to Lao-Tzu*: “How do I know this integrity? Because it could all begin in me.”¹⁷⁸ Therefore, his urge to abstraction cannot simply be explained by Worringer’s presuppositions.

Pollock often denied how critics read his work. In 1956, his last year, he committed that “abstract expressionism...is certainly not ‘nonobjective,’ and not ‘nonrepresentational’ either. I am very representational”.¹⁷⁹ He also strongly denied in 1950, telegraphing to the *Time Magazine* editor “No chaos damn it” when Bruno Alfieri described his work as a manifestation of “chaos...absolute lack of harmony...complete lack of structural organization.”¹⁸⁰ He said, “I don’t care for ‘abstract expressionism’.” seemingly because he might have found it meaningless to care about the argument on the matter of “objective” versus “non-objective.” Therefore, I will suggest that his Eastern taste like Tao, pursued a world or concept before the name of “objective” and “non-objective” in terms of Tao or Taegeuk. For Pollock, he wanted to distance himself from “chaos” and “nonobjective” critiques

The Unconscious of the East, as Suzuki Daisetz referred to it in *Zen in the Art of Archery*, according to Buddhism, Taoism and Eastern traditional ideas, is not to distinguish between the conscious and the unconscious, as in the Freudian psychosexual theory and Jungian collective unconscious on the basis of science. The unconscious, Suzuki said, cannot define that conscious or unconscious in terms of Buddhism, Taoism and Eastern traditional ideas. The state seeks to fuse together the two opposing concepts. It means the same as Mabel Collins’s phrase, “Kill out all sense of separation”. Suzuki Daisetz says in *Zen in the Art of Archery* this kind of psychological state is an “artless art”, explaining how to shoot archery. The “artless art” Suzuki emphasised means duality of unconscious (artless) and conscious (art) which is required at the same time in order to accomplish the goal as Lee

¹⁷⁸ Bynner, 1944.

¹⁷⁹ Levin and Indych, 1999: 328.

¹⁸⁰ Alfieri, 1950 quoted in Levin and Indych, 1999: 324-25.

Krasner recalled “Rather, it claims a oneness.”¹⁸¹ This ambivalent state of psychology is called Do (Tao) or Taegeuk (Tai Chi) in Eastern Asia

In *the Secret of the Golden Flower* for which Jung wrote commentary, Richard Wilhelm explained Do (Tao) in the psychological and cosmological premises of the text beforehand. He wrote that “the final principle of an undivided One” is the “Tai Chi [Taegeuk]”¹⁸² and also said that “out of Tao [Do]” is “out of Tai Chi [Taegeuk]”.¹⁸³ Wilhelm clarified that eum and yang of Taegeuk are the characters that refer to “phenomena in nature” although, “among European investigators, some have turned first to sexual references for an explanation”.¹⁸⁴ The dualism in Pollock was often analysed in the sexual context by Western psychology. Many critics agree that some figures in Pollock’s work represent phallus and vulvic symbols; “flying phallus” in *Magic Mirror*,¹⁸⁵ “an ejaculating penis” in *Birth*¹⁸⁶ and female manifesting “crescent in the pubic area”¹⁸⁷ in one of 1939-40 drawing (fig. 24). Landau also read “sexual fear” in *Male and Female*.¹⁸⁸ However, in Eastern philosophy and ideas, the unconscious (Tao) is explained in the metaphysical sense. Wilhelm referred to Lao Tzu who explained Do (Tao) as “the Meaning existing before there is any realization and not yet divided by the pulling asunder of polar opposites on which all realization depends.”¹⁸⁹ As Wilhelm observed in the introductory part, the principle started with the meaning of “light” and “dark” and expanded to all polar opposites, including the sexual.¹⁹⁰ Eastern philosophy such as Taoism deals with the realm of phenomena (nature, universe...) and has their common origin in an undivided unity¹⁹¹ on the basis of eum yang principle and Samshin ideas (sky, earth, man). Among Pollock’s work, *Male and Female*

¹⁸¹ Krasner quoted in Karmel, 1999: 28.

¹⁸² Wilhelm, 1931: 12.

¹⁸³ Wilhelm, 1931: 12.

¹⁸⁴ Wilhelm, 1931: 12.

¹⁸⁵ Landau, 1989: 69 and Firestone, 2008: 705-17.

¹⁸⁶ Landau, 1989: 63.

¹⁸⁷ Leja, 1997: 57.

¹⁸⁸ Landau, 1989: 109.

¹⁸⁹ Wilhelm, 1931: 12.

¹⁹⁰ Wilhelm, 1931: 12.

¹⁹¹ Wilhelm, 1931: 13.

and *Man, Bull, bird* can also be understood in the context of the realm of phenomena, rule of nature, view of the world. I conclude that the nature, oneness and unconscious Pollock mentioned would be the same which all relate the basic universality of American Indian vision in terms of Eastern ideas. Taegeuk means nature or the universe and the state of having Taegeuk can be called by the term, the unconscious, as Suzuki Daisetz used in order to provide a better understanding for Western readers in the *Zen in Art of Archery*. Therefore, Pollock's nature, oneness and the unconscious, from the Eastern standpoint, are the same which would be drawn by the Asian ethnological and philosophical approach.

His vision of the world can be explored by Do because of the fact that he had *The Way of Life according to Lao-Tzu* by Witter Bynner (1944) and *Light on the Path* by Mabel Collins (1888) *100 Masterpieces Mohammedan and Oriental* (1931) and *Zen in Art of Archery* by Suzuki Daisetz. However, there is no relationship between Asian and Native American Indian art and ethnology reflected in any of the books Pollock possessed at the same time. In Asia, the characteristics of ideas of Taegeuk, which appears in Pollock's work, is regarded as philosophy and religion, just like eastern Asian world views, rather than ethnology, which is one snapshot of daily life. The Indian ethnologist, Culin, referred to the ethnological relationship between Asian cultures and Indian cultures in his book, *Korean Games* (1895). This is based on the idea of Taegyeuk and Samshin (Sky, Earth, Man). Therefore, Culin's book and his study would be the most closely related or most familiar idea to Pollock because both Pollock and Culin viewed Indian and Asian culture in similar ways at a similar time.

3. POLLOCK'S NOTATION

(1) POLLOCK'S NOTATION OF COLOURS

Pollock's notation of colours and division of consciousness has been linked with Jungian theory.¹⁹² Leja cited Jung's observation of a patient in order to link this to Pollock's drawing but the colours are not the same as Jung recorded that "for my patient, red signified Eros, the emotional principle, and blue the intellectual, or Logos, principle...The centre is green, signifying growth, and is surrounded with gold, which indicates value. Round about are some black contours."¹⁹³ However, one can find that Pollock used the same colours as Culin's did and that the colours associate with directions.

Pollock drew the four cardinal directions with the centre notating classification of colours and emotions in *Untitled Drawing (JP-CR:556)*, 1939-41 (fig.23). Just as Culin emphasised the cosmic order: 'Among man's early conception was that of the four cardinal-points, the east, the place of the sunrise, and the west, of the sunset. As he stood with his hands outstretched to the east and west, he faced the north or south. A colour-symbolism for these directions is almost universal'.¹⁹⁴ The four colours Pollock arranged can also be seen in Culin's studies, the *Korean Games* and 'American Indian games'. Pollock's diagram displays blue-red, yellow-green¹⁹⁵ complementary colour relations or a cold and warm contrast, which is how Culin described a set of gaming staves from the Tewan Pueblo of Santa Clara. As he observed, he had this to say: 'we find the banded stick marked with a cross between fifteen transverse notches, which are painted green, red, yellow, and blue, the colours attributed to the world quarters'.¹⁹⁶ It can be said that Culin and Pollock arranged colours in order to stand for the directions of the world.

¹⁹² Leja, 1997: 152-53.

¹⁹³ Jung quoted in Leja, 1997: 152.

¹⁹⁴ Culin, 1894 : 357

¹⁹⁵ Leja, 1993 : 153

¹⁹⁶ Culin, 1898 : 252.

Culin also observed that, in the Hindu Pachisi game, one of the descendents of Nyut, red, green, yellow and black symbolised the four quarters. He claimed the Korean game of Nyut may be regarded as the antetype of a large number of games throughout the world such as the Hindu Pachisi game in the *Korean Games*.¹⁹⁷ These four colours are the same as Pollock initially assigned to the four quarters but he later crossed black out on the south and assigned black again to the entangled arcs. The colour use with the diagram, such as trigram, in Pollock's drawing suggests that he could possibly have consulted both *Korean Games* and 'American Indian Games' by Culin. He believed that the Korean arrows were used to tools of divination by means of throwing and then became the Nyut game which shows a number of combinations of staves with two faces. Culin claimed, in *Korean Games*, Nyut staves were used for recording the eight trigrams in Asia. The following passage provides how he clarified the cosmic meaning in the family of the Nyut game.

In the perfected games of Asia we find a four-fold division in which the prevailing colour-symbolism of the direction occurs, a survival, it would seem, from the time when the games were sacred, and the players strove, as representatives of the four directions, to decide the gravest questions of fate. The counters, called 'horses,' which were used by the players in the Korean game, we soon find differentiated by colours, these colours being those of the four directions, which are reunited again in two colours in the Hindu game of chess¹⁹⁸

Most of all, the diagram in the drawing can be comparable with the Taegeuk flag on the books by Allen or Culin because of the circle in the middle and horizontal lines of the four trigrams in each quarter. The four trigrams of the Taegeuk-gi (flag) symbolise points, colours and elements which, people believed, consisted of the world. Geon and Gon represent sky and earth (yang - eum), Gam and Li represent fire and water (yang - eum) respectively. They are also in eum and yang relation in terms of directions: Gon (southwest) - Geon (northwest) and Li (south) - Gam (north). The central circle in the Taegeuk flag is eum and yang (female and male). The opposite trigrams facing each other are in eum and yang relationship in the Taegeuk flag.

¹⁹⁷ Culin, 1895: 75.

¹⁹⁸ Culin , 1894 : 357

**(2) ARROW IN DIVINATION: THE COSMIC MEANING OF GAMING STICKS
WHICH IS AN ORIGINAL KOREAN GAME, NYUT ACCORDING TO CULIN**

Culin agreed with Frank Hamilton Cushing who claimed that ‘the staves were originally arrows’.¹⁹⁹ The divination method from which the Nyut game is still maintained is based on the eum yang principle as Culin studied: ‘It will be discovered in the arrow-casting that the opposite faces of the substituted staves, distinguished by the colors white and black, were regarded as symbolizing day and night, light and darkness, the active or masculine and the passive or feminine principles of the universe’.²⁰⁰ He explained that ‘Under these conditions the arrows of the quivers of the representatives of the quarters stood for the people and the world in its totality’.²⁰¹ ‘The Korean playing-cards again furnish the most direct evidence in Asia of the ceremonial use of the arrow in divination, which afterward became an amusement.’²⁰² He argued that ‘it is apparent,’ in the divinatory games, ‘the counts refer to people, and the counters actually stand for men.’²⁰³ He observed that, in a gaming and divination system, the counter moved to a certain place on a diagram according to the number made by the throwing arrows or sticks. According to Culin, Korean arrows were originally a divinatory tool which became a Nyut game. And he went on to the use of Korean Nyut sticks for recording trigrams. Culin claims that the diagram, whether the Nyut circuit, or the eight or sixty-four diagrams, the Pachisi cross or the chess-board invariably, stands for “the world” and the Korean board for Patok most clearly manifests the world than any other boards.²⁰⁴ If Pollock saw this part he seems to have had a strong interest in the sixty-four diagrams made by six sticks. The outline of the circle in his drawing, *Untitled* (JP-CR 3:537r), 1939-40 is actually made of a trigram or hexagram like short lines (fig.25). The circle has the square so the entire shape resembles the sixty-four diagram in the *Korean*

¹⁹⁹ Culin, 1894 : 356.

²⁰⁰ Culin, 1894, 357.

²⁰¹ Culin, 1895: xxi-xxiii.

²⁰² Culin, 1895 : xxi-xxiii

²⁰³ Culin, 1895 : xxxiv

²⁰⁴ Culin, 1895: xxxiv.

Games (figs. 26). It is noteworthy that Pollock's painting, *Untitled 1938-41* (fig.27) shows an arrow, Nyut-like staves or a trigram and a man together, as Culin associated. The painting is vertically constituted three equal parts which seems to have expressed the Samshin idea (sky, earth, men). These factors and the divided construction by three parts suggest he might have followed the Culin classification and the theory of divination with an arrow, Nyut-like staves or a trigram.

Another piece of evidence for Pollock to have come across this material is a character '圭 (gyu)'. This character is mentioned because Culin wanted to examine whether it is originally relevant to the arrows, provided with an illustration of '圭', the sceptres anciently carried by nobles (fig. 28). He explained that '圭' is part of the character for the diagrams, '卦 (ghe)', as well as that for divination by means of the diagrams, '掛 (ghe)'. '卦', 圭 with "divination" on the right, indicates the result or record of the divination and '掛', 圭 with "divination" on the right and "hand" on the left indicates the act of divining.²⁰⁵ The character-like figures in another drawing (fig. 29) much resemble the character '圭'. Its modifications into human-like figures display similarity to Culin's text in which Nyut or the short sticks for diagram manifest men. A comparison of the drawing (fig. 30) and the passage below shows that he drew the same subjects; dragon, horse, mythical hero and "mystic diagram"- like pattern in the drawing. This drawing contains an arrow, Nyut and the character '圭' at the same time. The arrows and 圭-like strokes on the bottom seem to confirm Culin's theory that the mystic diagram was originated from the arrow. His occasional narrative drawing provides more connection to the text of the book.

To further his efforts, it was so ordered by Heaven that a supernatural being called the dragon-horse rose from the waters of the Yellow River and presented to his gaze a scroll upon its back, inscribed with mystic diagrams. From these and from the movements of the heavenly bodies he deciphered the system of written characters with which he superseded the method of keeping records by means of knotted cords.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Culin, 1895: xxxiii.

²⁰⁶ Culin, 1895: 74.

The person in the drawing looks as if he is gazing up at the sky and holds a stick. The scroll-like cylindrical shape appears to emit light. When he applied primitive elements in his work it would have not been the realistic primitive iconology on prehistoric relics or cave paintings but a reproduction of myth or legend on ethnological relics. Considering the wondrous atmosphere in the drawing, the short strokes can be seen as the counters for divination. He also used these kinds of short strokes in another drawing (fig. 31).

Pollock might have been interested in archery and he used the antagonistic ideas, diagrammatic lines and colours. He often drew arrows in drawings (1939-42), print work (c.1943-44) and paintings such as *She-Wolf* (1943) and *Composition with Women* (1938-41). He also had a book, *Zen in the Art of Archery* by Eugene Herrigel (1953). In the *Composition with Woman* (1938-41), there is a man wearing an Indian headdress-like decoration who looks at the short arrow at the bottom. The man seems to appear to practice divination with the arrow because the arrows are pointing to the abstract lines and mystical figures. In particular, Pollock placed the arrows in the terrestrial globe-like circle which coincides with Culin's major premise in the *Korean Games* that the arrows were originally a divinatory tool. The Korean arrow meant more than a weapon and it contained the divisions of the world, and represented the social class.²⁰⁷ It also became a tool for delivering divine guidance when it was a divinatory tool. I would like to speculate that Pollock adapted a round headed arrow (Masqued Image), a short one without a shaftment (*Composition with Woman*) by reading Culin's text. For the round ended arrow, Culin said that "many specimens from the University Museum are marked on the foreshaft near the notch with a ring, or with a black dot, or with both in combination".²⁰⁸ "Part arrows", among many Korean arrows, are much shorter than ordinary arrows, but are discharged with the aid of a guide or rest, and are recovered by means of a string, by which it is tied to the archer's

²⁰⁷ Culin, 1895: xxi-xxiii.

²⁰⁸ Culin, 1895: xxi.

finger.²⁰⁹ According to *Korean Games*, part arrows are called pyeon-jeon in Korea. Culin explained that pyeon-jeon is ‘the most formidable which are used in war. Therefore, such a coincidence in a detailed part provides the higher possibility that Pollock would have known Culin’s study.

Pollock’s other drawings also display a certain type of the arrows with “a heavy conical iron head” and “a large bundle” of the arrows “is kept to be ready for use when required” from the describing text about types of Korean arrows.²¹⁰ The same passage in the *Korean Games*, provides the fact that “archery is the test of proficiency in military examinations in Korea and the candidate shoots five arrows at a mark, and three hits are necessary to qualify”. In the drawing (JP-CR 3:537r), Pollock marked three points and two points on one line with short lines at the both ends (fig. 25). Such arrow or Nyut-like short sticks can also be evidence of the fact that Pollock borrowed text or illustrations from the book. The four abstract forms around the kite in the circle resemble the illustration of paper dolls in *Korean Games*. There are several kites with a Taegeuk symbol inside forming a queue on the lower left part of the drawing (figs. 32). He seems to have used traditional kites in the *Korean Games* as representation of the four cardinal points and intermediary points because the Korean kite represents the concept of directions. This can be used as further evidence that Pollock had already encountered the *Korean Games* by the 1930s. Moreover, the representative American ethnologist, Culin claimed that both of the previously mentioned four colour sets represented the four quarters and Korean Nyut was the antitype of the games in both areas. Culin clarified that there were identical games to Nyut in terms of using four staves and practically the same diagram in both eastern and western North America and Southwestern United States.²¹¹

(3) THE NUMERICAL RELATION

²⁰⁹ Culin, 1895: xxi.

²¹⁰ Culin, 1895: xxi.

²¹¹ Culin, 1895: xxxiii.

Pollock often used numbers not only in drawings but also in paintings. From an ethnological point of view, the numbers in drawings can also be analysed by those from *Korean Games* comparing Jungian approaches. Elizabeth Langhorne read the number three (3), four (4) and six (6) from *Stenographic figures* (1942) to represent the masculine, the feminine and the hermaphrodite. She then understood the formula 66=42 on the red arm of the woman, concluding as follows; 'For Pollock the totality of the self is to be achieved by the union of two. Thus the numerical formula 66=42 is yet another statement of Pollock's desire for the union of opposites.' However, William Rubin criticised her by saying that the numbers were merely chance. Rubin's criticism of Langhorne's claim seems to be reasonable. According to him, Langhorne focuses on only 2, 4, 6 out of the numerals (2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 0) and letter symbols (X, Y), so her statement would become 'meaningless' but if one protagonist (female and animalistic) is projected in terms of number symbolism, it would be the pictures supposed "narrative".²¹² Therefore, he judged that her interpretation of two numbers was 'selective' and 'forced' because of the following reason.

To begin with, the supposedly "male" and "female" numbers, 3 and 4, are not "juxtaposed" in "the center of the canvas," as she claims. What she takes there to be a 4 is an invented sign, something like an X with one "curly" bar, as is even clearer in the repetition of that same motif not far above in the top center of the composition.²¹³

William Rubin's claim can be summarized in two. Firstly, he asserted that Pollock's use of numbers, for example, on the panel in *Male and Female* is not related to any Jungian notion. Rubin mentioned Pollock's notebook [OT 887] in order to emphasise that the numerals meant nothing special. Pollock's daily memo from the notebook included phone numbers, reminders of appointments and a list of the month's expenses. The other claim is that Pollock's numbers are not functional as the numbers in the paintings. He explains that a tube-drawn form accidentally looks like a numeral in the early phase of Pollock's filigree web style, so the numeral-like figure soon disappears as he develops the style. William Rubin then disagreed with the Jungian interpretation with which Langhorne emphasised 46.

²¹² Karmel, 1999: 248.

²¹³ Karmel, 1999: 248.

Pollock used this number because it was lucky for him, and had resulted from or been reinforced by the chance events of his personal history (such as an address), the choice would seem to militate for a Freudian (personal, specific) rather than a Jungian (collective, archetypical) interpretation. Thus, while the inspiration for Pollock's occasional use of 46 might have been either conscious or unconscious, it certainly would not have had to issue from what Jung postulated as the more remote "deep conscious," where the collective archetypical symbols of alchemical numerology are said to abide.²¹⁴

Pollock practically used all the numbers from zero to nine in the titles and works. Therefore, Langhorne's emphasise on the numbers 3, 4 and 6 could be selective or meaningless as Rubin pointed out. If Pollock's use of numerals is decided by his personal preference as Rubin claims, all the numbers from the personal history should be significant which can be a blind point. Pollock's random composition can be seen in the relation to Surrealists based on Freudian theory. Leja acknowledged the strong similarity to Jung's text but concluded that "there is no reason to try to assign any single or precise source or identity to Pollock's symbols" because "we cannot tell whether Pollock read it or whether Henderson mediated".²¹⁵ The possibility of any other approach seems to have been missed despite such an indefinite conclusion. Therefore, an ethnological approach could be a new method to understand Pollock by providing a wider vision of how to recognise the world.

There should be rule or order because Pollock strongly denied the comment from the *Time Magazine* that his painting is 'chaotic' by telegraphing 'No chaos, damn it'. He seems to have intended to repeat certain numbers or figures such as the arrows and place them in accordance with his purpose. Whether Pollock knew the *Korean Games* and the *Korean Tales* can be more supportive by comparison of numbers, letters and iconology with each other. In particular, the arrangement of numbers Pollock used often appears in the *Korean Games* when explaining games.

Culin assumed that "a numerical relation" existed between "the dominant principles with their dependent categories", and "the discovery of this relation was believed to furnish a clue to the solution of the profoundest problems of existence". As he explored the

²¹⁴ Karmel, 1999: 251.

²¹⁵ Leja, 1997: 153.

classification of direction and its numerical relations in *Korean Games*, he tried to find a numerical relation of the directional system in 'American Indian Games'. He first associated the four cardinal directions with numbers: North-1, West-2, South-3, East-4. If Pollock had found an ethnological meaning of the numbers he used in his work, they might have referenced to the most authoritative theory such as Culin who said that a numerical relation furnishes a clue to the solution of the profoundest problems of existence. I suggest the numbers in Pollock's work could have inspired by Culin's ethnological study, because the numbers Culin studied of American and Asian games are similar to the numbers in Pollock's paintings. Pollock also had interest both in American Indian and Asian culture. Therefore, Pollock's numbers might have to be researched in the connection not only to American Indian but also Asian culture, so that I can compare the numbers between Pollock's work and Culin's studies.

In the drawing (JP-CR: 556), three men entangle in the circle (figs. 23). They could be the 'Man, Bull, Bird' of Pollock's painting or 'bird, beast, men,' of American Indian division (the corresponding Samshin elements are sky, earth, men in the *Korean Games*). The 'bird, beast, men' can be seen as '3 animal' in Pollock's text. After Culin explored Korean games, he applied the Samshin idea to 'bird, beast, men', an example of the expanded divisions from being aware of the four quarters in the American Indian thought. According to Leja, Jung explained "the relation of trinity to quaternary" by dividing consciousness into four areas in terms of the conflict between good and evil. Leja claimed the similarity of Pollock's notation to Jung's text: "Conflict is built into the totality of human life in a three-to-one ratio between good and evil".²¹⁶ Leja supposed that "Pollock chose to have the humans symbolize the good and the animal evil".²¹⁷ However, he never mention 'Man, Bull, Bird', a title of Pollock's painting regarding to '3 animal'. The notation below can be read in the light of the Samshin and eum-yang ideas which Pollock might have

²¹⁶ Leja, 1997: 153.

²¹⁷ Leja, 1997: 153.

used in this drawing. The former is closer to foundation, totemic and shamanic myth while the latter is closer to Eastern philosophy such as Confucianism and Taoism. Pollock sometimes drew a cross in the Taegeuk symbol in his drawings and he was not a Christian so that the cross in the drawing can be seen as harmonizing a mean of the eum-yang principle which assists short and long or horizontal and vertical elements to combine with each other.

3 human 1 animal

1 ‘ 3 ‘

Most of all, the number 3 seems to have a deep relation to Korean people. They believed that men are born under the reign of Samshin (three gods) and the spirit divided into three after they died. The Samshin idea can be traced to the myth of Dan-Gun, the first king of Korea in the foundation myth. The story is about giving birth to a man from the integration of heaven and an animal (earth). The three sets of stroke pairs on the left side of the 3 human 1 animal notations appear in short arcs can be seen as a Korean idea with which spirit circuits from 3 to 3. The six arcs on the left side in the drawing can be comparable to the six signs of divination in *Korean Games*. Why Pollock drew the six arcs in a whirl-like pattern could be answered by Culin's suggestion. Culin explained how trigrams and hexagrams were recorded with Nyut as below:

The unbroken lines in the diagrams are called yeung, "masculine," and the broken lines, yim, "feminine". It is apparent that if the two sides of the Korean blocks be regarded as representing the unbroken, or masculine, lines and the broken, or feminine, lines, the trigrams will form a record of the throws when three blocks are used, and the hexagrams when six blocks are taken.²¹⁸

The Korean counting-out rhyme will be seen to be a numerical formula, and with the custom of counting around the circuit of the world in divination, in mind, may not counting-out rhymes be survivals of the formulae used in such counting, applied in counting-out to the representatives of the world quarters?²¹⁹

He added that the circuit of trigrams represents "the celestial and the terrestrial circuits, one naturally being the reverse of the other".²²⁰ Therefore, Pollock's work could be interpreted

²¹⁸ Culin, 1895: 73-75.

²¹⁹ Culin, 1895: xxxiv.

²²⁰ Culin, 1895: xxxv.

via Eastern ideas because he used the trigram, hexagrams with being the reverse of the other which is eum and yang (female and male) idea in his work (fig. 31).

For six (6), Elizabeth L. Langhorne emphasised that “its even and uneven factors, two 3’s and three 2”, traditionally represents the hermaphrodite, or the fusion of male and female”. Jungians tried with a psychoanalysis of numbers such as 6, 2 and 3 but they did not provide any clue of directions or explain how 3 converged on 1 (3 human 1 animal) which Samshin is able to do. The relation between trinity and quantity from the Jungian text did not explain the centre of the four quarters, intermediary points (the small square on the bottom), and the six arcs in the drawing. Elizabeth L. Langhorne quoted Jung:

Jung notes that ‘four signifies the feminine, motherly, physical; three the masculine, fatherly, spiritual’ and also notes the number four represents ‘fourfold totality, that incorporates the feminine principle with the masculine principle and so represents the totality of the self’.²²¹

The Jungians sought a psychological meaning in the numbers themselves rather than the view of the world which Culin found in many cultures. *Man, Bull, Bird* and *Male and female*, hexagrams and trigrams in Pollock’s work can be the main idea of Eastern philosophy in terms of Culin’s ethnology and have relation with *I Ching* which Jung also observed in his psychological work. Therefore, it would not be easy for the Jungians to provide an integrative idea to explain what Pollock visually displayed in his work such as the Samshin idea, eum-yang idea, directions, languages, arrows, six arcs, colours, divination, totems, philosophy, the characteristics of Indian and Asian and view of the world. However, the eight trigrams Allen and Culin provided, explains those matters.

Pollock used title of “*There are 8 in 7*” which might have been related to the numerical category in the article and his use of numbers 8, 7 and 8, 9 is also supportive. Culin mentioned “extending the number of directions to seven” or “a division among eight”.²²² Culin found a meaning for 8 and 9 which Pollock used in *Male and Female*. The visual arrangement of the numbers and the signs can be comparable to the way of using

²²¹ Langhorne quoted in Rubin, 1979 in Karmel, 1999b: 248.

²²² Culin, 1898: 246.

numbers in *Male and Female*. In the ‘American Indian Games’ Culin explained: “there are two principal methods of keeping count: one by means of a bundle of sticks or tallies, of which the observed numbers are 8, 12, 15, 32, 40, 48+4, 48+5, 51+4, and 100”. In the article, some American Indian games and painting were illustrated to show diamond shapes or birds, Pollock’s favourite figures. The *Korean Games* also contains a similar arrangement of numbers to those in *Male and Female* and the meaning of a bird as “the emblem of the soul”.²²³

Examination the numbers in *Male and Female* (fig.33) and provides evidence that he would have tested the numerical relation in order to solve “the profoundest problems of existence”. In *Male and Female*, we can see some numbers and signs on the black panel.

2

12⁴16

00

+

10

9

0

0

0

89

I have tried to interpret his numbers with Culin’s text and argued that Pollock might have expressed cosmic principle or basic universality in his work. The numbers on the upper part above ‘+’ might be related the eight trigrams for the reason that the trigrams represent numbers and consist of lines and dots containing the cosmic principle or basic universality such as the Samshin and eum-yang ideas. The lower part under the ‘+’ might be related to Culin’s text, chapter 91. These numbers are used in one of the Korean games which were

²²³ Culin, 1895: xxxvi.

explained in the 91st chapter in the book. By chance it is 19, Gab-o by placing in a reverse order. The Gab-o is the name for the highest mark in the Yet-pang (-mang) –i.

XCI. YET-PANG-I.

The object of the game is to get two or three cards upon which the sum of the numerals is nine, called kap-o [game of chance] or nineteen, the tens not counting, and only the unit being significant. In default of achieving nine, the lower units count, eight being considered good. Each player then draws one or two cards from the bottom of the pack.

If the Moul-tjyou has an excess over any player, taking the sum of the numerals on his two or three cards, less the tens, he wins that player's stakes; but the players who count higher than the Moul-tjyou, each win an amount equal to their stakes from him.²²⁴

According to the rule, ten is counted for nil. This relates with the fact that the number 10 in Korea represents a perfect as for the number of fingers or toes. It is also the number of the universe and ideal world, while nine is the largest number in the real world. Ten does not exist, it marks zero in the game. Therefore, 9 or 19 is the highest number in the game.

There is a division sign like the symbol with a yellow dot above 89. The yellow dot (•) could signify 10 (X) or 0 because the universe is always symbolised as a circle or a dot in Asia. The meaning can be perfection or void according to the game described in chapter XCI and the Eastern numerical idea. When this symbol is analysed into three parts it can be divided into yellow •, ∩ and —. Pollock had produced the antagonistic forms based on the eum-yang (male and female) idea. Since • has no transverse meaning it remains as is. On the other hand, the two remaining symbols, inverted from ∩ and — into C and I, do take on significant ideology, thusly transforming themselves into roman numerals, literally. If Pollock made them the antagonistic form in order to embody the ethnological meaning of the numbers in his work, the symbols seem to indicate the number of the chapter XCI in the *Korean Games* where Pollock would have obtained the idea about 8 and 9. The division sign like the symbol can indicate XCI or 19, the antagonist, that is, Gab-o. He seems to have made his own number by using eum and yang idea in order to indicate the chapter XCI where the game appears. Why the board Pollock wrote the numbers is black can also be

²²⁴ Culin, 1895: 127.

answered by the Korean card games. The rectangular cards have paired numbers on them and the colour is black.²²⁵ The shape and colour are described with illustration in the chapter XCI. In addition, 8 and 9 are important numbers in Eastern idea because they signify eight directions and the centre in the *Korean Games*. 8 and 9 would be what the whole pictorial imagery means in *Male and Female*. They seem to represent the sum of the figures.

The numbers on the top in the black board in *Male and Female* are comparable to the arrangement of numbers in *Korean Games*. Culin introduced a Korean domino game called 'Hō-hpae or Foreign tablets'. Notice and compare the sign, -, on the second line of the panel and the hyphen between the numbers in the book (Fig. 16). If Pollock had played Hō-hpae and had three plates of three pairs of numbers, 2-1, 2-4, 1-6, he would have won nothing (see 00 on the panel) according to the rule. The meaning of each pair of numbers can be read by the number pairs for O-koan or Five gateways, a method of divination with dominoes in *Korean Games*. According to the text, the numbers Pollock used in the painting have particular meanings: 6-6 means 'sky', 1-1 means 'earth' and 4-4 means 'man', 2-4 or 1-2 means 'supreme'. The three diamonds in the painting might be a core of the painting which represents Samshin consisting of sky, earth and man according to the pair of numbers 1-3 in *Korean Games* and is called 'harmony' which Pollock pursued.

The *Stenographic Figures* seems to be a relevant picture of two people playing a game, called 'Ssang-Ryouk or Double Sixes (backgammon)'. In the middle of the painting, there is 'a hollowed wooden board called the Ssang-ryouk-hpan' and one of the 'wooden pins or men called mal (horses)' on the right hand side of the painting. Two men are there on both sides with a red hand and a brown hand for each as described in the text of the *Korean Games*: 'one set being painted red and the other left the natural colour of the wood.' The 'horses' are also in red and brown. Pollock employed the number '6' quite often in the painting because the game is called 'double six'. The book also provides letter symbols such as X and W which William pointed out that Langhorn missed in his analysis. One can see

²²⁵ Culin, 1895: 127.

larger letters in the painting, V and W which seem to have been derived from the text about 'Long Lawrence' dice corresponding to a Korean dice.

On one side are ten Xs or crosses forming a kind of lattice-work; strokes, passing straight across in the direction of the breadth; on the third, a zigzag of three strokes oneway, and two or three the other, forming a W, with an additional stroke or a triple V; on the fourth, three single bars, one at each end and one in the middle, as in No. 2, where they are doubled; then the four devices are repeated in the same order.²²⁶

See more alphabetic figures such as F, A, P and L in the painting and compare how to play the game in the book:

If No. 1 comes up the player cries 'Flush,' and takes the pool; if No. 2, he puts down two pins; if No. 3, he says 'Leave all,' and neither takes nor gives; if No. 4, he picks up one. The sides are considered to bear the names, 'Flush,' 'Put down two,' 'Leave all,' 'Sam, up one.'

F, A and L on the bottom in the painting would be initial letters of 'Flush' and 'Leave All'. The Long Lawrence seems to be about 'three inches long' which is written above the W shape in the painting (see 3 and x-like figure). I suggest that the x-like figure actually 'n' overlaid on 'i' because it means 'in', an abbreviation of inch. In the upper left part of the painting, there is a fish-like shape and a stream like ivory coloured horizontal area seemingly because of the fact that Korean dice are 'bone or ivory cube'.²²⁷

My purpose in going into such numerical detail above is to suggest that Pollock seems to have intended to express everything in the world or universe in the painting and made his own number system to express cosmic order and the view of world with the ideas from the *Korean Games*. What they mean and how they function could be solved by the *Korean Games* which referred to 'Book of Change' as an ancient divination.

²²⁶ Culin, 1895: 68.

²²⁷ Culin, 1895: 79.

CHAPTER III

POLLOCK'S WORK IN CONNECTION WITH KOREAN BUDDHIST, FOLK ART AND INK PAINTING

In chapter II, I tried to find parallelism between Culin's theory and Pollock's idea focusing on Korean influence of games and ideas, even though, there have been many possible origins which are discussed for influence on Pollock's work: artists such as Benton, Picasso, Orzoco and Indian art. A recent study confirmed that Asian arts, Chinese and Japanese style of calligraphy and ideas were found in Pollock's paintings.²²⁸ When we discuss Asian influence on Pollock's work Korean calligraphy and art would be less known to the world than Japanese or Chinese art. However, in the ethnological focus, Korean Buddhist and folk art became well known as the Far Eastern origin in Culin's study who is one of the finest American ethnologists. Culin introduced Americans to a Korean world view, ideas, folk art and even its foundation myth. The previous chapter looked into Culin's study which was *Korean Games* and 'American Indian Games', ethnological studies by him have rich ethnological, mythic, philosophical information. Many Korean illustrations and folk paintings in the book are comparable with the numbers and figures in Pollock's work and his idea of the basic universality. Above all, the Buddhist drawing and the other animal figures in Pollock's work can also be compared to the illustrations in the *Korean Games*. Some other works in later times can be seen in their connection with the other Korean Buddhist, folk art and ink paintings. However, these connections to an interest in Korean art in American artistic and ethnological circles have been somewhat overlooked.

Landau argues that the ethnographic element in Pollock was conveyed from Picasso by John Graham's interpretation. Graham never mentioned Asian primitivism in 'Primitive art and Picasso' although he had an understanding of Asian art.

The decisive event precipitating Pollock's move away from a visual and thematic dependence on the contemporary Mexicans seems to have been his making personal contact with John Graham- whose eloquently expressed belief that the achievements of Picasso were conceptually linked to ethnographic art Pollock clearly found to be eye-opening and thrilling.²²⁹

However, the interest about Picasso's Asian characteristics has recently come to light. *Secret*

²²⁸ Belgrad, 1999: 168.

²²⁹ Landau, 1989: 63.

Images: Picasso and the Japanese Erotic Print, published in 2010, shows that Picasso was inspired as early as the 1900s by Asian paintings, for example, Japanese Ukiyoe and Chinese ink painting and calligraphy, popularised in Europe and the US. At that time Korean art was also popularised in Europe and America. Pollock was also interested in Picasso's paintings and Asian art and ethnology as well as international issues, particularly the 'Manchurian business'. John Graham, a very influential critic and artist in Abstract Expressionism, also referred to Korean art in his book, *System and Dialectics of Art* (1937). It is possible that John Graham introduced Picasso's primitive art element to Jackson Pollock. At the same time, all of them are interested in Far East Asian ethnology, arts and culture.

In this chapter, my purpose is to find out which characteristics among Asian arts, used by these artists and writers, is Korean. Also to show how Jackson Pollock came into contact with Korean art, through the works of Picasso and John Graham together with Culin. And what do these three people have in common, related to Korean ideas and art. How Asian ideas and art were reflected on Graham's writings, in particular, "Primitive Art and Picasso" and *System and Dialectics of Art* will be examined beforehand. If John Graham's understanding of Asia had influenced Pollock, Korean features would also be extracted.

1. KOREAN TAEGEUK IDEA IN FAR EAST ASIA: PABLO PICASSO, JOHN GRAHAM AND JACKSON POLLOCK

The fundamental Asian ideas seem to have been misinterpreted by Western methodology while original Asian culture has remained mystical in the eyes of Western Modernism. Asian culture had participated in the development of American avant-garde but the Asian spirit and mind were leached out mainly by European psychology and philosophy. This was possible because ‘Jung presents a picture of wholeness in his description of the mind which is closer to the model of the Oriental philosophies and which was developed (in part) through a study of them’²³⁰ and therefore, ‘Jung provides a framework within which the concepts of Oriental thought can be made accessible to a western audience’.²³¹

For example, W. Jackson Rushing even tried to relate Newman’s fascination in Northwest coast art to Jung, Nietzsche and Worringer.²³² When Rushing studies Abstract Expressionism artists he seems to have found the origin of Worringer’s quest for ‘Kunstwollen’ and Jung’s ‘collective unconscious’ in Nietzsche’s metaphysical assumption, considering that he quoted Nietzsche in the connection with Jung because of the ambivalence. As he put it, ‘Nietzsche discovered that the more he came to understand the human need to redeem the horror of existence, the more he felt “driven to the metaphysical assumption that the Verily-Existent and Primordial Unity, as the Eternally Suffering and Self-Contradictory, requires the rapturous vision, the joyful appearance for its continuous salvation.”’²³³ If Jungian theory works, Worringer’s Abstraktionsdrang could be seen as Dionysian succession from the Greek vision to the unconscious of American modern artists.

However his ethnological approach to the American Indian influence on Abstract Expressionism may have overlooked the fact that ancient Greece was not so similar. Most of

²³⁰ Clarke, 1988: 59.

²³¹ Clarke, 1988: 59.

²³² Rushing, 1988: 188.

²³³ Rushing, 1998: 188.

all, Rushing's approach to find the origin of ambivalence from Nietzsche by using Jung's ideas is within Asian mysticism or has a close relationship, because of the fact that Nietzsche was influenced by Buddhism. Therefore, comparing the ambivalent thoughts of Nietzsche, Worringer, Jung, Graham and Pollock the common experience found is about Asian characteristics and ambivalent ideas. This will provide a better understanding of how the Asian ambivalent idea of eum (yin) and yang in Taegeuk functioned in the development of Abstract Expressionism and the artist who reflected it in his work.

When considering the Taegeuk shape that Pollock drew (fig. 21) and the international issue in Far East Asia, particularly 'Manchurian business', it possibly still represents Korea in terms of the ethnological view, as I referred to in chapter I. It can be said that Taeguk is in the Korean collective unconscious, and that the idea comes from the Korean foundation myth. More over, Korean foundation myth was first recorded in A.D. 1280, 500 years before Bryant and Mongolian myths, which have a similar structure in the Far East and hold the beliefs in the Heavenly King from Korean foundation, thought to have been handed down through the ages by shamans.²³⁴ The shaman in the Far East area is believed to have been transmitted from the legendary ancient leader. Stewart Culin and Allen introduced *Korean foundation myth in Korean Games with corresponding games of Japan and China* in 1895 and *Korean Tales* in 1889. Japanese cultural origin and nobility is from Korea in terms of the historical and ethnological view. Moreover, the Taegeuk diagram that Pollock drew was the symbol of Korea until Japan temporarily wiped it out when they illegally occupied Korea. Thus, the Taegeuk idea is not traditionally Japanese, seeing as they are not a Confucian country. Korean Buddhism used the Taegeuk symbol in many areas, but Japanese Buddhism did not.

John Graham was also regarded as a Jungian although he delivered a scorching indictment in his response to question 71, "What are the bases of Western Civilization and

²³⁴ Holstein, 1999: 117.

Western art?"²³⁵ Moreover he had a great interest in ethnological materials and relics of the American Indian culture and was passionate about Asian ethnology and art in *System and Dialectics of Art*. Pollock said that 'only one man who really knows' his work and the content was John Graham.²³⁶ *System and Dialectics of Art* is a collection of answers to which John Graham asked himself 129 questions. It displays his knowledge well, reflecting his critical thinking skills of art and history. Through the book, his understanding of Asia and the difference between Eastern and Western art can be seen. He observed Asian art in the 45th question: What are the characteristics of Prehistoric, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Mesopotamo-Assyrian, Indo-Chinese, Byzantine, Mohammedan, Russian, Gothic, Renaissance, Neo-classicism, Romantic, Impressionist, Primitive (Negro, Oceanic, Precolombian), Populist and Modern Art?

Indo-Chinese (Indian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Khmer, Melanesian, Pamir): aimless, decorative exuberance to the detriment of unity. The uniformity of treatment precludes great artistic value. Indo-Chinese art is not an abstract art but a craft, unemotionally, impersonally, objectively produced in series and therefore having the quality of an industry.²³⁷

There is no high praise to Asian art but he noticed the strong ethnological link between art, ideas and the unconscious in Asian arts including Korean art. Above all, he argued the difference between Chinese, Jews, Arabs, Russian races and Anglo-Saxon races with mysticism.

In the past history of mysticism some races developed it as an art in itself. Such mystic-moralist systems were produced by Hindus, Chinese, Jews, Arabs, Russians. The Anglo-Saxon races produced no mysticism of their own but affected a great gusto for an imported brand of exotic, "drawing-room mysticism" in its cheapest, most practical manifestations.²³⁸

He would have known the significance mysticism played in Asian art. Notably, eastern mysticism in the East is actually made up of ideas, religion, truth, world views and the unconscious for Eastern people, but came to be termed mysticism by Westerners, as referred

²³⁵ Graham, 1937: 190.

²³⁶ Carone quoted in Potterm 1985: 183.

²³⁷ Graham, 1937: 130.

²³⁸ Graham, 1937: 184-85.

to at the beginning. Consider that when a Korean artist works with calligraphy his or her mental state moves to a mystical place. The level by which mysticism influenced Eastern thinking and Asian boundaries was not as prevalent in western civilization. Furthermore, he said: "Art and religion have been united from the beginning of all civilization, because of the common mystery of their origin and their magical effect on humanity" to question 29, "What is the relation of art to religion?" in *System and Dialectics of Art*. As Graham said, Asian primitive art lived together with mysticism in Eastern art as itself, for example, Korean folk and Buddhist art always involved his own mysticism and primitivism. Therefore, tracing back to the origin of Eastern art one can easily find the origin of civilization related to the mysticism because the mysticism can be preserved until the early 20th century in Korea.

I suggest that the "mythical fruits" in Graham's painting, *Apotheosis* (1955—57) are probably Taegeuk (Taiji) symbols because he wrote that "The drawing of a circle or oval is never a perfunctory perfection but is an asymmetric, never repeating itself." This is similar to the Taegeuk idea and explanation of the shape of the circle of the Taegeuk. It means that Graham understood Asian unconscious, Taegeuk ideas, as a refugee from Russia in the Far East. Jackson Pollock likes to draw the eum yang (yin yang) Taeguk shape in his drawing, *Untitled (JP-CR3:521v)* 1939–40 (fig.21). This could be a bridge between Korea, Graham and Pollock because Korean arts and daily objects were made on the basis of the idea. This could provide a different Korean primitive characteristic from African and Japanese primitive elements in modern art. In "Primitive Art and Picasso" he explains about "primitive art and the art of primitive nature". When he wrote about the subject the construction of his writing was similar to Taegeuk ideas because there are two opposite elements, unconscious and the tangible.

There are two positions in regard to Primitive art and the art of primitive nature. First is the degree of freedom of access to one's unconscious mind and the second

the understanding of the space possibilities and organic construction of a given tangible, material phenomenon.²³⁹

This kind of dualism of his opinion seems to be based on the Taegeuk idea. His dualism style of writing is also shown in *System and Dialect of Art*. In the book, addressing the first question, “what is art”, he answers by summarizing “the manifestations of art in two elements: Subject and Object”. After that he divided the elements into two parts: A) creation and B) space. He then further divides creation into two parts of its own: a) thought and b) emotion. Moreover, thought is conscious and unconscious. Considering Graham was interested in Asian ethnology, art and religion, his argument, does not have simple psychological boundaries, focusing on conscious and unconscious, so his ideas cover a more diverse area.

However, Asian characteristics of some abstract artists would appear to have been influenced by theosophy or psychology. It is because of the commonness between Western modern ideas and Eastern traditional unconscious in their psychology and religion. Even Picasso had shown these forms of ambivalence in Taegeuk. Picasso worked in France in the 1910s when Korean issues attracted people in France. Korean art works and ethnological materials were sold at auction during this time, coincidentally. Cambon explained that “It was to last until 1910, or even until the outbreak of World War I, Korea being increasingly prominent in European, particularly French, news, as the burning issue of the Far East continued to rage (Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, followed by the colonization of the Korean peninsula)”.²⁴⁰ Above all, a direct link with Korea can be clearly seen in that he was a patron of a Korean dancer, Choi Sung Hee in late 1930s and painted the *Korean Massacre* (1951). I would like to argue that Picasso knew Korean idea because his paintings, *War* (1952) and *Peace* (1952), that was painted one year after the *Korean massacre* (1951), display the colours and the shape of the Teaguk which is the Korean symbol.

²³⁹ Graham, 1971: 142

²⁴⁰ Cambon, 2001: 20.

Picasso possibly had some contact with Korean paintings and arts when he was a patron of a Korean dancer, Choi Seung Hee. It is known that Picasso and Matisse drew her.²⁴¹ Choi Seung-hee modernised Korean Buddhist dance, mask dance, fan dance and drum dance drawing great attention from the art world. The colours of her clothing were made from the colours of the Korean Teageuk symbol and ideas. The symbolic colours of the Taegeuk, red and blue, are mainly seen in Picasso's work in 1938, at the time when he had been Choi Seung-hee's patron. It seems that he was deeply impressed by her.²⁴² She was the first Korean dancer to debut internationally in the late 1930s and had five hundred performances throughout the United States, Europe and Latin America in 1937-40. Her 1939 co-performance with American dancer legend, Martha Graham, in New York gained great attention. Among her fans were Hollywood celebrities, Jean Cocteau, Romain Rolland and Gary Cooper. Her family was from a high rank, which means she was brought up in a strong Confucianistic environment. Therefore, her dance has modern elements but her unconscious was built in Korean tradition idea, Taegeuk. Picasso never visited Korea but he painted Korean war featuring Korean mountains behind a field. It is highly probable that he would have come into contact with Korean art and culture through Choi. Moreover, it is noticeable that his paintings contain Korean elements such as the Taegeuk symbol. Through the works of Picasso, Pollock would have also encountered Korean aesthetics, Taegeuk. Nevertheless, how Picasso contacted Korean politics, culture and art has only been studied by few.

The metamorphic power of primitive art about Picasso stated by critics was no longer something only African. Pollock had already experimented with the transformation of Taegeuk figures and 1938 was the year when he advanced his own style. It can be said that Pollock developed his particular style through the common idea, the ambivalence among them. I would like to suggest that the Asian elements such as religion, philosophy and ideas were a new field worthy of exploration to satisfy their pursuit of creativity.

²⁴¹ McHugh, 2005: 143.

²⁴² McHugh, 2005: 143.

2. KOREAN AESTHETICS AND BUDDHIST ART IN CONNECTION WITH POLLOCK'S WORK

The characteristics of Buddhism in Pollock's paintings have only so far been associated with Japanese Zen and Indian yoga, although Japan was the latest country who accepted Buddhist culture in Far East Asia. Japanese mysterious culture once gained attraction but soon became the culture of the enemy in America during World War II. However, the studies of Asian influence on Abstract Expression in New York are still concentrated on Japanese Zen whose influence is known to have 'dominated in part because America's political and economic ties with Japan'²⁴³and prevailed in the 1950s after World War II. As I discussed earlier, the relation between America and Japan fast recovered after World War II and Japanese Zen Buddhism has revitalized for the cultural gains of diplomatic policy between both countries. The visit of Japanese potters to the US in the 1950s was described in this way by Daniel Belgrad.

The visit of these Japanese potters to the US coincided fortuitously with a sudden growth of pottery education in this country, as American universities expanded in response to postwar government programs such as the GI Bill. The first stop on Leach's tour was Black Mountain College. The potters also visited sites in Minnesota, Montana, and California, before returning to Japan.²⁴⁴

He also made a significant statement about the Asian influence on American art in the same text. He stated that "In the 1950s, under the influence of abstract expressionism, the craft of clay pottery was lifted to the status of a high art".²⁴⁵ He pointed out that "the Americans they influenced, including Warren Mackenzie and Peter Voukos, would become the vanguard of a new movement in American pottery that relied heavily on Japanese Buddhist aesthetics".²⁴⁶ In the early twentieth century, Asian religions, philosophy and ethnology was the most attractive Asian issues in American society as seen in the birth of theosophy

²⁴³ Munroe, 2009: 26.

²⁴⁴ Belgrad, 1999: 166.

²⁴⁵ Belgrad, 1999: 165.

²⁴⁶ Belgrad, 1999: 166.

founded in New York in 1875 while the interest in Asian culture became popularized after the War. Increased publications began to introduce how Asian ideas were applied in the real life. One example is *Zen in the Art of Archery* (1953) which introduced how the Zen mind plays a role in playing sports. Daniel Belgrad explained Zen aesthetics in pottery of the 1950s art scene.

Daniel Belgrad defined the aesthetic of Zen pottery as “imperfections”, quoting Thomas Hoover who said the “such imperfections” of Zen pottery “invite us to partake of the process of creation.” Belgrad explained that “the Zen pottery aesthetic favors tea bowls in which the dripping, cracking, and discoloration of the glaze and clay dramatize the processes of clay throwing, glaze application, and firing”.²⁴⁷ He pointed out “In Zen arts, as in the postwar American culture of spontaneity, the creative process is ideally valued more than the artifact itself.”²⁴⁸ He also discussed the commonness between Jackson Pollock and Zen art such as pottery which has “dripping, cracking, and discoloration of the glaze and clay dramatize the processes of clay throwing, glaze application, and firing”.²⁴⁹ He continued that “The Zen painting tradition had something of a counterpart to Jackson Pollock’s physiological automatism in the “flung ink” painting style developed in the sixteenth century.”²⁵⁰

This unwillingness to distinguish between art and accident was also expressed by Jackson Pollock in 1950, when he defended his pouring technique by stating, “With experience it seems to be possible to control the flow of the paint to a great extent, and...I don’t use the accident-’cause I deny the accident.”²⁵¹

Belgard defined ‘common aesthetic standards’ between Zen and American avant-garde explaining “Unintentionality, rapid execution, and imperfection were valued as characteristics demonstrating the artist’s transcendence of intellectual dichotomizing and

²⁴⁷ Belgrad, 1999: 168.

²⁴⁸ Belgrad, 1999: 168.

²⁴⁹ Belgrad, 1999: 168.

²⁵⁰ Belgrad, 1999: 168.

²⁵¹ Belgrad, 1999: 168.

self-consciousness.”²⁵² He associates American abstract expressionism with Zen aesthetics and brings out Japanese pottery as a new medium, so that its aesthetics has a relationship with abstract expressionism. He said that ‘Important affinities existed between Zen Buddhism and the culture of spontaneity developed after 1940 in the United States. Like abstract expressionism in its pursuit of a plastic language, Zen insisted on the inadequacies of verbal communication.’²⁵³ Japanese pottery aesthetics is identical to the aesthetics of Zen Buddhism in the book. He quoted Yanagi’s word, ‘art and accident play an undifferentiated role’ in order to explain the aesthetics and described Yanagi, the founder of the Mingei movement in Japan, ‘as a champion of folk traditions’ who introduced Japanese pottery aesthetics in America and ‘praised the anonymous artisan, who valued cleverness and originality.’²⁵⁴

However, Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889-1961) stated in his book, *조선과 그 예술 (Joseon and its Art)* in 1922, “The earliest Japanese civilization was born in Korean art and religion.”²⁵⁵ Japanese pottery was not as famous as Korean or Chinese pottery in the early 20th century. Most of all, the tea pot for Japanese tea ceremony originated from Korea. Yanagi also said in his book.

일본에서 만큼의 가치가 있는 이도 찻잔을 만든 것은 조선인이었다.²⁵⁶
(It was people of Joseon who made the precious Yido tea cups.)

앞서 나는 아키의 도요지를 방문하여 자못 감탄했던 일이 있다. 아키에는 상당히 이름이 알려진 장인이 있어 그 몇몇을 찾아보았다. 모두 다기로써 이름을 떨치면서 조선의 작품, 예컨대 ‘이도’라거나 ‘이라보’같은 것을 거울로 삼아 여러 가지 작품을 만들고 있었다. 기술도 수준 이상으로 칭찬할 만한 것이었지만 중요한 것이 하나 결여되어 있었다. 그것 때문에 조선의 것의 모방에 불과하다는 것을 알게 되었다. 조선 것에서 한결음 더 나간 것이 없었다. 어째서 이것을 탈피하지 못하는가.²⁵⁷

(I have been deeply moved once before visiting a pottery kiln in Akie. I visited quite

²⁵² Belgrad, 1999: 168.

²⁵³ Belgrad, 1999: 167.

²⁵⁴ Belgrad, 1999: 167.

²⁵⁵ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 1994: 46.

²⁵⁶ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 1994: 246.

²⁵⁷ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 1994: 268.

famous potters. They have been making lots of tea ceremony pots referring to works from Joseon like Yido, or Yirabo. The pots they made were becoming famous. Even though the skills they used were considerable, there was one thing they lacked, which means they have copied the works from Joseon. There was nothing in the pots they made which was better than works from Joseon. Why couldn't they break from this?) As Earnest Fenollosa pointed out, Japanese pottery developed later than other Asian countries. According to him, Japan began to produce a decent pottery after the 7th century while Korea showed advanced development of pottery beforehand. Many works of great artistic value in Japan were not only influenced by Korean style but also made by Korean artists or craftsmen and were transferred from Korea. That kind of mood is also found in the national treasures in Japan.

일본이 국보로서 세계에 자랑하고 세계 사람들도 그 아름다움을 인정하고 있는 작품의 대부분은 도대체 누구의 손에 의해 만들어진 것 인가. 그 가운데서도 국보 중의 국보라 불려야 할 거의 모든 작품은 실제에 있어서 모두 조선민족이 만든 것이 아닌가. 그 다음으로 중국 것이 많다는 것은 말할 나위도 없다. 이것은 사가들이 실증하는 틀림없는 사실이다. 그것들은 일본의 국보라 하기보다도 정당하게 말해서 조선의 국보라 해야 할 것이다.²⁵⁸

(By whose hand were Japan's national treasures made? They are proud of their treasures and their beauty is appreciated by the world. The treasure of treasures among them, were not they actually made by Joseon people? It is needless to say that Chinese works are the second-largest. This is a straight fact proved by historians. It is justifiable to say that those treasures belong to Joseon rather than Japan.)

We can find from Yanagi's writings that there are lots of Korean works in Japanese national treasures. The fact, some of Japanese treasures were made by Koreans, means that Korean art works have affected Japanese and westerners who saw them in Japan. However, the westerners did not reference those works as being from Korea because they were and still are Japanese national treasures. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter I, Korean Buddhist paintings are representative of Asian Buddhist art but have been in Japan, USA and Europe where they had been wrongly identified as Japanese or Chinese work until the late 20th century. Yanagi once spoke about the Buddhist sculptures in his writing.

오늘날 호류사나 유메도노에 남겨진 백제의 관음은 중국의 어느 작품에도 뒤지지 않는다. 또 어느 작품의 모방일 수 있을 것인가. 그것들은 일본의 국보라 불리고 있으나 차라리 조선의 국보라 불리어 마땅할 것이다.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 1994: 82.

²⁵⁹ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 1994: 45

(Paekje Gwaneums (Kudara Kannon) in Horhyji temple or Yumedono today are not second to any Chinese work. They cannot be imitations of any work. They are called Japanese national treasures but it should rather be called the treasure of Joseon (Korea).)

Yanagi defined Korean aesthetics as “artless art”. As mentioned in chapter two, it is similar to what Suzuki Daisets said about the Zen mind in *Zen in the Art of Archery* (1953) 30 years later. These representative cultural figures from Japan have said that the Korean aesthetics is similar to Japanese Zen Buddhist aesthetics; Japanese Buddhism and art have imitated Korean thoughts and arts. Belgrad mentioned that Yanagi lectured on Buddhism and aesthetics in Harvard between 1929 and 1930, before he began to work again in America in 1952. Actually his major was not art and history, but he got interested in arts through Korean art and Buddhist art. He had been impressed by Korean arts before he visited the US. As mentioned in his book, *조선과 그 예술* (*Joseon and its Art*), Korean arts had already begun to be recognized in Japan and western countries in the beginning of the 20th century.

Frederick Starr made four journeys to Korea after 1911 and wrote a book, *Korean Buddhism, history-condition-art: three Lectures* in 1918. He observed Korean Buddhism very closely and found it very alive after his 1917 and 1918 visits. He disagreed with Dr. Hullbert who said ‘Korean Buddhism is dead’.²⁶⁰ Laufer emphasised that ‘serious research is required for all branches of Korean culture and, above all, for Korean Buddhism’.²⁶¹ Culin, who studied American Indian ethnology, already found the religious origin of the dolls in Korea in the *Korean Games* which would have led Pollock, who was interested in the Indian and Asian ethnology, to become interested in Korean Buddhist paintings, considering his ethnological influence over American artists and scholars in the field of the ethnology in the United States at the time.

Therefore, I want to point out that the origin of the Japanese aesthetics is in Korea when one discusses the similarity between Pollock and Japanese aesthetics. Korean

²⁶⁰ Starr, 1918: 33.

²⁶¹ Laufer, 1919: 84.

Buddhism was being discussed in America in the early twentieth century. Given the facts that Korean cultural assets were exhibited in typical American galleries and most of the masterpieces like Korean Buddhist paintings had been recognized that they were from Japan or China until the latter half of 20th century, it's only fair that Korean aesthetics has a place in Japanese influence on American artists. Above all, Belgrad referred to the Buddhist master, Dalma who moved from India to China in the 5th century, as the founder of Zen Buddhism. Even though Pollock's statement and Zen have a similar concept, Zen was untimely to study the primitivism or aboriginality seen in Pollock's paintings.

Jackson Pollock became interested in eastern thoughts and religious folklore, but it was very hard to find whether he had direct contact with a Japanese Zen monks or ideas in the early twentieth century and during World War II. Pollock's interest in Buddhism had started in high school when he first encountered Frederick Schwankovsky. It is not difficult to find Buddhist items in his work, for example, a Buddhist symbol (卍, fig. 35) and the face of Bodhisattva in his drawing (*Untitled*, 1939-42, fig. 36). He had a book, *100 Masterpieces of Mahomedan and Oriental*, carrying Buddhist sculptures.

In the book there are Japanese and Chinese Buddhist sculptures and South Asian Buddhist was also included as well as ethnological and archaeological artefacts. Michael Leja observed that 'Pollock, like the Jungians, used the mandala both as an image of the structure of the psyche and as a form of the unification and synthesis of symbolic oppositions'.²⁶² Erwin Panofsky criticised such a psychological interpretation of iconography. He emphasised that the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a religious or philosophical persuasion are qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.²⁶³ More important as I referred in the previous chapter, the psychological unification in the meaning of the Teaguk, is the main idea of Asian philosophy and ethnology, had been well

²⁶² Leja, 1993: 156.

²⁶³ Panofsky, 1955: 30.

known as we can see in Culin's book cover which has the Teaguk flag.

Jackson Pollock was also interested in various Asian artworks including Korean and not just in Japanese or Chinese arts. Because he was very interested in a variety of Asian cultures, finding Korean characteristics among them would be difficult. It is also a weakness of Panofsky's iconology which arises when different areas have the same cultural element. However Korean letter painting and perspective is totally different from Japanese and Chinese paintings. The Korean perspective and primitivism make a unique Korean Buddhist art style. This type of primitive and preservative tendency can be seen in the study of Buddhist paintings. As I referred, the long-persisted originality of Korean Buddhist art often led to wrong estimations of the date. One of the reasons for the misdating seems to happen because Korean Buddhist paintings were conservative and maintained the tradition of earlier periods more than other Asian countries. This was noticed by Sigisbert Chrétien Bosch Reitz, the first curator of the Department of the Far East of Metropolitan Museum.

Corean art, which stood very high in its early days, came more or less to a standstill, the hermit empire proved even more conservative than China, taste developed and changed little, and the later Corean paintings continued to bear a strong resemblance to those of the earliest Buddhist times.²⁶⁴

Korean art developed in the large stream of North East Buddhist culture for centuries, but Korean traditional art and Buddhist art preserved a unique aesthetic of Korean primitivism until the early 20th century.

Pollock had the book which had a photo of Goryeo celadon made when Korean Buddhism and arts reached its peak. It might mean he was interested in other Buddhist cultures of the same era. As Yanagi said, Korean Buddhist paintings had the highest quality in Northeast Asia, Japanese liked the paintings and even stole them, and Chinese nobles liked them very much and collected them. All of those mean Korean Buddhist paintings and arts were considered very valuable. When comparing American abstract impressionists in the mid-twentieth century with thoughts, religions, and arts related to the Far East such like

²⁶⁴ Reitz, 1921: 125.

Zen, it is also needed to compare with the origin of Koreans and Buddhism, aboriginality, perspective, structures, and colors in arts.

3. The *Red Painting Series* and Korean Letter Painting, *Hyo Je-Munjado*

A close visual examination of the development of Picasso's abstract paintings reveals a possibility that a Korean aesthetic could have been synthesised into Picasso and Pollock's painting. Pollock distorted figures and added strokes or lines to break the planes in order to show the Picasso effect. It is slightly different from Picasso who overlapped planes from different views. In other words, lines were produced not by layering several planes but by intentional addition to make the effect. He did not show layered planes from various angles but changed the form of the figures. Pollock seems to repeat the borrowed figures like Picasso did and uses a method of 'association' when making an abstract form of the figures from some paintings. The figures were transformed, omitted, simplified or emphasised by associating a certain image spontaneously occurring in his mind. The original figures are difficult to identify in Pollock's paintings, but the composition and colour still remain, as the original painting shows. One example of them could be found in Korean letter paintings.

Jackson Pollock appears to have developed a smooth and linear stroke with a strong sense of speed from the mid-1940s which can be seen as the Eastern influence on his brush strokes. It is noteworthy that the 2009 Guggenheim exhibition (the 130 year's Asian influence on American art) included Jackson Pollock, whose paintings long engaged with automatism. It was the first time that a direct connection between Asian influence and Abstract Expressionism had been portrayed:

It is surprising that though many artists' individual engagement with Asia has been documented, this is the first time Asian thought has been examined as a fundamental undercurrent in the creation of a new visual and conceptual language in American creative culture.²⁶⁵

Amongst the paintings displayed, Jackson Pollock's *Red Painting 1-7* showed an increasing abstract character in the red figures from left to right (fig.37). The *Red Painting 1* reflects a general form of East Asian character, as seen in the grass form of Asian calligraphy. His

²⁶⁵ Patel, 2009: 53.

Asian calligraphic features in the *Red Painting* series cannot be considered to have necessarily been influenced by general Chinese or Japanese calligraphy because Pollock used red in the series, but also used black in *Red Painting I*, in contrast to calligraphy in which only one colour is used. The vertical line on the left hand side of *Red Painting I* defined the border of the empty space in the middle. The outline is defined by a thinner line. On the other hand, the crescent at the bottom right was definitely painted in grass style, with speed and without outline. These two different ways are impossible to see at the same time in one letter of traditional calligraphy. Moreover, there is no connecting or hinted line between the end of the left vertical line and the right crescent one, as in the grass style. One can see that the end of the left red line is facing only the bottom like the roots of a tree. After considering all these factors, it cannot be assumed that Pollock was influenced by the general calligraphy of East Asia.

However, when comparing Pollock's and Korean letter painting, *Hyo Je-Munjado*, one can see significant similarities between two genres, in particular, *Red Painting I* and *Je* (悌) (fig.38). The letter painting consists of a letter, together with decorative patterns of paintings. For example, animals, plants and objects are associated with the meaning of the letters which are often traditional Confucian virtues (孝: Hyo, 悌: Je, 忠: Chung, 信: Shin, 禮: Ye, 義: Ui, 廉: Eum, 恥: Chi). In particular, the latter eight characters, entitled *Hyo Je Munjado*, began to be painted in the eighteenth or nineteenth century of the late Joseon Dynasty (1392—1910) in Korea. This was because the Joseon dynasty wanted to reinstate law and order against the social anomie. These related eight letters (孝, 悌, 忠, 信, 禮, 義, 廉, 恥) of *Hyo Je - Munjado* did not exist in Japan and China.

In the 1961 exhibition at Marlborough Fine Art Ltd, Alloway described the *Red Painting* as a very new method, saying 'This stress on physical touch anticipates his

renewed use of the brush in combination with poured paint in 1951'²⁶⁶ without any consideration of Asian influence. The exhibition catalogue even reproduced the *Red Painting 1* upside down. The 2009 Guggenheim exhibition admitted the Asian influence on *Red Painting 1—7* could be a case of a well advanced approach to the Asian influence by the New York School. However, there is no further research on the Korean connection with Pollock's work. This kind of biased academic tendency can also be seen in the study of Asian characteristics on Avant guard artists and Buddhist influence on the American artists.

²⁶⁶ Alloway, 1961: 51.

4. KOREAN PERSPECTIVES AND ITS INFLUENCE ON AVANT-GARDE AND NEW YORK SCHOOL: A COMPARISON WITH CHINESE AND JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES

How well Pollock understood perspective could be glanced in *Systems and Dialectics of Art* which Pollock read. Graham categorised perspectives into oriental and western perspective, answering to the 62nd question.

62. What is perspective?

Perspective is a conventionalized way to represent distance in painting. There are two conventional perspectives: a) oriental, or a two-dimensional perspective, whereby things farther away are presented higher on the canvas, preserving the same plane; b) Western or three-dimensional perspective which is based on the *optical delusion* that parallels converge to a point in the distance.²⁶⁷

On the basis of Graham, two-dimensional perspective in Pollock can be defined as oriental perspective. As Graham noticed, I would like to suggest that Pollock would have grasped the two different perspectives between orient and west. Graham argued that:

Perfect two-dimensional form speaks of objects' three-dimensionality better, more fully and more poignantly than shadow painting possibly can. The goal of painting is to find final significant shapes. Shadow, modeling and object, deflect artist's interest from the original goal and conceal shape rather than elucidate it.²⁶⁸

This would have vanished three-dimensional perspective in Pollock's work while leaving calligraphic characteristics and two-dimensional planes like in Picasso's work. Graham answered to the 21st question: Is painting a two-dimensional or a three-dimensional proposition?

The history of pure painting can be expressed as follows: Prehistoric, Greco-Egyptian, Pompeian, Byzantine, Gothic, Ucello, Ingres, Cezanne, Picasso and Mondrian.²⁶⁹

Therefore, avant-garde artists chose to use two-dimensional perspective, which could probably be linked to their understanding and interest in orient. In particular, Picasso not

²⁶⁷ Graham, 1937: 142.

²⁶⁸ Graham, 1937: 105.

²⁶⁹ Graham, 1937: 105.

only drew the style of Japanese and Chinese art but also painted Korean war and dancer.

Pollock drew on Picasso's style in the 1940s, therefore, it can be said that the original style for Pollock was from Picasso in part. After 1900s Picasso had been interested in Asian ethnological art while Picasso's Cubism had only been established by using African primitive sculptures. If so, the Asian element should be included in Picasso's primitivism and reinterpreted when one discuss artists like Pollock who was influenced by him. The primitivism shown in Picasso's Cubism should not only be confined to Africa, because it was also found in Asia.

When looking into Pollock's contacts and expressions on Korean issue, his art should be revisited in the interrelation between Picasso and Korean art. A strong similarity can be seen between Picasso's painting and Korean folk paintings, particularly in perspectives. They display the same multiple perspective and reverse perspective. If Picasso's accepting of Korean reverse-perspective and multiple-perspective, as the primitive elements, had influenced Pollock, it could be said that the style of Pollock has a close relationship with Korean features. Moreover, it can be said that Pollock already knew the law of perspective of Asia through the writings of Graham. Therefore, comparing the perspectives of Picasso, Pollock and Korea, Korean features would be extracted as a common primitive expression among them. In this part, how Pollock came into contact with Korean one through Picasso's multiple-perspective will be suggested. I would like to discuss which feature in Picasso and Pollock's work is closest to Korean aesthetics and how it differs from Chinese and Japanese art in terms of perspective.

Picasso's sketches are compared to Japanese Ukiyoe in the linear expression and the theme in the book, *Secret Images: Picasso and the Japanese Erotic Print*. However, simple and primitive use of line can be seen more like Korean art because Ukiyoe or traditional ink painting does not show multiple-perspective as a primitive element. Ukiyoe usually follows the Western perspective because of Westernisation in Japan. China traded with the Western world through the Silk Road from the earliest times. Japan also began to trade with

European countries, in particular Portugal, from 1543 and the Netherlands from 1600. Therefore, Chinese and Japanese art had already been shown the European way of painting in the seventeenth century. Japanese painting was largely influenced by Korean painting but they adapted European culture to painting before they created their own style with Korean primitivism. Two contrasting features, plainer structure and Western perspective, coexisted together on paper which became known as the famous *Ukiyoe*. However the multiple perspectives commonly found in Korean paintings cannot be seen in Chinese and Japanese paintings as one can see in *Jiehua*, *Ukiyoe* and their Buddhist painting. Chinese painting also used the shifting perspective but the linear perspective is not common method in the Chinese traditional landscape ink painting. Moreover, Asian reverse-perspective began to disappear after the 17th century in China and Japan. China began to apply western perspective in the *Ming* (1368~1644) and *Qing* (1616~1912) period. Chinese and Japanese paintings started to show realistic scene on two-dimension influenced by Western perspective and the Greco-Roman style merged with their Buddhist art as Ernest Fenollosa observed in his book, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*.

We have now to look at what is properly a fourth wave of influence upon Chinese art, the so-called Greco-Buddhist—a wave that was long in gathering in Western Asia, swift and brief in its passage across China, and somewhat more deliberate in its breaking and dissipating upon the shores of Japan.²⁷⁰

However, Korean primitivism has been longer maintained in art than in any other Far East Asian country. Regarding the depiction of human form in China, direction of the body usually agrees with the direction of eye-gaze. However, in Korean painting and sculpture, we can easily see that the eyes face the audience regardless of the direction of the body as one can see in fig 39. What is most particular is that the doll's front face is portrayed on both flat surfaces of the profile.

Picasso tried to depict a multitude of viewpoints of the subject represented in two-dimension. Korean folk arts already have a multiple-perspective to transform objects freely

²⁷⁰ Fenollosa, 1912:97.

which is basically the same method used with Picasso's Cubism. Comparing *Reservoir at Horta - Horta d Ebro* (1909) and Korean folk painting interestingly shows a similar diverse partition with thin lines. Picasso's canvas is also be partitioned by lines. In his painting, the linear pattern appears to be cubes which are also the main figures in the Korean folk painting (fig.41). The stationeries in the painting ignore the perspective of Western as if it was appended a paper cut as same like the synthetic cubism. His use of brown, green and gray colour can also be a reminiscence of Korean folk art. It is noticeable that Korean arts had the characteristics until the early 20th century, even in Korean ceremonial paintings recorded in *Uigwe*, royal court manuscript of Korea *Joseon* dynasty (1392–1910). It is partly because Korea operated a closed-door policy until late nineteenth century. The monuments to 'the rejection of negotiation' were erected by government in 1871, so the Korean aesthetic and the primitivism were able to be retained until early twenty century at least where cultural tradition was concerned. This is one of the most distinctive features from Chinese and Japanese art. The primitive feature was preserved and developed into various forms of art over the ages as referred shortly in the chapter I. This is why I argue that he would have been more influenced by Korean painting rather than by African or Japanese art in terms of the perspective. This seems to be able to answer Fenollosa, who pointed out: "If Greek art reached Japan by way of China, why did it come so late?"²⁷¹ While Korea has always played a cultural bridge between China and Japan, the Korean primitivism gave a strong influence on Japanese art as much as Greek aesthetics which China conveyed to Japan.

Pollock intended to give the same effect as the visual characteristics from Picasso such as irrationality, primitivity and the grotesque. Pollock seems to have only tried to imitate the external features unlike Picasso did without taking the principle of Cubism based on African primitivism. This is because Asian calligraphic style of Pollock is hard to find a special relationship with African sculpture. Moreover, the reverse perspective not related to

²⁷¹ Fenollosa, 1912: 98.

the African primitive sculpture which is three-dimension and irregularity because the reverse perspective is a fixed way to represent a realistic scene into two-dimension contrasting to the way Renaissance artists used. This does not seem to be connected to African sculpture because the reverse perspective is a formatted rule in the two-dimension. However, Korean folk paintings have the style of Cubism and calligraphy, at the same time, in two-dimensional paper and not three-dimensional sculpture such as African sculpture. Because of this characteristic, Korean paintings display a strong feature of primitive art but not Japanese and Chinese. Therefore, if we look for the closest method to Picasso and Pollock who engaged to use the primitive and Asian elements at the same time, Korean multiple perspective and reverse perspective could be the case.

5. THE DOLL: THE ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHIST SCULPTURES

Pollock didn't visit Japan, as Mark Tobey did, and he did not have a deep relationship with Japanese Zen philosophers, as Johan Cage had. What he was interested in was folklore, such as the study of the American Indians. Based on the fact that American Indian ethnologists studied Asia in order to compare Native American Indians with Asians and to find Indians' origins, it is desirable to focus on how the studies of the Asian religion, folklore and thoughts are related to one another in order to study Pollock's Asian characteristics and Buddhist influences. Korea could provide the ethnological or archaeological evidence based on Culin's study.

For example, Culin was well known for having discovered the origin of toys in *Korean Games*. He argued that Korean tilting toys, called Ot-tok-i, were counterpart to American Indian dolls, once images of Buddha, regarded as a possible survival of the image of a deity anciently worshiped, as origin, in Korea. Kadish recalled that Pollock also held American Indian dolls in very high reverence in a 1987 documentary directed by Kim Evans (fig. 41).²⁷² When the toys Kadish once showed compared to the illustrations of American Indian dolls (fig.42) in *Korean Games*, they appeared to be very similar. *Korean Games* introduced the origin of such toys as follows:

Objects of stone and pottery simulating a human figure and having a rounded base like the Ot-tok-i are found widely distributed among the Indian tribes of the United States, by whom they were used in ceremonials and as objects connected with worship. A striking example of such an image is represented in Fig. 10—a vase of painted pottery from an Indian grave in Southeastern Missouri, collected by Mr. Horatio N. Rust.²⁷³

Pollock was fascinated in American Indian dolls probably because he was aware of those religious origins that had come from primitive deities or Buddhist sculptures as Culin researched. According to Culin's comparative study, Culin observed that Ot-tok-I, Korean

²⁷² Kadish quoted in Evans: 1987.

²⁷³ Culin, 1895: 8.

tilting toy, had many counterparts throughout the world including American Indian dolls and ‘may have had a still greater antiquity and been associated with some earlier religious celebration, possibly been connected with the Vernal Equinox’.²⁷⁴

His claim could mean that the oldest history Culin was able to reach was Korean because he clarified that the linguistic origins were supposed to relate to Buddha or Bodhisattva in China, Japan and other European countries, such as, Spain, France and Germany. Culin referred to etymologic study that ‘Le poussah’ was borrowed from p’ò sât, the Chinese form of the Sanskrit Bodhisattva. He also suggested German ‘Putzelmann (South Germany), or Britzcnviann (North and Central Germany)’ needed to be accounted for as to whether it was an altered and corrupt form of Buddha or not. He wrote with regard to the Korean festival that it was originally Buddhist.

The Indian doll studied from the view of the representative ethnologist, Culin, was a figure of worship as Buddha and he tried to find the origin of the dolls in Korea. This kind of researches would have an influence on Pollock who had been interested in American-Indian folk dolls. Pollock seems to have had an admiration for the Indian dolls because of the religious link which Culin clarified with the tilting toys, saying they were ‘once images of Buddha and a deity’. Culin believed that “the Games, I hold, must be regarded not as conscious inventions, but as survivals from primitive conditions, under which they originated in magical rites, and chiefly as a means of divination.” He also argued that:

Based upon certain fundamental conceptions of the universe, they are characterized by a certain sameness, if not identity, throughout the world. Without the confirmation of linguistic evidence they are insufficient to establish the connection of races or the transference of culture. They furnish, however, the most perfect existing evidence of the underlying foundation of mythic concepts upon which so much of the fabric of our culture is built, and are of the highest value from the wide application which may be made of the principles which they illustrate.²⁷⁵

There is something in common with Pollock in Culin’s argument for ‘a certain sameness’ being based upon ‘certain fundamental conceptions of the universe’. It is noteworthy that

²⁷⁴ Culin, 1985: 4.

²⁷⁵ Culin, 1895: xviii.

one of the finest American Indian ethnologists, Culin already turned to Korea for ‘evidence to connect the remote past with the present’ at the first place in the late nineteenth century. He clarified that Korea is ‘a land most prolific in survivals’ for confirmation of his ethnological theory. He revealed that Korean people strictly followed their philosophical ideals, Taegeuk and Samsin, in every field such as art, customs, even games and the national administration. Culin suggested that some of it would be the origins of American Indian games.

It is hardly surprising to discover that Korean art had reached to Americans. However, the Asian Buddhist characteristics in Pollock’s paintings were only interpreted as being Japanese Zen and Chinese art, even though simultaneously American museums were displaying Korean folk and Buddhist art, as seen in Chapters I and II. If Pollock was interested in the Indian origin it also comes to Korea, in part, in terms of American ethnology rather than Japan. If Pollock searched to find an archetype of collective unconscious or works remnant of ancient times, it should be based on American-Indian research materials that may be used to explain why Pollock had been interested in Indian dolls. Because he had a lot of information from the Indian researchers' exhibitions and books, such as, the Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Hence, Culin’ studies can be the case for this because it can be said that Culin was in the center of popular Indian research at that time, considering the fact that Culin wrote the most, 846 page monograph of American Indian Games, in the 24th Annual Report.

As examined in Chapter II, it is noticeable that Pollock used a similar type of Korean kite, Taegeuk, arrows, six trigrams, and wrote numbers and four colours of Pachisi games, red, green, yellow and black all of which symbolised the four quarters, which Culin studied. Pollock’s painting titles, numbers and words might be closer to Culin’s text and its ‘mythic concepts’ rather than Jung; The “beast, men, bird” category reminds us of Pollock’s “man, bull, bird” and the Male and Female is a parallel idea to the category of Culin’s “simple mental process” which can actually be the Korean samshin (sky, earth, men) and the ‘eum

and yang' principle.

Above all, the Buddhist drawing and the other figures in Pollock's work can also be compared to the illustrations in the *Korean Games*. To compare an illustration from Culin's book with a painting, *Masqued image*, of Pollock, could be a clue to prove that Pollock already read Culin's Korean book. The faces in the *Masqued Image* have a short stripe pattern on the cheek which could remind one of American Indian decoration. However, the face wear, armor and helmet which did not manifest Indian custom, are comparable in position to a soldier who wears armor and a helmet in *Korean Games*.(fig. 43). The impression of face is very similar to the soldier in *Korean Games*. It is very possible Pollock borrowed many kinds of paintings through ethnological materials. I would like to argue his main idea is Taeguk because two faces in the center of *Masqued image* are painted with the colors of Taeguk, red and blue, although the similar illustration in *Korean Games* is of a Japanese soldier

It can be said that Pollock tried to unify both Indian and Asian cultures in a similar way to Culin's concept. If the idea had affected Pollock, it would not have been different from a general interest which American ethnology held at that time. Most of all, given that Pollock's doll is similar to the Indian doll Culin studied, it is not impossible Culin's research would have had influenced on Pollock.

6. TRANSITION TO KOREAN BUDDHIST PAINTING

As I have researched thus far, it was not Japan but Korea, as Yanagi referred that had kept the Asian aboriginality in the Far East until the twentieth century. It would therefore be much more reasonable to compare Pollock's paintings with Korean Buddhist paintings than with westernized Japanese paintings. If Pollock had changed his paintings with the help of Asian paintings, he may have referred to Korean paintings or sculptures found in the major museums. Pollock said, "He's done everything", when he saw Picasso's paintings. Even though it just began to discuss Picasso's Asian characteristics, it could be said that Asia was included in 'everything' Pollock said. Therefore, Pollock was interested in Asian art in development of his own style and I would like to argue that the Asian aesthetics owed much debt to Korean art. There are several reasons for this. First, the multiple-perspective in Picasso had already prevailed in Korean painting. Second, the Red Painting series of Pollock is very comparable to, and displays a very similar technique and construction of, Korean letter painting. Third, the aesthetics of Japanese pottery and the Zen mind which Belgrad compared with Pollock's abstract expression is, according to Yanagi, originated from Korean folk art.

When said Pollock had been influenced by Picasso, it might have meant that he was more interested in how Picasso borrowed other artist's paintings as well as how he borrowed Picasso's style. Stemming from Graham's writings, it could be said that Pollock realized in detail how Japanese print had influences on impressionism and 'the study of permanent facts of the nature' of Cezanne as well as having already known the principles of cubism and constructivism. As mentioned before in the comparison of Korean letter paintings and Pollock's red paintings, it is very possible Pollock also borrowed from Asian art. If so, it might be true Pollock turned the forms and structures of nature in other paintings into basic and eternal shapes for his painting according to Cezanne. Judging from that, it is possible

that, in his work, there would be remnants of the structures, colors, and the original outlines of each objects from original paintings he referred to. I have found many significant features and constructions which display a strong similarity between Korean Buddhist paintings, illustrations in the *Korean Games* and Pollock's works.

He seemed to show the features of the Korean Buddhist painting; lines became significant for the figures, the use of colour was limited as in Buddhist painting. He would be able to make a style of painting distinct from other surrealists using the Buddhist painting. This part will look into how Pollock's interest in Buddhist art was reflected, translated and reconstructed into his work. Korean perspective, color and construction will be used in identifying Korean influences on Pollock. I suggest that if we compare the iconography and characteristics in Pollock's paintings to the Korean Buddhist art in American museums, based on Culin's idea popularised in the US, we will find similarities and sound connections to Korea.

(1) MALE AND FEMALE

Ellen G. Landau defined *Male and Female* to be 'the keynote for the rest of his contemporaneous work' in which Pollock tried to 'differentiate and integrate the masculine and feminine sides of his personality'. She observed Picasso's influence on the composition of *Male and Female*; many have agreed that Pollock reflects Picasso. Landau claimed that Picasso's *The Studio* (1928) influenced Pollock's *Male and Female*, focusing on the symmetrical composition.

Despite the overall confusion again created by another layer of notational makings over the larger geometrical shapes now combined with smears, drips, and splats of thickly and sloppily applied paint, Pollock's continuing reliance on cues from Picasso is obvious. This time there is a basic similarity in the organization of *Male and Female* to Picasso's studio subjects of the late 1920s. In this grouping of highly synthetic works, Picasso had set up symmetrical compositions in which he placed a radically abstracted artist next to his equally simplified model or standing by a canvas on which a model is depicted.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Landau, 1989: 109.

Both paintings seem to have a coincidental composition at a glance but there are considerable differences between them. Firstly, *Male and Female* has a tripartite composition which focuses on the centre with evenly symmetrical figures while *The Studio* weighs to the right hand side of its symmetry. Secondly, the black panel in *The Studio* plays the role of a background, lying behind the white canvas where there is a female abstract form. However, Pollock's black panels appear to emphasise the three diamonds in the centre. Thirdly, the two abstract forms in *The Studio* face each other while those of *Male and Female* face to the front. Fourthly, as Landau pointed out 'the overall confusion', the curved lines, rubbing effect, cosmic feeling and triple formulas cannot be found in Picasso's simple abstraction. The three eyes of *The Studio* seem to be compared with the three diamonds in *Male and Female*. However, the three diamonds of Picasso do not have red and blue colors of Taegeuck.

I suggest that Pollock's diamonds seemingly originate from ethnological materials such as Buddhist painting and a game illustration found in the book, *Korean Games*. Because Pollock drew diamond shapes with Bodhisattva in another drawing (fig.36). The drawing in which the three diamonds are placed with the realistic depiction of Bosals (Bodhisattvas) and the composition of the diamonds are similar to a form of an illustration of 종경도 ('Tjyong-kyeng-to'), a stick game found in the book, *Korean Games*. The diamond shapes in Pollock's drawings can be seen throughout but rectangular shapes and the placement of diamonds is very similar to the illustration in Culin's book. Moreover, the shape of the Buddhist saint is also similar to the figures seen in the illustration. It seems to be safe to say that Pollock's drawings are related to Asian religions.

Ellen G. Landau also mentioned Pollock's drawing of Bodhisattva's face in her book when quoting Elizabeth Langhorne's explanation of the Eastern connection with Pollock.

The golden flower, Langhorne pointed out, is a symbol of Tao, a Chinese route to the unification of opposites symbolized by yin and yang. It is impossible to be certain that Pollock knew about this book (it is not on his list of psychological source material to consult): However, the surmise that he may indeed have

associated the flower and Eastern religion is supported by the presence in a drawing done c. 1939-42 of a Buddhist head placed next to a conflation of the human body with the stem, leaves and blossom of a plant. Of course, a less esoteric explanation for the components of the moon-woman might position it as simply another example of Pollock's admiration for Miro²⁷⁷.

She does not seem to have understood Buddhist art and was not able to distinguish Buddha from Bodhisattva (Bosal). The general feature of Buddha is the whirl of white hair on the glabella. However, Pollock's Buddha face has a small circle on the forehead, higher than the whorl of white hair. This circle could be a small decoration of the coronet for Bosal. To be more succinct, it might not be the Buddhist saint, Bosal. The Buddhist saints are not wearing coronets unlike most Buddhist saints, Bodhisattva, depicted wearing coronets. Instead, the hair is worn in the shape of a topknot. The Korean men in Culin's book have slim shapes of egg like faces which can be seen in Pollock's drawings with hair shaped in topknots. The only people adorned in topknot hair in Northeast Asia until the early twentieth century were Koreans. It can be seen that Pollock tried to mix the image of the ethnological artifacts with a Buddhist art in order to make his unique Buddhist saint, Bosal. Pollock's diamonds are painted in the center of the structures of the trinity. Given the fact that it is together with the Buddhist saint in fig. 36, it could be thought to mean it is the incarnation of Buddha. I suggest that Korean Buddhist painting, *Amit'a (Amitabha) with Six Bodhisattvas and Two Arhats* (fig.44) can be a solid example in order to explain how Pollock reproduced colour, figure and construction in his painting, *Male and Female* (fig.33). This provides the above compositional features in *Male and Female*. Two Bosals longitudinally stand on both sides of the Buddhist painting which can be comparable to two long black pillars in terms of Cezanne's principle.

The central placement of Buddha is one of the figurative elements in Korean Buddhist painting as seen in this painting. The most comparable factor is the couple of triangular shapes at the bottom of the pillars. Pollock gave four strokes to the bottom of the

²⁷⁷ Landau, 1989: 116.

triangles which is analogous to the five toes of the Bosals in the Buddhist painting. In addition, the black curved line on the red fur-like decoration on the left bottom in *Male and Female* corresponds to the shape and position of Bosals's skirt. Although the size is different in ratio, the white linear rectangles on both sides in *Male and Female* can be seen as simplified forms of Bosals, especially the white part of their trousers.

One of the contributing factors to the horizontal composition in *Male and Female* is the staircase-like structure on the lower part of the painting. This component is also found in the Buddhist painting where Buddha sits on the pedestal and other Bosals stand on stairs. The colour of the pedestal for Buddha and a rectangular figure on the bottom left of Pollock's painting is the same. There are many analogies in the colours and details of the right upper part of both paintings: Arhat and its background in the Buddhist painting and the yellow figure and its background in *Male and Female*. The black face-like semicircle with two eyes continues with the neck, body, belt and legs which remind one of the Bosals next to Buddha on the left hand side of the Buddha painting. He made a surrealist impression with delicate lines from clouds, halos or the sun by rubbing, dripping and spreading. It is most significant that Pollock adapted black from the symmetrically viewed sky in the Buddhist painting as the main colour.

In addition, on the left side of the right black panel, there is a curved line whose figure alludes to a man's torso, half concealed behind the pillar. This figure can be a transformed form of the Arhat on the right side of the Buddhist painting who is bald. The two figures have an outline and are of similar colour. The difference between them is that the torso is facing the front while Arhat is facing the left. Arhat does not show his body because of the other characters but the torso in *Male and Female* reveals the body line. This is because Pollock would have borrowed the position and colour from Arhat but used the general form and direction of the front Bosals. On the left black pillar, the white dot with a thread bundle-like line can be seen as an abstract figure from the waistband of the Bosals on the left side of the Buddhist painting.

Although he made variations of objects, he still applied their comparable positions to the canvas, so that his painting reproduced the symmetrically stable composition of the tripartite composition of the Buddhist painting. The use of colours is also a faithful reminder of the Buddha painting. Therefore, it could be concluded that Pollock used the general composition and the decorative details of the Buddhist painting for his transient period.

(2) *BIRD* (1941) AND *NAKED MAN* (1938-41)

The *Bird* (fig.45) will be examined together with *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra illustration* (fig.46) from the Koryeo dynasty. This Buddhist painting which has been kept in the Museum of Fine Art in Boston has a trinity composition which is very similar to the *Bird* and has a strong primitive feeling among the Korean Buddhist paintings.

The Buddhist painting interestingly shows a two layered halo encompassing the central image of Buddha as well as the two Bosals (Bodhisattvas) below him suggesting continuity with each other into the manifestation of a perfect state of trinity. The decorative top central part with ‘卍’ inside the very centre looks like an eye. The flying ribbon-like lines on both sides of the central ‘卍’ play an important role granting dignity to Buddha which looks like an eye radiating its vitality. Pollock transformed this decorative part into the eye in the *Bird* (fig.45). In Buddhist painting, the wing-like forms at the top side part are heavenly maids on a cloud. This part turns into feathery wings in the *Bird* which seems to have contributed to the title of the painting.

It is also noticeable that Pollock made band-like border lines like frames such as the effect of the silk mounting for the Buddhist painting. This Buddhist painting is clearly divided into three parts from top to bottom. The background behind the hollow of Buddha is divided into dark brown upper and clouds lower at the level of Buddha’s head. A similar division can be seen in the *Bird* where two different parts are divided at the central round figure. The red figure in this round form could come from Buddha in red. Two white men’s

faces at the lower part of *Bird* are comparable with Bosals' faces at the bottom line of the Buddhist painting. Their eyes, nose, lips and ears on the profile show the primitive characteristics of Korean Buddhist paintings. Bosal's eyes face to the front on their profile similarly to what Pollock has painted with the pupil in the centre of the eyes. In addition, the shape of the ears and earrings are very similar to each other. The different fact between the two art works is that the upper part of the Bird is brighter and the lower background is darker while it is the opposite way around in the Buddhist painting. This is because Pollock made the background darker to give prominence to the central white round figure. He made an abstract orange whirl-like figure between two faces in order to replace the incense burner on the red table or the Bosal in the center under the table. Most of all, the fire like orange whirl – like figure in the lower part is similar in shape and tone to the lantern face of *Naked Man* (fig. 47). The orange whirl is connected with the upper bird's round like a sandglass which seems to mean the birth.

In regard to the relation between *Naked Man* and *Bird*, Landau pointed out Krasner's notation that her husband had always implied that there were associative links between *Bird* and *Naked Man* not long before her death.²⁷⁸ Landau concluded that 'a complete conversion of *Naked Man* into his animal totem was the shaman's final state' which is pictured in *Bird*. She observed Indian art in the Bird, asserting that 'the desert-toned upper half of *Bird* shows Pollock trying to duplicate their technique'.²⁷⁹ Its thick texture, rough surface and bold strokes of the technique seem to be distant from Asian traditional painting. However, when seeing the colours, the eye in the *Bird* is coloured in blue and red together which symbolizes the Taegeuk. His use of blue and red, the colour of the Taegeuk in the eye of *Bird* is significant. This can be seen in Pollock's proclamation that he has converted to the Eastern (ways with respect to his art). The eyes in Pollock's work appear to be the heart of his visual language in the late 1930s and the early 1940s. The painting also shows a triangular

²⁷⁸ Landau, 1989: 65-66.

²⁷⁹ Landau, 1989: 66.

composition which Korean Buddhist art usually follows.

The decisive step could have been in reaction to meeting the needs of the time. On the 13th of July, 1941 art collector Peggy Guggenheim arrived in New York from Europe having planned to open an art gallery showing the work of modern European masters.²⁸⁰ Considering the intercultural exchange in the early 1940s, what Pollock should have been looking for was not to jump on the European bandwagon but to invent something new. This must have not been dealt with by either European artists or American artists. At least for the exhibition ‘American and French Paintings’ at McMillen in 1942, he needed something new and American. Lack of sources for creation would have been a critical moment for him to surpass by establishing his own style at this point. I suggest that Korean art would seem to have been a treasure house of plentiful creative sources for Pollock to break new ground.

(3) *THE MOON-WOMAN CUTS THE CIRCLE* (1943)

Ellen G. Landau claimed that Pollock’s use of red and blue was influenced by Miro.²⁸¹ Pollock’s two paintings, *Untitled (Blue (Moby Dick))*, 1943 and *Red and Blue* (1943-1946) seem to be the inverse of each other. The former shows a blue background with reddish (orange) objects, while the latter shows it to be the opposite way around. The title *Red and Blue* can be understood in the same vein as *Male and Female*, displaying his interest in oppositions. In the same way as Pollock, Miro often used red and blue to express main colour themes in his realistic depictions and abstract paintings. However, Pollock’s use of red and blue cannot be necessarily defined as ‘typical of Miro’ in Landau’s terms. This is because Miro cannot be completely free from Eastern influence due to a deep-seated connection to it.

²⁸⁰ Karmel, 1999: 319.

²⁸¹ Landau, 1989: 116.

In the 1943 painting, *The Moon-Woman Cuts the Circle*, Pollock predominantly used red and blue which would have originated from the Taegeuk (fig. 48). The moon-woman of the painting had just dissected the red and blue circle.

As Pollock placed three diamonds in the centre of *Male and Female* as an abstract form of an ideal mediator or Buddha there are diamond shapes in *The Moon-Woman Cuts the Circle* as well. The moon-woman and the three diamonds in *Male and Female* seem to be identical in that they both are depicted in white. The arrangement of diamonds in *The Moon-Woman Cuts the Circle* is analogous to the pattern of *Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva with Water and Moon*, Early Joseon dynasty (fig. 49).

Suwol Gwaneum (Moon Water Avalokiteshvara) is one of the favourite subjects of Korean Buddhist painting. One such painting of Gwaneum is called Gwaneumdo, in Korea. It tells a story about Gwaneum (Avalokiteshvara) who gave a lesson to Seonjae Dongja (Sudhana, a child monk) in the moonlight. In Pollock's painting, the woman seems to have just cut the moon which can be compared with the moon on the top of Gwaneum. The moons behind Gwaneum are, in fact, halos: one from the head and the other from the body, but they are often interpreted as moons.

One can see '+' marks and dots in the diamonds in *The Moon Woman Cuts the Circle* which is comparable with the alignment of '+' marks and dots inside the diamonds in the Buddhist painting. These hollows are filled with the diamonds which look as if they will soon pour out of the hollows. Both paintings have blue or dark olive colours as backgrounds and lack great quantities of decorative figures apart from the main figures. They also have a wavering appearance at the bottom because of the dresses being in common. White is also a common colour in the clothes of Pollock's Moon-Woman and Gwaneum's skin. There are eight figure strokes around the hair with an American Indian headdress of the moon-woman. This can be compared with the figure eight like drapery the Gwaneum elegantly holds. Pollock's goddess has the American Indian headdress which seems to be far from an Eastern Buddhist painting. His interest in American Indians is well known as Ellen G. Landau

mentioned; ‘The fact that Pollock chose to dress his figure in a feathered “bonnet” should raise no eyebrows in view of his preoccupation with the American Indian (although this type of headdress would be worn by male Indian braves, not by squaws)’²⁸² However, according to Culin’s assertion this Indian identity gives a confirmation to the link between American Indian and Korean cultures. I suggest that he exaggerated the Indian headdress in order to connect American characteristics to the Asian factor.

In the same vein the yellow knife like figure would be closer to an arrowhead than a dagger which is also an important symbol of divination in the primitive society and to break the general unity of the painting would be to show the two oppositions of Taegeuck. A careful examination reveals his deep knowledge of the eum and yang idea received via the *Korean Games* and *Light on the Path* (1888). One example is his experiment on Taegeuk as discussed with his drawing. He made several variations of the Taegeuk in his work. In his 1944 painting, *Totem Lesson I*, the small Taegeuk can be seen on the upper part of the painting. Apart from this, red and blue were dominant in his work during this period. Together with red and blue, he also liked to use white and yellow which were preferred by people of the Far East. It is noteworthy that red is the symbolic colour for yang (man) and blue is for eum (woman) in the eum and yang symbology. The number 6 or 9 manifests ‘sky’ in *Male and Female* according to the *Korean Games*, but, in this painting it is more reasonable to read it as the Supreme Being between the Taegeuk elements. Pollock coloured the Moon-Woman red not because he misunderstood the idea of the colors but because Gwaneum wears a red dress. This inconsistent expression in *The Moon-Woman Cuts the Circle* has the possibility of having been inspired by the painting of Gwaneum. One of the reasons is that most gwaneums in Korean Buddhist painting have a moustache but they still display a feminine gentleness. Gwaneumbosal (Avalokitesvara) was initially a man when Buddhism spread from India, the place of origin being Tibet. He then began to be regarded as a woman when Buddhism passed through China and Korea, meeting the Eastern Asian

²⁸² Landau, 1989: 117.

goddess myths. However, the masculine features still remained in painting. It is thought that the imagery of female deity could not be actualized in a male-dominated society. Gwaneumbosal (Avalokitesvara) is one kind of the Bosals (bodhisattvas) who saves the people through her great mercy and compassion so that she is sometimes understood to be beyond the gender issue. The headdress of Pollock's Moon-Woman might play the same role as the moustache of Gwaneumbosal.

(4) MASQUED IMAGE (1938-1941) AND BIRTH (1938-1941)

Landau's trial to link the vertically dynamic composition in *Birth* with an Eskimo shaman dance seems rather subjective. Landau read the *Birth* in relation to an image of an Eskimo shaman dance and John Graham's illustrated article showing a particular type of mask from Alaska.²⁸³ Many abstract artists use repetitive patterns such as stripes or circles in order to make a stronger impression. Such a repetition is often read as revealing the psychological state of an artist. Pollock left dotted lines and stripes in both paintings. The figures in the paintings are too varied and detailed to be seen as a general image. The figures vary from smiling or showing teeth to showing a little part such as the eyes. Some have only abstract lines but figures around the faces are described in detail. The composition of the paintings is constructive and rhythmical while all the elements are depicted in detail at the same time. From this point of view, the Eskimo shaman from "Primitive Art and Picasso" is far too simple a form to claim that Pollock was inspired by it. It would be more reasonable to state that the mask is one of the simplified forms from the figures in Pollock's paintings. Under close examination, comparing the eyes, nose and lips between the mask and the figures in the paintings, there are not many similarities apart from just the teeth.

Pollock's two pieces from the same years, *Masqued Image* (1938-1941) and *Birth* (1938-1941) would be abstract versions of a Korean Buddhist painting(fig.50) within the

²⁸³ Landau, 1989: 60-63.

collection of the Boston Museum. This Buddhist painting depicts the graceful *Yaksabul* (약사불, The Medicine Buddha). He is sitting on a pedestal, the *Bosals* of the sun and moon are with palms together on the left and right hand sides. The other twelve characters aligned behind them on both sides are *Shibishinjang* (twelve guardians). The *Buddha of medicine and attendants* in Boston is one of the masterpieces which show the court art of the Joseon dynasty. The gold label says that it has been produced as a votive offering to the King from his mother, wishing his longevity and the prosperity of the nation. It can be concluded that Pollock examined this brilliant art piece and made an abstract form of it by adapting Picasso's style. The original figures are difficult to identify in Pollock's paintings, but the composition and colour still remain, as the original painting shows. This caring Buddha is known to come to heal the world. The twelve guardians are to support Buddha to realize this aim.

Pollock seems to have produced *Masqued Image* by abstracting the left part of this painting where there are half the guardians (figs 51 and 52). *Birth* also borrowed the form of the alignment of the guardians but from the right part this time (figs 53 and 54). Evidence of this is that red prevails in the *Masqued Image* while blue is dominant in the *Birth* because they are the representative colours of the two Bosal's clothes based on um and yang ideas of Taegeuk. The left part of the Buddhist painting would be the source of the *Masqued Image* whose red colour follows the Bosal of the moon standing at the left. On the other hand, the right part of the Buddhist painting is the source of the *Birth* whose blue colour follows the Bosal of the sun. The governing idea of the Joseon dynasty was Confucianism, so the eum (blue, dark) and yang (red, bright) idea is emphasised even in the Buddhist painting. The eum and yang, *Taegeuk*, was fused with the trinity of Buddhism which came to appear as symbolic figures in Pollock's drawings and paintings, apparently manifesting the origin and birth of life.

The faces within the circles in the *Birth* follow a Z-like configuration as can be seen

on the right side of the Buddhist painting. The *Birth* generally shows Pollock's effort to reproduce the image from the Buddhist painting. When comparing the dots around the circles in the *Birth*, it can be seen from the pattern of the scarf among the guardians. One of the most significant elements in common in both paintings is the expression of the scarf from the Buddhist painting. The dots of the red scarf on the right upper part in the Buddhist painting can be compared to the dotted line running around the circle at a similar level of the *Birth*. There are three more faces below the face within this circle. This arrangement shows an analogy with the composition of the three guardians below the right upper scarf. In the Buddhist painting, this scarf plays a critical role in the configuration. It provides a visually horizontal element to the painting where the vertical elements are dominant. Pollock shows his deep attachment to the dotted pattern, reproducing it in another painting later on. One example can be seen in *The Moon-Woman Cuts the Circle* where the red dotted line runs from the neck to the lower body of the moon woman.

Breton's instruction was critical of Pollock but the more serious matter for him would be to break from convention to a new type of creation. Pollock was influenced more by Buddhist paintings than by Benton in terms of perspective. Benton painted one in the distance smaller in perspective while in the *Birth*, the faces and the circle encircling them increase in size as they go behind. This 'contra-perspective' is also one of the most figurative characteristics of Korean folk and Buddhist painting.

As Landau observed, John Graham's essay, "Primitive Art and Picasso", must have significantly inspired Pollock and his art. Pollock wrote to Graham because of his admiration which would take the form of apparent gratitude caused by the fact that it would have been of assistance in understanding Picasso and developing his own style. However, Pollock found a new type of aesthetic which is completely different from the primitive relics Picasso referred to. The metamorphic power of primitive art stated by Graham was no longer anything new to Pollock. He had already experimented with the transformation of Asian and American Indian figures and 1938 was the year when he advanced his own style.

Graham was well versed in the details of Asian and Indian art and ideas which were different from Picasso and Surrealists. Therefore, it is not necessary to explain the figures in the *Birth* and the *Masqued Image* in relation to the sexual symbols in terms of psychology. The figures below the face at the right hand side in the *Masqued Image* are not penises but would be the guardian's hands and the white figure at the bottom left is not the shaman's bent leg but would be the shape of the Bosal's right shoulder. The several tubular appendages can be seen as transformed figures of the ornaments on the costumes.

The white feathers on the guardians' heads in the Buddhist painting play an important role in distinguishing the guardians from one another, otherwise it would be difficult because of the dark tone. In the *Masqued Image*, the white surfaces play exactly the same role between the faces. For example, one can see the broader white feathery band on the guardian near the left shoulder of the Buddha. Hence, I would like to argue that the *Buddha of medicine and attendants* would have a significant influence on Pollock's work, including these two paintings, providing a wide range of figures, colours and religious ideas.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF DISTORTION AND MISUNDERSTANDING

The previous three chapters concluded that Korean art collections and ethnological literatures were readily available in the mid-20th century which could have impacted on the development of Abstract Expressionism. In particular, Pollock appreciated American Indian art because he believed their vision had “the basic universality” in every art. Stewart Culin borrowed the Korean view of the world to theorise the American Indian view of the world due to the lack of linguistic evidence in American Indian primitive culture. I argued that Pollock might have reached Korean originality in terms of Taeguk, as “the basic universality”. Finally, I argue that Jungian psychology and Greenberg’s Formalism remain exclusive to admitting Asian influence on Abstract Expressionism, although they significantly contributed the theoretical aspect of Abstract Expressionism.

In the same vein I would like to suggest that Korean art has come along to be distorted and misidentified in part because of political and international relationships from the late 19th century. In this chapter, I will discuss how Korean significance in American art was disregarded by critics in the historical context by tracing a main art historian or critic according to times who was influential but remained adverse effect in Korean art history.

In the first and second section I trace how Korean art was situated in a disadvantageous position to Japan and China in international relationships from the late 19th century. The third section goes on to discuss not only the misidentification of national origin but also the misunderstanding of Asian ideas and philosophy in art that critics often made when distinguishing Asian traditional arts. How an asymmetrical understanding of Far Eastern art continued after the World War II will be discussed.

1. MUNHEYOSHI YANAGI

Upton Close noticed that ‘the nobility of Japan was Korean in origin’ in his 1925 work, *Europeanization and the Ancient Culture in Pacific Asia*.²⁸⁴ It may be fairly said that Korean aesthetics have influenced most areas of Japanese culture, although Korean art is not as well known to the world as Japanese and Chinese. Japanese art has imitated most Korean art work. Japanese painting, for example, shows the same effort in line, colour and pattern as Korean painting, likewise with pottery and Buddhist statues.

Ernest Fenollosa observed the Korean influence on Japanese painting in his 1912 book, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*, writing ‘elaborate Korean secular painting is best exemplified in the portrait of the Japanese Prince Shotoku, made at the beginning of the 7th century by his guest, the Korean Prince Asa’.²⁸⁵ He also wrote about the Korean influence on Japanese architecture: ‘Korean temple architecture is exemplified by the oldest buildings of Horyuji in Japan’.²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Korean art is not so well known in the world, for the country passed through colonization, war, the division of the Korean peninsula and the Cold War period. During this period, Korean art was regarded as an imitation of Chinese art or identified as Japanese art. It is not only because Korea, China and Japan were in the same cultural area but also because there were a large amount of Korean art work in Japan where Japanese people tried to imitate Korean art. Korean art, tradition and culture remained misrepresented to the world in the twentieth century. Because of the historic fact, it would have been difficult for Western people to distinguish between the Korean and Japanese characteristics of art.

China had a strong influence on East Asia but it was Korean people and culture that directly contributed to the development of Japanese civilization and culture. Moreover, after

²⁸⁴ Close. 1925: 175.

²⁸⁵ Fenollosa, 1912: 66.

²⁸⁶ Fenollosa, 1912: 66.

World War II, people in the U.S.A came to believe that both China and Japan had led Asian culture and art. The U.S. A. encouraged an amicable relationship with Japan, once a hostile country in the War, by aiding the repair of the ravages wrought by war. The U.S.A. extensively advertised Japanese culture and this activity raised Japanese culture to a higher status as the representative figure of East Asia in the U.S.A.

The situation was no better in Korea. The history of Korean art was not even outlined systematically until the 1960s. One of the significant studies was Kim Won-Yong's introduction to Korean Art History in 1969. However, Kim Won-Yong first mentioned Yanagi in reviewing literature in a discussion of the characteristics of Korean art in his 1980's book, *Introduction to Korean Antique Art*.

As I referred in Chapter I, there are many writings about Korean arts by the western scholars. However, Yanagi misrepresented himself as the first foreign writer to speak about Korean art from a modern point of view. His interpretation of Korean art was so pessimistic that Korean people have long been affected by his subjective opinion. Kim Won-Yong was also not free from the remnants of the influence of Japan's colonization of Korea just as most Korean people were still affected at that time.

He appraised Yanagi's effort in 한국미술의 역사 (*History of Korean Art*) published in collaboration with An Hwi-Jun in 2006, saying that “일찌기 한국미술의 특색, 한국의 미의 특질을 파악하고 그것을 말로써 표현하려고 노력한 사람은 일본의 고 야나기 무네요시다²⁸⁷ (A person who tried to grasp the characteristic of Korean art and explain it in words at an earlier time (almost for the first time) was the late Yanagi Muneyoshi)”. Thus Yanagi has been repeatedly referenced by Korean art historians who are still masked by a colonial view of history still today.

In Korea, it is the prevailing view that Yanagi Muneyoshi was the first man to describe the beauty of Korean art from a modern standpoint, which is not true. According to

²⁸⁷ Kim and Ahn, 2003: 14.

the Korean version of his article *Joseon Art* in *Sinjo* January 1922, later published as a book 'Joseon and Its Art' in the same year, he defined Korean aesthetic as 'the beauty of sorrow'²⁸⁸. Although he highly appreciated the naturalness of Korean art, his one phrase, 'the beauty of sorrow' promulgated the view that Korean and culture was characterised by sadness and desperation. His definition was stamped on by the Korean people who were driven to link the harsh reality to 'sorrow' when Japan illegally occupied Korea and ended up thinking that the 'sorrow' had been inherited from the oldest times. Nonetheless, until now, Yanagi has been inaccurately portrayed since the onset of westernization in Korea yet Yanagi helped Koreans realize ideals of aesthetic beauty in Korean art. In spite of Korean people remaining critical of Yanagi, from May 25, 2013 to July 21 the Korean National Modern and Contemporary Art museum showcased Yanagis collection of various pieces of arts and crafts from all around Korea. As indicated in the online catalogue of the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea, Yanagi has been portrayed in the following way; 'Yanagi apprehended the danger that Joseon's cultural traditions would be rooted out in a wave of oppression by the Japanese army and thus started to plan the establishment of the Joseon Folk Crafts Movement in 1921'²⁸⁹.

In the course of his twenty one visits to Joseon from 1916 to 1940, Yanagi's understanding of Joseon art underwent a gradual transformation, and starting in the 1920s he argued that art was something that is born, not made, and that it could be explained with such notions as 'disinterestedness,' 'randomness,' and 'unconsciousness'. The significance of Yanagi's aesthetics with regard to the art of Joseon lies in the fact that Yanagi's vision and thought that toed the line of Western modern culture and Christian thoughts in order to overcome the obsolete conventions of Eastern thoughts and religions ultimately resulted in his return to the East.²⁹⁰

Because of this cursory point of view about Yanagi, Korean art history seems to fail to create and find an active discussion of Korean art written by western scholars in the early twentieth century in the U.S.A. and Europe in the modern history of art before Yanagi referenced Korean art. Yanagi is still widely cited for the incorrect claim that he was the first to write

²⁸⁸ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 2004

²⁸⁹ Quoted from the exhibition (25 May, 2013 - 21 July, 2013) website catalogue

²⁹⁰ 'Yanagi Muneyoshi'

about Korean art. The book, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the politics of folk art in imperial Japan*, also introduced the Yanagi's definition of Korean art as 'sorrowful beauty'.

Like Yanagi, Japanese people in the colonial period knew better than any others about the superior ability of Korean people. However, Japan became seriously concerned about their colonial policy when a nationwide independence movement took place in Korea in March 1919.

The organized mass demonstrations that ensued on 1 March 1919, thereafter sacred to Korean nationalist memory as the March first movement (samil undong), terrified and infuriated colonial the authorities, who called out the troops. Several weeks of mayhem and some thousands of Korean casualties later, it was clear to many in Japan as well as Korea that something had gone very wrong. Although mainstream Japanese opinion tended to blame Koreans, and also Western missionaries, for what were commonly described as "riots" and "insubordination" by "malcontent Koreans" (futei na Senjin), it was difficult to escape the reflection that Japanese colonial policy might also bear some responsibility. As a consequence, the "Korea problem" (Chosen mondai) and discussion of its resolution figured large in both colonial and metropolitan publications for several years thereafter.²⁹¹

Saitō was appointed as Japanese Governor-General of Korea after the March 1 movement in 1919 and instituted 'measures to counter the Joseon racial movement' which aimed to cultivate pro-Japanese groups in every area of society. According to this appeasement policy, they were planning to tempt the Joseon people with every kind of rights and interests so that they could effectively control Joseon people from various areas, the nobility, aristocracy (yangban), the Confucian scholars, the rich, educated, religious and agricultural. Saito Makoto believed that the success of solving 'Joseon problem' depended on the number of pro-Japanese. The Japanese government-general tried to consolidate a dominant-subordinate relationship by mentally incapacitating the people who could not be socially active without stringing along with the Japanese measures.

Yanagi's apparently favourable engagement with Korean art at such a period should not be overlooked. 'Sadness' or 'sorrow' is in essence a strange word to describe Korean art. That is why some Korean historians, such as Mun Myung-Dae and the poet Ch'oe Harim,

²⁹¹ Kim, 2007: 21.

strongly criticised Yanagi. When Yanagi's book *조선과 그 예술* (Joseon and its Art) was published in Korea, Ch'oe Harim's review was added to the book. He criticised Yanagi's analysis of Korean art: “한국인을 패배감에 몰아넣으려 하는 술책과 한국사를 사대주의로 일관한 비자주적인 역사로 몰아넣으려는 일본 제국주의 정책관을 교묘하게 혼합시킨 사고방식이²⁹² (a way of thinking in which he ingeniously blended intrigue and policy, the intrigue drives Korean people into defeatism and the policy drives Korean history into dependent history marked by toadyism)”.

As I mentioned chapter I, there is J. A. Mack's 1921 article which discussed Korean art beforehand Yanagi said in his 1922 writing that “예능에 문화정도가 반영된다고 하면 어찌 조선을 가련한 나라라고 할 수 있을 것인가. 적어도 이 나라의 자기는 엄연히 한 나라의 존재를 나타내 주고 있다.²⁹³ (if art reflects the standard of culture how could Joseon be a poor country? The pottery of this country, at least, clearly presents its own national being)” which finds the same vein of the J.A.M in 1921.

That Korea had a national consciousness, thoroughly developed, when these objects of art were current, namely six hundred years ago, is obvious. She had a national art, though the influence of powerful neighbours must have been felt in every walk of life, and particularly in the field of art. And it would seem that she still has a glowing spark of national consciousness that may kindle her decadent art into renewed vitality and once more give to the world a unique national art which will be loved and admired by all.²⁹⁴

It was likely to have been a simple coincidence that Yanagi's statement had a significantly similar content as the articles by the American authors. An interesting fact is that a year before his writing about 'the beauty of sorrow', an opposite expression can be found in J. A. M's 1921 writing about Korean art displayed in Gallery X: “fine painting, beautiful pottery, heavy and harmoniously wrought embroidery, and artistic metal work formed a pleasing

²⁹² Choi, 1973 cited in Takehu, 1981 republished in Yi, 1994: 349.

²⁹³ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 1994: 245.

²⁹⁴ Mack, 1921:121-22.

ensemble”.²⁹⁵ A year after this article, Yanagi fully described the beauty of sorrow in his 1922 article. The ‘sorrowful beauty’ of Yanagi’s negative view is very opposite to compliment Korean art, for example, J.A.M’s expression, ‘pleasing ensemble’. Therefore, his compliments about Korean art should be reassessed.

I believe that Yanagi cannot avoid responsibility for distorting a country’s consciousness on the basis of colonialism. Yanagi was the son of a Rear-Admiral, graduated with excellent results, third among the students, from 學習園, a school for only families of the nobility and studied philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University. He intended to join the army but failed the physical examination for conscription. He became a professor of English literature and was conversant with American and European affairs. He lectured at Harvard University at the age of forty-one in 1929, after he published *Joseon and Its Art* in 1922. He became a member of the American-Japanese Board of Education in the Education Ministry after World War II. An examination of his writing shows that he not only appreciated Korean art but also repeatedly focused on Korean cultural toadyism toward China and gave prominence to the fact that Korea, a tiny poor country, had a miserable people with a sorrowful history. His intention is starkly apparent in his description of the geographical features of Korea. He focused on the sense of sorrow also in the Korean land by describing ‘동요와 불안과 비애가 그들이 사는 세계였다²⁹⁶ (Agitation, insecurity and grief were in the atmosphere of the land where they lived)’ while he wrote about his own country that ‘민족은 외침의 두려움을 모르고도 그 황실의 혈통을 오래 계속했다. 공포없는 민족에게 이 고도는 하나의 낙원이었다²⁹⁷ (The Imperial Household has long kept the line without the need of knowing external invasion. This situation is a paradise for a people having no fear)’. Considering that the environment is a critical factor deciding artistic characteristics, Yanagi cleverly described the Korean land as sterile. However, Yanagi glorified, as the first

²⁹⁵ Mack, 1921:121-22.

²⁹⁶ Yanagi, 1942 republished in Yi, 1994: 245.

²⁹⁷ Yanagi, 1942 republished in Yi, 1994: 246.

critic, his study of Korean pottery by stating that it was his ‘destiny’ and he ‘defends’ Korean art.²⁹⁸

Yanagi could not prove his claim objectively. His assertion of ‘beauty of sorrow’ was invented in order to plant a sense of defeat in Korean people and make them believe that the sorrow born into a sorrowful land was fate. His depiction of Japanese geography completely contrasts with that of Korea. A year after he wrote about the paradisiac land, the Great Kanto earthquake struck Tokyo on the Japanese main island on September 1, 1923. Japanese people expressed their insecurity and anxiety by massacring Korean people in Japan after the earthquake.²⁹⁹ The trend of mutual distrust and chaos gave rise to various rumours. In only one day a vicious rumour was spread around the area that “Joseon people turned into rioters who poisoned the wells, committed arson and robbed Japanese people”³⁰⁰. There was no water supply and people were extremely afraid of fire because they mostly lived in wooden buildings. Regardless of whether the rumour was true or not there was rising hostility against Joseon and even Chinese people in the Ganto area. The Japanese civil militia was organized and started interrogation with a view to executing Joseon people. The number of the civil militia was 3689 in just the Kanto area and they were armed with hunting rifles, revolvers, bamboo spears, clubs, even axes.³⁰¹ Even prestigious newspapers such as Asahi and Yomiuri inflamed the hostility against Korean people by using those rumours. They carried announcements warning against rumours, but they were prevented for nearly two months from printing the kinds of detailed reports that might have prevented or corrected the rumours.³⁰² One of the rumours was about Korean people bombing, allegedly scheming the subversion of Japanese society, with Socialist support, when the *Yomiuri shimbun* wrote:

²⁹⁸ Yanagi, 1942 republished in Yi, 1994: 246.

²⁹⁹ M.L.H.R.I, 2005: 374.

³⁰⁰ Allen, 1996: 66.

³⁰¹ M.L.H.R.I, 2005: 374.

³⁰² Allen, 1996: 69.

The police, the army and the masses were obsessed by the idea that a triple alliance between Socialists, Koreans and Bolsheviks was working against the interests of the country. This suspicion bred canards, resulting in horrible bloodshed . . . There must be some serious defect in Japanese politics and society if Socialists and Koreans really had such a heinous plot in contemplation³⁰³.

AkutagaRyuhoske (1892-1927) from the civil militia was a famous novelist whose name is now known in connection with the most prestigious literary award in Japan. His masterpiece, *Rhashomong* plainly described the rigours of the lower classes suffering under a warrior caste, revealing their lives to be dominated by insecurity and the fear of death. Akutaga left the last word 'dim unrest' when he committed suicide. Japan was under feudal military dictatorship for a long time and many famous people were from a military background. In Japanese historical paintings they usually appear in a moment when they are killing someone, who is sometimes a woman hung from a rope or even a naked pregnant woman. One can see the fear and insecurity of the people who were always witnessing death in Japanese literature and paintings. This shows a great difference from Korean art which has a satirical and humorous attitude to the reality.

Yanagi wrote about himself as righteous Japanese who safeguarded Korean culture in the face of the menace of Japanese colonial rule. In his own words, he was the first foreigner to testify on behalf of Korean art. Moreover, he described how he raised funds for research, not with the support of the government or authorities, but on his own initiative. However, when Yanagi started writing about Korean art and wrote '조선인을 생각한다 (Thinking Joseon people)' his younger brother-in-law was the president of the Department of the Interior of the Governor-General who had authority over human resources and police power. Gato, the first husband of his elder sister worked for the Japanese Consulate General in Incheon, Korea and the second husband of the sister was in charge of the operation for transporting reinforcement troops against the March 1 Movement in 1919 and was later

³⁰³ Allen, 1996: 68.

promoted to admiral.³⁰⁴

I would like to argue that Yanagi's defence of Korean art is a mere expression of his deep sense of superiority over the nation which was suppressed by his own country, which is another form of colonial policy. He continued to mention the misfortune of the Korean people and the toadyism to China which kept the Koreans in great grief. He also stressed as if he awakened the Joseon people to modernization although Joseon had already concluded a treaty of amity with America. He even used an ungrounded assertion as if Japan enlightened Korea their cultural value, saying 'Japanese people, so to speak, are the second parents to Joseon pottery'³⁰⁵.

The Japanese military government made the colonial rule less harsh, being afraid of rising hostility against Japan after the nationwide independence movement of 1919. The so-called 'cultural rule' lasted until 1931 when Japan started cultural genocide in Korea. In this period publishing and group activities were permitted to a limited extent. However, under this nominal regime Japan's way of governing became more crafty and cruel in order to cover up the harsh realities. This is the time when Yanagi began writing about Korean art as the American museums also did. Particularly after the 1919 independence movement, Japan became wary of any foreign support encouraging Korean people to be independent. The Japanese government would not have been able to overlook the fact that Korean art was gaining attention abroad when they prohibited Korean people from using Korean language even in names, being afraid of the power of national culture. Yanagi provided a favourable impression when he lamented that Kwanghwamun, the main gate of the royal palace, was about to be demolished by the Japanese government in 1922. However, his writing is not much different from the Japanese policy of cunning and craftiness.

Japan did not shrink from using underhand ways in order to distort Korean history. The Japanese government started distorting Korean history to consolidate nationalism in the

³⁰⁴ Han, 2007.

³⁰⁵ Yanagi, 1922 republished in Yi, 1994: 246.

late 19th century just before occupying Korea. Yokoi Dadanao published an arbitrary interpretation of the inscriptions engraved on the stele of King Gwanggaeto in *Hoiyorok* vol. 5, the Asia Association periodical in 1888, era before the Japanese invasion of Korea. It was in order for Japan to wrongly claim that they had ruled a Korean ancient kingdom. Tremendous quantities of Korean books were plundered during the colonization because they recorded the ancient history of Korea. Interestingly, in 2002 China launched “東北邊疆歷史與現狀系列研究工程, the fundamental project of the history and the present state of the northern area of China” which is a plan to place the histories of neighbouring countries in the context of general Chinese history. The ultimate goal of the project in China is also to rewrite the history of those ancient Korean kingdoms.

The Japanese acts of aggression reached a climax when assassins were sent to kill Empress Myeongseong, the last queen. Her body was displayed for foreigners and then set on fire after the brutal murder. The belongings of the Empress were also set on fire. During the colonization, Japan sank metal piles deep into the ground of all the famous mountains, hoping that the spirit of Korean people would be exterminated. According to research by Northeast Asian History Foundation in 2009, Japan transformed Changgyeonggung Palace into a zoo and botanical garden and built a middle school for Japanese pupils to the west of the palace. They also demolished a site where the Emperor held a sacrificial rite of Heaven.

Later, they demolished sections of the palace to make room for a Buddhist temple, and housing and restaurants for Japanese nationals. In February 1911, the Japanese erected a building at the Wongudan Altar and placed the site under the care of the Governor-General's office. In 1913, they demolished the Wongudan Altar and built a three-story Railroad Hotel belonging to the Governor-General's office on the site.³⁰⁶

When Yanagi's article ‘장차 일케된 조선의 한 건축을 위하여 (For one Joseon architecture which will be lost)’ was serially published on the Donga Daily for five days from 24 Aug in 1922 it naturally gained great sympathy from the Korean people because Japan's destruction of Korean cultural heritage had already been actively continuing.

³⁰⁶ Lee, 2009: 337.

Japanese colonists engaged in an uncountable number of destructive assaults on Korea's cultural heritage. Above all else, the royal palaces of Joseon were the principal targets of such acts of destruction. They built the Government-General's palaces headquarters in front of the Geunjeongjeon, the main hall of Gyeongbokgung Palace, so that the palace could not be seen from the Namdaemun Gate. 19 buildings belonging to the royal family, 22 gates and 45 other buildings were destroyed to make room for the Governor-General's office.³⁰⁷

However, it was later revealed that the translator of his article was Yeom Sang-Seob, a novelist and a representative pro-Japanese intellectual and the first editor, Kim Seong-Su was also identified as a pro-Japanese. Kim Seong-Su showed his gratitude for favours in his letter to Saito, the governor-general. Yanagi became an 'anticolonial hero of Korean art' in Korea with the help of those pro-Japanese people. This could be an example which reflected the governor-general's new policy, aiming "to cultivate pro-Japanese intellectuals in a long-term perspective, under the name of educating the bright young, by providing convenience and assistance". Yanagi is still remembered to have tried to protect Kwanghwamun although he was Japanese but the Kwanghwamun was removed and replaced by the Governor-General's building.

In 1946 after World War II, Yanagi was appointed a member of the America-Japan Education Board of the Education Ministry when Gen. MacArthur was Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan. As indicated in chapter 3, Yanagi knew about Korean Buddhist art as well as Korean folk art. Yanagi seemed to work together with American scholars as a member of the America-Japan Education Board of the Education Ministry, when American scholars examined Japanese cultural properties under the command of General MacArthur. Hundreds of Korean typical Buddhist art works, numerous pieces of Korean art work, and cultural properties in Japan were not classified correctly at that time. To identify Japanese Buddhist painting inevitably has to be linked to Korean ancient history, but also Goryeo and Joseon, which play a critical role in Japanese civilization. Japan's concealment of Goryeo Buddhist painting could have been led by the

³⁰⁷ Lee, 2009: 336.

American and Japanese. This fact is directly linked to Japanese colonialism. Japanese colonial rule focused on distorting Korean history and abolishing national culture at that time. Japanese people denied the superior artistry of the Korean race while they liked to collect Korean art works for amusement sake.

Those incorrectly identified examples were more frequent in Goryeo Buddhist paintings. There were only about 10 Goryeo Buddhist paintings in America but if they had been revealed as Goryeo Buddhist paintings, the other 120 pieces in Japan would have had their origin clarified. The Buddhist paintings long shrined in Japanese temples were actually Korean paintings which did not help Japanese nationalism because Japanese people had worshiped the iconic images in the paintings which were drew by Korean people they occupied. Japanese cultural genocide in Korea reached its height at this time. This would have led to wrong decisions.

2. ERNEST FRANCISCO FENOLLOSA (1853-1908) AND HAROLD G. HENDERSON (1889-1974)

Prior to Yanagi becoming interested in Korean art, Korea's creative works (masterpieces of cultural heritage) were not widely known around the world. This is partly because Americans taking the side of Japan and leading scholars of East Asian art history had not given much attention to Korean art history though they were aware of the value and importance of Korean art between Korea, Japan and China. There were many pro-Japanese such as Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908) who internationally safeguarded Japanese nationalism in their art. Fenollosa gave lectures on Politics, Economics and Philosophy at Tokyo University. He enlightened Japanese people about the importance of Japanese traditional paintings and his convincing lectures were significant in Japanese art history regarding the fact that he emphasised that a great deal of Buddhist heritage was being lost in the earliest time of the Meiji Restoration.

He only approved of paintings directly influenced from the Tang and Sung periods as Japanese traditional painting. He did not find the origins of the Korean aesthetic in Korean art itself but ruled out or reduced the influence of Korean art by suggesting that Korean Buddhist art was influenced by Greco-Roman style through the route of the spread of Buddhism. The Korean ancient kingdoms, Goguryeo (37 BC - 668), Baekje (18 BC - 660) and Shilla (57 BC - 935) developed their own Buddhist art style which was different from China. Japanese Buddhist sculpture is much more similar to the Korean than the Chinese at this time because of the direct influence of Korea.

Yet even this pre-Buddhist Japan retains Pacific forms in its ornament, mixed with some Han-like patterns derived from Korea and Go. The building of military and industrial roads began in 250; weavers were sent as tribute from Korea in 283; a finer breed of horse was received the following year; a Korean Professor of Chinese classics introduced the written characters in 285; Chinese came from Han in 289;

Corean physicians came in 414; mulberries were planted in 457; an imperial commission to Go returned in 462; Go sent special Chinese weavers in 470; carpenters and masons were ordered from Korea in 493; a special embassy from the Buddhist Emperor Butei of Liang arrived in 522; but the decisive step that marks the limit of this acquisitive age was taken when a Corean prince sent over to the Japanese Emperor Kimmei in 522 a partial set of Buddhist scripture and images presumably bronze³⁰⁸.

However, many researches based on Fenollosa study emphasised only the Chinese influence on Japanese culture without considering specific circumstance in history, politics and geography between Korea and Japan and China. *Shilla*, one of the three major ancient kingdoms in Korea combined forces with Chinese Tang and united the other kingdoms, *Goguryeo* and *Baekje* in 676 which established the United *Shilla*. Buddhist art flourished more in the United *Shilla* (676 - 935) of Korea and reached the peak of its development in Goryeo (918-1392) as Buddhism was the state religion of Goryeo.

Tang perished in 907 and *Sung* (960-1279) and *Won* (1271-1368) were built in turn in China during that period. After the Shilla-Tang combined forces defeated *Baekje*, according to the treaty between Shilla and Tang, an executive officer from Tang had the right to govern the previous *Baekje* territory (the southwest of the Korean peninsula) in 660. However, the system was not fully in order before it was abolished. *Shilla* expelled *Tang* completely from the Korean peninsula in 677 when Tang plotted to rule over *Shilla*. Fenollosa wrote as if Seoul, the capital city today, was ruled by Tang. Seoul was once the capital of *Baekje* in 18 BC - 476 before *Baekje* transferred the capital to Ungjin (476-538) and later Sabi (538-660) as Goguryeo in the northern area was expanding its territory toward the south. Sabi (Buyeo city, Chungchungnamdo today) was the last capital of *Baekje* when *Baekje* fell before the Shilla-Tang combined forces.

The royal palace in Seoul, set in the midst of fine gardens, with its beautiful carved marble terraces, railings, bridges and columns, and its specially fine swing of tile roof, shows clear traces, through its many restorations, of that great day when Korea was swayed by Tang. It is not certain whether the cream glazed pottery for which Korea afterward became so famous can date from this seventh century. But we have one large Corean bronze of the first rank, which was presented from the continent

³⁰⁸ Fenollosa, 1921: 73.

toward the end of the century, and which exhibits clearly the Greco-Buddhist influence, though in combination with inveterate Korean traits. This is the splendid life-sized standing Kwannon, worshipped as the central altar-piece of the Toindo pavilion in Yakushiji, near Nara.

To mark exactly what Korean art has gained, and possibly lost-in the interval of a century, it is a privilege to compare this Toindo Kwannon with the Yumedono Kwannon of almost similar size described in Chapter III. In these two pieces we have the supreme summits so far as we now know-of Korean art.³⁰⁹

He misrepresented the history between Korea and Tang China. Tang invaded the Korean peninsula in 645-668 when there were frequent battles between Goguryeo and Tang in Manchuria and the north of the peninsula. The capital of Goguryeo was Pyeongyang at that time. Seoul has been the capital of Korea since 1394 (Joseon dynasty, 1392-1910) after it was the capital of Baekje (18 BC - 476). Seoul or the whole Korea has never been 'swayed by Tang'. He described the Joseon royal palace as having been once ruined by Tang and restored, seemingly because he wanted to emphasise the Tang influence although Joseon had nothing to do with Tang chronologically. Moreover, he did not discuss Goryeo Buddhist art which was the most splendid and prosperous cultural achievement as the last Buddhist Kingdom in Far East Asia. He approved Tang and Sung Buddhist painting as the finest Buddhist painting at that time, seemingly having believed that he was able to summarize East Asian Buddhist painting simply according to Tang or Sung style.

However, a painting he championed and mistook for Tang painting was the Korean Goryeo *Suwolgauneum* (*Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara*) painting. From this point where Fenollosa influenced Asian art history, whether it was his intention or not, the existence of Goryeo Buddhist painting was not fully understood. He disregarded its origin from Korean Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) by connecting it to the Korean bronze *Avalokiteshvara* statue of Toindo in the Yakushiji temple, Nara, which was estimated to be from around 600. He was unconcerned with Goryeo Buddhist paintings, only comparing the characteristics of Goryeo Buddhist painting to the sculpture of the previous Korean kingdom, which was founded in Japan.

³⁰⁹ Fenollosa, 1912: 121-22.

But let me proceed with my description. The lines are of hair thickness; the shirt is caught over the crossed legs in the remains of sculpturesque folds and openings, not unlike the Korean bronze type of Toindo.³¹⁰

Considering Sung was the dynasty of China between 960 and 1276, the painting should be compared to art work from Korean Goryeo (918-1392). Fenollosa had a comprehensive knowledge of East Asian ancient history but did not mention Goryeo Buddhist art seemingly because he intended to focus on the Chinese influence on Japanese culture. He once described a Korean temple miniature of the 6th century in detail in the book and appraised the painting on it.

Two great monuments of sixth-century Korean art still remain. The Tamamushi Shirine, already mentioned, is a miniature two-storey temple made of wood, to be used as a kind of reliquary, which was presented to the Japanese Empress about 590 A.D., and which still stands in perfect preservation upon the great altar at Horiuji, near Nara. The roof is finished in metal in the form of tiling. The lower story is hardly more than a great box, with paintings upon its four sides.³¹¹

He also knew well that Korea had already had advanced skill in pottery before the Goryeo Kingdom (918-1392).

How early the Koreans began their plastic work in glazed pottery, for which they later became so famous, is still a disputed question. No examples of it are found in the Japanese treasury of the 8th century.³¹²

However, he rarely discussed the Buddhist art and pottery of the following period of the Goryeo Kingdom although Goryeo pottery surpassed Tang pottery in an in-depth beauty. Goryeo Buddhist paintings are also known as the most artistic Buddhist paintings in the world. Most of them were in Japan and about 120 pieces are still there. This seems to have partly caused Goryeo Buddhist painting to be mistaken for the painting of Japan or China until the late 20th century, although 10 masterpieces of Goryeo Buddhist painting located in Japan were accurately dated, according to ‘고려 불화’ *Goryeo Buddhist Painting*,³¹³ a book published in 1981 in Korea. Moreover, there was a significant amount of Joseon Buddhist painting in Japan and Korean was written on some of them. Therefore, Japanese Buddhist

³¹⁰ Fenollosa, 1921: 173.

³¹¹ Fenollosa, 1921: 66.

³¹² Fenollosa, 1921: 66.

³¹³ Yi, 1981, 197.

art was continuously influenced by Korean art from the Horhyuji mural to the literary artistic painting.

The literary artistic painting was passed from Joseon to Japan.³¹⁴ However, Fenollosa never mentioned this fact but rather undervalued the literary artistic painting in Japan. This is because he tried to relate Japanese art to Chinese influence more directly by emphasising the tradition of Tang and Sung. Another reason is that calligraphy is regarded as the essence of Asian beauty, which had nothing to do with Western culture. Moreover, he does not seem to have understood Asian calligraphy well. Even in Japan in 1882, there was a controversy between Yama Shotaro and Okakura Denshin who studied under Fenollosa at Tokyo Imperial University, on ‘whether calligraphy would be art (painting) or not.’³¹⁵ There was no department of calligraphy in Tokyo Art University until now. Above all, Fenollosa seemed to try to rule out Korean influence on Japan in support of the establishment of Japanese nationalism. Korean art history was led by American and Japanese scholars during the late 20th century and there were restrictions on studying Korean art history even in Korea.

Fenollosa did not merely advertise Japanese culture to the world but also helped Japanese nationalism which tried to eradicate Korean culture. He strongly criticised Western painting and the literary artist’s painting in Japan which originated in Korea, while he defended Chinese Sung and Tang painting which he claimed were the origin of Japanese painting. He even misrepresented Korean Goryeo Buddhist painting as Sung painting.

Without helping the Joseon Dynastic culture, the Japanese government could not admit the literary artist’s painting which was leisurely painted by Confucian scholars because Japan was a militarized state. A representative initiator of the literary artist’s style in Japan was Yi Su-Moon who moved to Japan from Korea in 1424. The Korean literary artist’s style became popular in Japan but Fenollosa seems to have not been able to admit the

³¹⁴ Burglind, 2004.

³¹⁵ Yi, 2011: 74.

Korean influence on Japanese culture. The Japanese Department in the Boston Museum changed to the Asian Department in 1927 after Fenollosa, the first curator of the Japanese Department, died.

However, Fenellosa knew well that Korean culture was strong and had deeply influenced Japanese culture when he was in charge of cataloguing cultural assets in Japan. For example, he left the famous words, “Korean of course” when the Yumedono Kannon was unwrapped after many centuries in the Horhyji temple in Japan. Professor Smith at the University of California mentioned Fenollosa’s claim, “Apparently Fenollosa felt that the statue was not "Japanese" and not "Chinese," and knowing the great influence of Korea on the Asuka-based kingdom, reached the only reasonable conclusion”.³¹⁶ This Yumedono (Guze) Kannon is a Japanese national treasure together with Kudara Kannon (Paekje Gwaneums) in the same temple. Yanagi also once spoke about those sculptures in his writing, “They are called Japanese national treasures but it should rather be called the treasure of Joseon, Korea” as referred Charter III.

Professor Harold G Henderson, who wrote ‘Korean Ceramics’ in the Metropolitan Museum Bulletin in 1927 also served General MacArthur as an advisor on education, religion and art in Tokyo during the occupation of Japan. He also served as a liaison officer between Gen. MacArthur and Japan’s Imperial household. He participated in the process of drafting the Emperor’s “Human-Being Declaration,” which proclaimed that the Emperor of Japan was to be regarded as a human being and not a divinity.³¹⁷ Gen. MacArthur was Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan. Henderson served on MacArthur’s staff and became head of the Education, Religion and Art and Monuments sections of the Civil Information and Education staff. He worked in the Department of Far Eastern Art in the Metropolitan Museum for two years from 1927 and studied in Japan from 1930 to 1934. He became president of the Society of Japanese Studies and the Japan Society in New York

³¹⁶ Smith, 1981.

³¹⁷ Henderson, 2004: 186.

from 1948 to 1952 after he returned from World War II.

The Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art is an American foundation, with the objective of preserving the legacy of people who served in the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program (the Monuments Men) during and after World War II. Monuments men were in charge of protecting cultural assets from destruction by war and restoring plundered assets to the owners. Monuments men consisted of museum directors, curators and art historians. There was at least one member of staff who participated in MFAA in most museums in America. Participant museums were the National Gallery of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the Toledo Museum of Art, and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. Many professors also worked from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, New York University, Williams College and Columbia University. The Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art was one of the recipients of the 2007 National Humanities Medals.

U.S forces found approximately 1,500 repositories of art and cultural objects in 1945. On the proposal of Geoffrey Webb, British MFAA chief at Eisenhower's headquarters in early May that year, the U.S force prepared two central collecting points in Munich and Wiesbaden and secondary points in various German towns. Documents, artworks and other cultural property found in the numerous repositories were returned to the owners. However, there was also an attempt to send these spoils back to America. The Wiesbaden manifesto is an affair that arose when the U.S army was trying to transport 202 paintings to the U.S.A. The Monuments Specialist Officers issued the letter on 7th November 1945, including the following contents: "We wish to state that, from our own knowledge, no historical grievance will rankle so long or be the cause of so much justified bitterness as the removal for any reason of a part of the heritage of any nation even if that heritage may be interpreted as a prize of war"³¹⁸.

³¹⁸ Kuhn, 1946: 81-82.

Like this, in the chaotic situation of events like war, many cultural assets became the winner's spoils. Despite the many efforts by organization to return lost artefacts to their countries of origin, it has remained difficult for the countless great artefacts outstanding, to be returned to their original owners because individuals and nations have wanted to profit from their private sales and prolonged possession. The nation and era of those artefacts was often identified wrongly according to international relationship or profit and power of logic between allies. That kind of case which occurred while War or colonization proliferated in Far East Asia is the cultural heritage of Korea, as the prime example.

Henderson is known to have been a Japanologist but he published an article, *Korean Ceramics* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin in June 1927. The writing displays his great understanding of Korean art and history. However, he supported Japanese colonialism by addressing Korea wrongly and intending to underestimate Korean art as seen in the article which will be discussed later.

It is suspicious that a Goryeo Buddhist painting could not be identified during his tenure as an assistant curator in the Department of the Far East in the Metropolitan Museum. He also assisted Gen. MacArthur as a civilian, listing all the cultural properties in Japan for two years after the war. Why he donated the *Amithaba Triad* from Korea as being a Japanese work in 1964 should be questioned. Was it not within his knowledge that most Korean Goryeo Buddhist paintings were in Japan and that Japanese Buddhist art and architecture had been deeply influenced by them? In his 1927 writing his knowledge of Korean art and history shows little difference from today's understanding. Moreover, he was involved in Japanese cultural policy and possessed Goryeo Buddhist painting. I would like to argue that some art work of the Korean collection in the museums was not identified, not because of a lack of understanding of Korean art and history, but because of the evaluating process engaged with the international situation.

3. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: THE CULTURAL WAR

Both the victors of World War Two were deeply divided between capitalism and communism. The Soviet Union and the United States were diametrically opposed to each other, ideologically speaking, there was no middle ground. The main issue which divided them was economics: state run industries or free market capitalism. The Soviet Union was very apprehensive about a resurgent Germany from a military standpoint. After the War, two alliances, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949) and the Warsaw Pact, were led by two nations which had the most military power. The world was an arena with two conflicting ideologies. Their conflict and opposition lasted from 1945 until 1989. During the Cold war both parties harshly criticised each other. They used their respective alliances around the world to project their power and influence. They avoided conventional and nuclear war because of the doctrine of mutually assured destruction. One of the greatest dangers occurred with the 1962 Cuban missile crisis when war was narrowly averted.

Marxism criticised capitalism for its exploitation of the workers and emphasised the wide gulf between rich and poor. They proclaimed the communist alternative of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Conversely, the BBC and the Voice of America worked for the destruction of communism in Eastern Europe within the Soviet bloc. By their broadcasts they sought to overthrow the system by influencing the minds of individual people through their propaganda which contributed eventually to the self-destruction of communism. The American government established the CIA in 1947, which carried out their duties effectively by waging a Cultural War during the Cold War period.

The centrepiece of this covert campaign was the Congress for Cultural Freedom, run by CIA agent Michael Josselson from 1950 till 1967. Its achievements-not least its duration-were considerable. At its peak, the Congress for Cultural Freedom had offices in thirty-five countries, employed dozens of personnel, published over twenty prestige magazines, held art exhibitions, owned news and features services, organized high-profile international conferences, and rewarded musicians and artists with prizes and public performances. Its mission was to nudge the intelligentsia of Western Europe away from its lingering fascination with Marxism and Communism

towards a view more accommodating of the American way³¹⁹

The CIA agents worked extensively but silently and their interference into the realm of art distorted the situation even more than I originally realised, as an Asian.

‘Regarding Abstract Expressionism, I’d love to be able to say that CIA invented it all, just to see what happened in New York and downtown Soho tomorrow!’ joked Agency man Donald Jameson, before moving to a more sober explanation of the CIA’s involvement.³²⁰

On the other hand, contrary to expectations, Congressman George Dondero declared modernism to be quite simply part of a worldwide conspiracy to weaken American resolve.

‘All modern art is Communistic.’³²¹ Popular opinion was opposed to the government spending tax-payer’s money on abstract art. Despite this, Abstract Expressionism became one of the greatest forms of art representing the American way for the following reasons.

It quickly became clear that to secure a strong place in the post war world, the United States had to acquire cultural supremacy, or at least wide cultural recognition, which would help convince the rest of the Western world that its military and economic hegemony was not dangerous, but could be trusted and followed.³²²

Their political weapon had to be the American way so as to completely free themselves from the idea of being inferior to Europe. In this connection Jackson Pollock was elevated as chief representative of this new national discovery.

‘He was the great American painter,’ said fellow-artist Budd Hopkins. If you conceive of such a person, first of all, he had to be a real American, not a transplanted European. And ‘he should have the big macho American virtues-he should be rough-and-tumble American-taciturn, ideally-and if he is a cowboy, so much the better, certainly not an easterner, not someone who went to Harvard. He shouldn’t be influenced by our own-the Mexicans and American Indians, and so on.³²³

The American government tried everything to oppose communism by all the possible means they could mobilise. However, what the countries which had been damaged by the war needed was common security and help to rebuild the economies which had been destroyed.

³¹⁹ Saunders, 1999: 1.

³²⁰ Saunders, 1999: 259.

³²¹ Saunders, 1999: 253.

³²² Guilbaut, 1995: 33.

³²³ Saunders, 1999: 254.

By providing these, America was able to exercise authority, political power and cultural influence in those countries. The CIA did this successfully and Abstract Expressionism became purely American art, being representative of the nation and the result was believed to be the truth for a long time. Formalists advocated Abstract Expressionism being granted the right of identity and an autonomic aesthetic of this American way and presented it in a plausible way. Emphasising form in art totally excluded the content and meaning which came from other cultures.

The claims of Formalism were supposed to oppose communism in Western Europe particularly in those countries which were leaning to the left. At that time in France, America's image was becoming that of a warmonger in the eyes of those people who drew realistic art based on their tradition. This movement was also propaganda which criticised the capitalists who were exploiting the working classes. This art was only focusing on content and regarded American abstract art as meaningless and decadent. Hence, the American strategy was to oppose the avant-garde artists such as Pablo Picasso by means of American painting which asserted the principles of form, purity, autonomy and the apolitical in art.

The European artists contained in their work a criticism of capitalism on socialist lines. In this context, the Cold war has also been called a cultural war. Greenberg took an optimistic view of the future of post war America which went along with the flow of political influence. In this situation, AE strongly influenced the arts not only in Europe and Asia but also throughout the entire world. There were several significant exhibitions in the UK, for example at the Tate gallery in London; Modern Art in the United States(1965) and The New American Painting(1959)and Abstract Impressionism(travelling show, 1958), Jackson Pollock 1912-1956 at the Whitechapel Art Gallery(1958). Most of the participants in these exhibitions were not supported by the majority of Americans but it is evident that the exhibitions were representative of America. British artists who saw the show cowered before the large-scale pictures which indicated material wealth. William Scott had been to

America and made his works larger than before and Patrick Heron who had met Greenberg made paintings which were very similar to formalism apart from the political aspects.

Heron, the critic-painter, was never interested in meaning and interpretation or the political potential of art, whereas Newman once stated that if his paintings were read correctly 'it would mean an end of all state capitalism and totalitarianism'³²⁴

It seems to be said that this was the result of political power ignoring diverse values and the variations of different cultures. Hence, after this, the main stream of Western art became non-figurative, bold in scale, one-off and objective. The critic's interest in AE was whether their own abstract art was influenced by America or was the outcome of their tradition. Whatever the arguments around the topic they could not be free from the potential political propensity of AE.

However, during the age of Post-modernism, established values and ideas are being reassessed which has led to new paradigms and changes since the late twentieth century in philosophy, the arts and the whole of life. In the art world, following the end of the Cold War people have been attempting to redefine new interpretations of AE and Formalism like Newman anticipated. One of the radical changes was the accepting of Asian influence on Abstract Expressionism.

After the Cold War, in contradiction with Greenberg's claims, the Guggenheim in New York organised an exhibition in 2009 entitled 130 years of Asian Influence on American Art. The strong Asian characteristics of Western art can be seen in Abstract expressionism in the mid twentieth century and has continued to appear in some leading artists, such as John Cage and Paik Nam-Jun (video art creator). This late awareness of the Asian Influence could be said to be the result of political power having ignored the diverse values and variations of different cultures during the Cold war. The formalists referred to the purity and independence of art but we should not forget that they were used as a political tool against their opponents.

³²⁴ Walker, 1998: 56.

Moreover, the writer found while researching Greenberg's limitations that the formalists were unconcerned about other cultures including Asian and lacked an understanding of them. He revealed seeming lack of understanding of Asian aesthetics as seen in the following: "The Chinese even require visual delight from the handwriting in which the poem is set down. And by comparison to their pictorial and decorative arts does not the later poetry of the Chinese seem rather thin and monotonous?"³²⁵ He does not seem to have understood how unconscious manifested in calligraphy work. As I mentioned in the second chapter, Pollock possessed the Asian related books but Greenberg had never referred to any Asian characteristics in Pollock's works.

The lack of Western understanding of Asian art can also be observed in Walter Smith's review of Reinhardt's paintings. In his article, "Ad Reinhardt's Oriental Aesthetics", he made a comparison between Reinhardt's No. 43 and a Chinese painting (Kuo Hsi, Early spring, 1072). There is clear evidence linking the two paintings, considering Reinhardt's enthusiastic interest in Oriental art and philosophy. However, Smith did not reinforce the argument as he did not refer to the concept and theory of Kuo Hsi's painting. When one discusses Oriental painting, the most important factor is the *chi* or energy of the brushstroke. In addition, Kuo Hsi is highly reputed for his theory—"six rules of painting"—which had become the fundamental principle of East Asian painting. Reinhardt also did not seem to have understood the essence of Oriental painting as seen in his review of the 1954 exhibition of Chinese Paintings (Cleveland Museum) for Art News: "There seems to be nothing much to say, and sometimes nothing much to see."³²⁶ Smith seemed to have made his comparison based on resemblance but not on the main characteristic of Asian Painting, in particular, the one Kuo Hsi established. He noticed the spreading effect of Reinhardt's painting which appeared to be more of a blotchy effect and was not the main aesthetic of Eastern Asian painting. The visual effect that was perceived could just have been due to the aged state of

³²⁵ Greenberg, 1940: 299 republished in O'Brian, 1986: 25.

³²⁶ Smith, 1990: 34.

the painting.

The blotching effect is not only characteristic of Chinese landscape ink painting but also of every other paper painting in Korea, Japan and China. In addition, the blotching effect in the Reinhardt painting is excessive and reminds one of the surrealistic imagery of Buddha painting from Koryo rather than the 'subtle gradation' of landscape paintings. Up to the late twentieth century, Korean art, Koryo Buddha painting, was regarded as Japanese or Chinese one. This lack of recognition continued to be seen in the *Third Mind*, 2009, when the Guggenheim introduced the 130 year's Asian influence on American art. This book covers 102 Western artists who expressed an Eastern aesthetic in their works and statements. The cover of this book features Paek Nam-Jun, the creator of Video art, who is the most representative Korean artist but there has not been sufficient examination of what Korean art, idea and tradition is. The absence of the mention of Korean art in the study field of the Asian influence on American art is adequate evidence to suggest that there has been a misrepresentation of Korean art, at least.

The American interest in Korean art before the World War II is also understood in social and political point of view. The first reason was America policy which was used to constrict the expansion of Japanese militarism. As mentioned earlier, the interest in Korean art was risen around the March 1 Movement in 1919 in Korea. Moreover, there were many Korean independent activists who were member of American church. Yanagi strongly criticised missionaries in Korea, describing them rude people who demanded unreasonably. However, he seems to have concerned the security of Japanese colonization. Therefore, American and Japanese attention in Korean art was seemingly a part of foreign policy for expansionism or national interest. To rule remote countries was difficult for America that they proceeded with the primary cultural war against Japan in order to exercise their influence over Korea in the early twentieth century. They were concluded to be enemies by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour which brought America into the World War II. The cultural war between America and communist countries during the Cold War is well-known now.

America would know the limitations of colonial rule with the example of Japan and other European countries. The American government began to apply political and cultural leverage by aiding to rebuild Asian and European countries after the war. At that time, North Korea, China and the Soviet Union were the most prolific enemies of the United States. North Korea, the “separated same” as their Southern brethren, remained deeply intertwined through thousands of years of shared culture, tradition and history. If there have been any Korean influences on American artists they would have originated from the Northern part of Korea as well as the South. It means that the tradition of North Korea was also discussed and valued in American art history as a part of Korea, despite the hostile relationship between the USA and North Korea since the 1950 Korean War. That is against American cultural diplomacy. If it had revealed that the Abstract Expressionism has the quality of Asianness, it could be eventually originated from North East Asia and in the influences of North Korean or Chinese cultures as the representative Communist countries. This would have been a burden for American foreign policies of culture to claim ‘American way’ in art, which wanted to be the leader of many liberal nations. Because of that, it could be said that America has tried to exclude the Asianness from Abstract Expressionism as the American foreign policies of culture. While, United States’ relationship with Japan was worse, during World War II, compared its present relationship with North Korea, critics started to bridge between American and Japanese thoughts and cultures after the War. However, Korean culture has not attracted any attention in the twentieth century, even though South Korea keeps a tight relationship with USA.

A Korean art exhibition, ‘Masterpieces of Korean Art’ was held in USA from 1957 to 1959. According to Chung Mu-Jung, the exhibition also displayed Goryeo pottery as a main part of the show. There were two American Selection Committees: Alan Priest, curator of Far Eastern art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Robert Treat Paine, Jr., curator of the department of Asiatic art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. There were also 17 other Korean Selection Committee members. However, Chung noted that the final decision was

made only by the two American committee members. This matter was covered in the Korea Daily on 23 June 1957. The newspaper criticised the selection process which did not include representative Korean art work. According to the newspaper, the selection was focused on ceramics but not Shilla earthenware, Goryeo Buddhist gilt bronze and Joseon calligraphy. Therefore, the exhibition did not introduce Korean primitive relics, artworks of the ancient kingdoms and Buddhist arts of Korea well. The Joseon calligraphy is a refined art presenting the academic development of Confucianism. American committees seemed to have regarded Joseon calligraphy as a mere imitation of Chinese calligraphy while landscape and folk painting of the later 100 years of the period were selected. The calligraphy and literary artistic painting directly reflected the academic development. The reason why the calligraphy was not selected would be seemingly lack of understanding as seen in Clement Greenberg's misunderstanding of the calligraphy. Moreover, Japanese colonial policy misrepresented that the Joseon Kingdom was in an exhausted condition due to excessive faction and disparaged the academic development of culture, even though the Korean literary artistic painting was a popular style in Japan.

The Japanese called Joseon 'Icho', a name used to belittle Joseon. Kim Chewon, a Korean historian reviewed the exhibition in the *Artibus Asiae* in 1957. However, he also showed the colonial view of history in the article, using the term, Icho, where he mentioned that Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592 and a large amount of cultural heritage was destroyed, which was not helpful to understand Korean art. Above all, he wrote that the exhibition was 'the first largest exhibition in America' which implied Korean art had not been introduced in America before. However, those American committee members worked for the museums with large collections of Korean art. The mutual assistance in the cultural exchange between America and Japan continued during the Cold War after World War II. Henderson actively advertised Japanese culture as the president of Japanese Society in New York at that time. This is a sharp contrast with Korea, considering the shift of relationship between Japan and America. The fact that America is still in a hostile relationship with North Korea ever since

the Korean War, could be one reason for the lack of active discussion about Korean art in America.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Korean Pavilion in the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893³²⁷



2. (1) Unknown artists. Korean Mortuary Pottery, Goryeo period (918-1392), lent by Russell Tyson³²⁸ (2) Chinese Pottery of the Tang Period (618-906), lent by L.Maud Buckingham³²⁹



3. Unknown artist. Wine Jug, Goryeo Dynasty (930-1392), Metropolitan Museum, New York.³³⁰



³²⁷ Bancroft, 1893: 221.

³²⁸ B. A. I. C, 1920: 22.

³²⁹ B. A. I. C, 1920: 23.

³³⁰ J.A.M, 1921: 121.

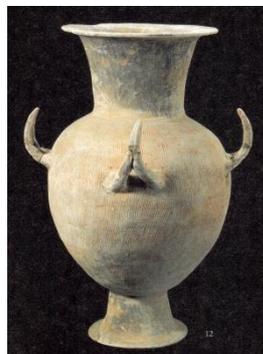
4. Unknown artist. *Korean Trinity*, 15th Century, Cleveland Museum, Bronze with traces of gliding, h:40.60 w:16.50 d:54.60 cm³³¹



5. *The New York Times* (June 18, 1915)



6. Unknown artist. *Sepulsonjabi hangari* (a jar with ox horn shaped hangers), *Horim* Museum, Seoul. (1) Korean Three Kingdom Period (1 A.D). 32.8cm (2) Korean Three Kingdoms Period (2 A.D). 42.3cm.



³³¹ Warner, 1920: 79.

7. Unknown artists. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (1) Tang ware, Chinese Tang dynasty, H. 12.5, D. 5 in. (2) Lung-chan ware, Sung dynasty. H. 19.5 D. 11 in. (3) Goryeo grey-green celadon, Goryeo dynasty. H. 10½ D. 7in (4) Goryeo white ware, H. 10¼ D. 6 in.



8. Unknown artist. Tang ware, Metropolitan Museum, New York. H. 5 D. 5½ in.



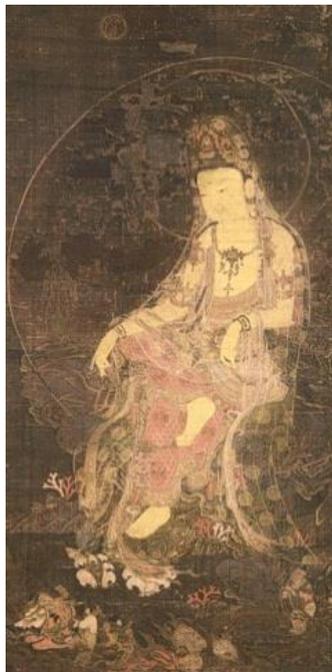
9. Unknown artist. *Guanyin Seated on a Lotus Throne*, 15th century, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ink on silk, 24 ½ x 27 1/2 ins.



10. Unknown artist. *Brahma with Attendants and Musicians*, 16th century (Joseon dynasty, 1392–1910), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ink and color on hemp, 84 1/2 x 88 1/2 ins.

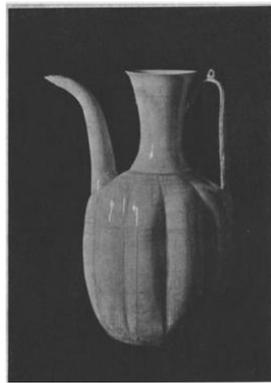
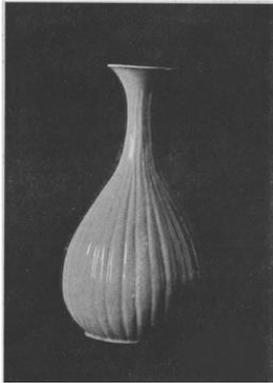


11. Unknown artist. *Suwolgauneum (Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara)*, early 14th century (Goryeo dynasty, 918-1392), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ink and colour on silk, 45 1/16 x 21 7/8 ins.



12. (1) Flank shaped Vase (Glazed in Blue-toned Green). Korean, Korai Period, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(2) Unknown artist, Wine Pot (Glazed in White), Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



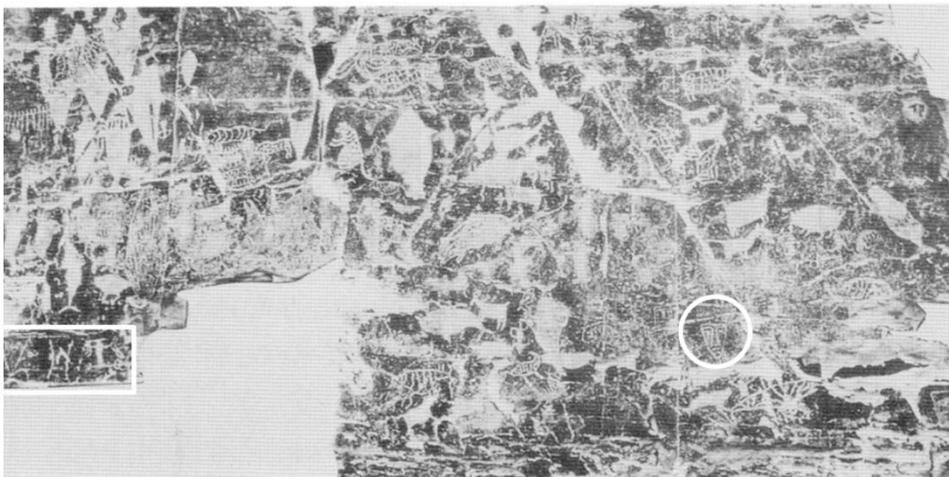
13. Unknown artists. Goryeo Pottery, Goryeo period (930-1392) Metropolitan Museum, New York. (1) Vase with Inlaid Decoration (2) Celadon Vase (3) Covered Sweetmeat Box (4) White Wine-Ewer Ting Type



14. Unknown artist. Portrait of a lady, the 17 Century, Painting on paper. Private collection, Wright Ludington.



15. *Bangudae* Petroglyphs. End of the Neolithic or the start of the Bronze Age (4000-1000 BC). 200 x 800 cm, Ulju, Korea.

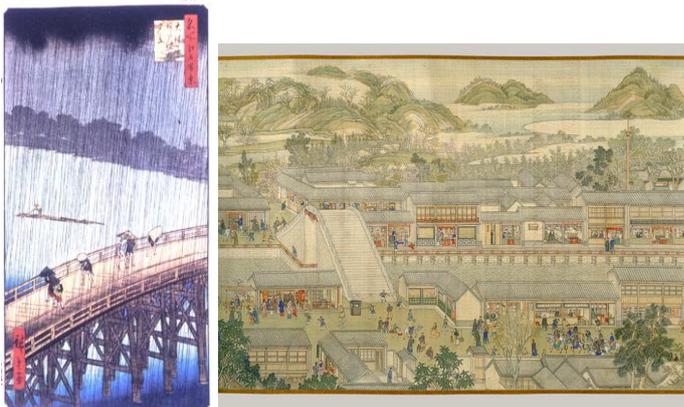


16. (1) Unknown Artist. Figure of Nahan (Arhat), Goryeo celadon with underglaze iron-brown painting. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. H. 18.3, Base W. 8.6 x 7 cm (2) Human Face on the Bangudae Petroglyphs



17. (1) Ando Hiroshige, *Rain Shower on Ohashi Bridge*, 19th c. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. Color woodblock print, 13 7/8 x 9 1/8 ins.

(2) Xu Yang, *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour, Scroll Six: Entering Suzhou and the Grand Canal*, c. 1770, Metropolitan Museum, New York. Handscroll; ink and color on silk, 27 1/8 x 784 1/2 ins.



18. Flowers and Auspicious Symbols (Hwahwe-do), late 19th c. colour on paper, Smithsonian Institution, Washington. 67.5 x 52 cm.



19. A sample of the methods of Japanese military autocracy in dealing with loyal Koreans³³²



20. Taegeuk flag on the book cover of *Korean Tales* by Horace N. Allen, 1889.



³³² Kendall, 1919: 59.

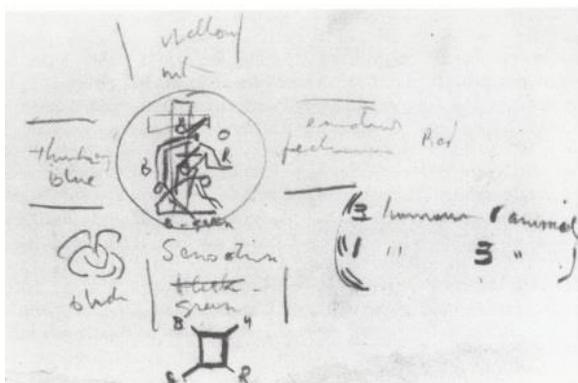
21. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled drawing (JP-CR3:521v)*, 1939-40, Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. Red and orange pencil and pencil on paper, 36 x 28 cm.



22. *Untitled drawing (JP-CR 3:521r)* 1939-40 Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. Red and orange pencil and pencil on paper, 36 x 28 cm.



23. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled Drawing (JP-CR:556)*, 1939-40, The Pollock-Krasner Foundation/ARS, New York. Pencil and charcoal pencil on paper, 13x20cm.



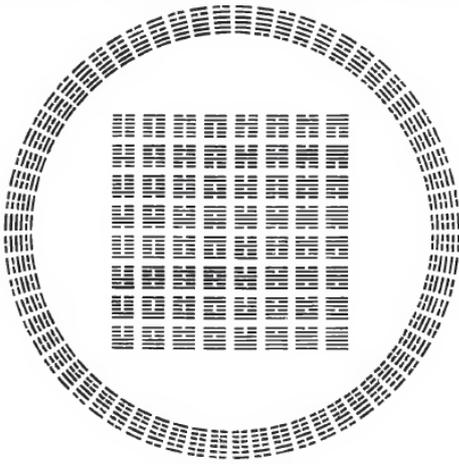
24. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1939-40, Formerly in the Collection of Marisa del Re Gallery, New York. Whereabouts unknown. © 2008 Pollock-Krasner Foundation/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Coloured pencil on paper, 15 x 11 ins.



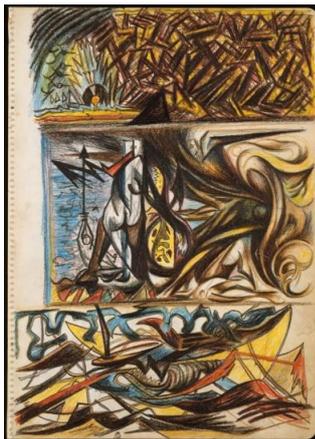
25. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled* (JP-CR 3:537r), 1939-40, Collection of Andrea and Glen Urban, Boston. Pencil on paper, 38 x 28 ins.



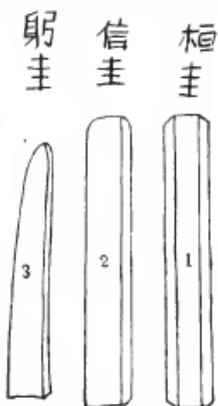
26. The 64 Hexagrams.³³³



27. Jackson Pollock, *Untitled*, 1938-41, Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Coloured pencils and graphite on paper, 362 x 254mm



28. Kyu (圭), ceremonial sceptres carried by nobles in ancient Korea³³⁴



³³³ Culin, 1895, 74.

³³⁴ Culin, 1895: xxxiii.

29. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1938-39, Pollock-Krasner Foundation/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Colored Pencil/Paper, 9.13 x 8.20 ins.



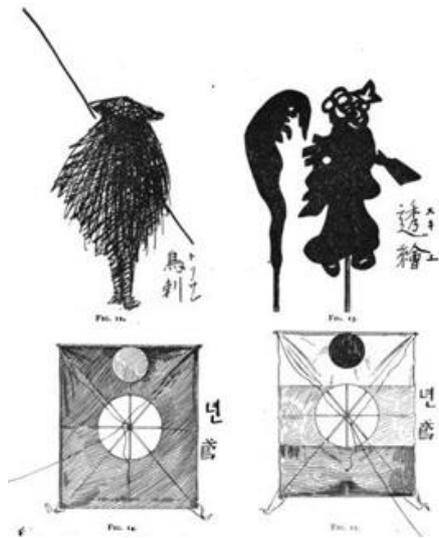
30. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled drawing (JP-CR 3:521r)*, 1939-40, Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Pencil on paper, 36 x 28 cm.



31. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1946, Peter Blum Gallery, New York. Ink and watercolor on paper, 40 x 30.5 cm.



32. Shadow-pictures (above) and Kites (below)³³⁵



33. Jackson Pollock, *Male and Female*, 1942, Collection of Philadelphia Museum of Art, Oil on canvas, 1861 x 1243 mm.



³³⁵ Culin, 1895: 10

34. Sets of numbers on cards: meanings and marks for Hō-hpae (below) and O-koan or Five gateways(above) from Stewart Culin. *Korean Games*, Philadelphia, 1895.

6-6, called *t'in*, "Heaven."
 1-1, called *t'i*, "Earth."
 4-4, called *yan*, "Man."
 1-3, called *wo*, "Harmony."
 5-5, called *mii*, "plum flower."
 5-3, called *ch'ung sám*, "long threes."
 2-2, called *pán tang*, "bench."
 6-5, called *fú t'au*, "tiger's head."
 6-4, called *hung t'au shap*, "red-head ten."
 6-1, called *kò kéuk ts'at*, "long-leg seven."
 5-1, called *hung ch'ui luk*, "red-mallet six."

1-1, 1-2, 1-3, 1-4, 1-5, 1-6, counts 3.
 2-1, 2-2, 2-3, 2-4, 2-5, 2-6, counts 5.
 3-1, 3-2, 3-3, 3-4, 3-5, 3-6, counts 3.
 4-1, 4-2, 4-3, 4-4, 4-5, 4-6, counts 3.
 5-1, 5-2, 5-3, 5-4, 5-5, 5-6, counts 4.
 6-1, 6-2, 6-3, 6-4, 6-5, 6-6, counts 3.

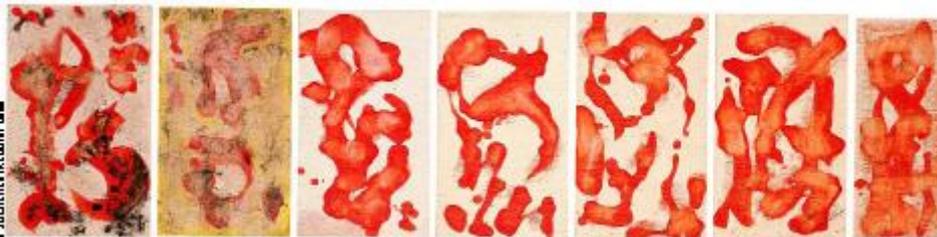
35. Jackson Pollock. Untitled drawing, JP-CR 3:520r. 1939-40. Photograph courtesy Nielsen Gallery, Boston. Pencil on paper, 36 x 28cms.



36. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled*, 1939-42, Courtesy Jason McCoy Gallery, Inc., New York. Blue ink on paper, 13 1/8" x 36 1/4".



37. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled [Red Painting 1-7]*, circa 1950, The Pollock-Krasner Foundation/Artist Right Society, New York. Oil on canvas in six parts, and enamel on canvas, smallest 50.8 cm x 20.3 cm, largest 53.3 x 33cms.



38. Comparison between Red Painting 1 (left) and Unknown artist. Hyo Je Do, 19th century, Korean National Museum, Seoul. Ink on paper (right)



39. Triple-faced man riding a horse, painted on wood, 36cmx24.5cmx3.6cm, late 19th ~ early 20th century.



40. *Moonbangdo* 문방도 [Painting of Books and Stationery] Late 19th century 53cm x 33.5cm, colour on paper.



41. American Indian toys shown by Reuben Kadish in 1987 documentary (directed by Kim Evans)



42. Ceremonial Pottery Vase. Grave in Southeastern Missouri, Museum of Archaeology, Univ. of Penna.³³⁶



43. An Illustration of “Oni-Dako [Devil Kite]” in Korean Games.³³⁷



³³⁶ Culin, 1895: 7.

³³⁷ Culin, 1895: 18.

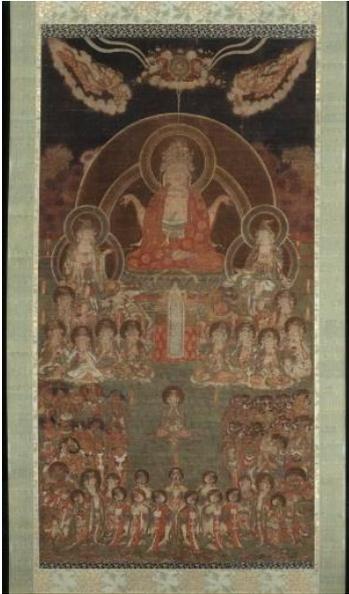
44. Unknown artist. *Amit'a (Amitabha) with Six Bodhisattvas and Two Arhats*, 19th century (Joseon Dynasty), Brooklyn Museum, L.A. Ink and colours on silk, 31 ³/₄ x 35 ¹/₄ ins.



45. Jackson Pollock. *Bird*, 1938-41, The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Oil and sand on canvas, 27 ³/₄ x 24 ¹/₄ ins.



46 Unknown painter. *Perfect enlightenment Sutra illustration*, late 13th–early 14th century, Museum of Fine Art, Boston. Colors on silk, 65 ³/₁₆ x 33 ¹¹/₁₆ ins (Overall: 94 ¹/₂ x 42 ¹/₈ x 2 in)



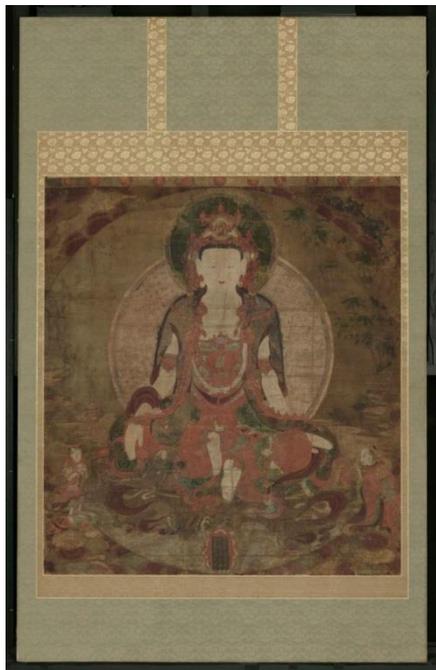
47. Jackson Pollock. *Untitled [Naked Man]*, c.1938-41, Robert Miller Gallery, New York. Oil on plywood, 50 x 24 ins.



48. Jackson Pollock. *The Moon-Woman Cuts the Circle*, 1943, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Oil, 42 x 40ins.



49. (1) Unknown painter. *Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva with Water and Moon*, late 18th century, Museum of Fine Art, Boston. Ink and colours on silk, 53 9/16 x 47 5/8 ins, (2) Part-enlarged diamonds pattern



50. Unknown Artist. *Buddha of medicine and attendants*, late 16th century, Museum of Fine Art, Boston. Colors on silk, 48 ⁷/₁₆ x 50 ³/₁₆ in.



51. Jackson Pollock. *Masqued Image*, c.1938-41, Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, Fort Worth. Oil on canvas, 40 x 24 ins.

52. The left part of *The Buddha of medicine and attendants*.



53. Jackson Pollock. *Birth*, 1941, Tate Gallery, London. oil on canvas, 45 ¹³/₁₆ x 21 ¹¹/₁₆ ins.

54. The right part of *The Buddha of medicine and attendants*.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

(List of Works Consulted)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Primary Sources

American Art Association. 'Preliminary Catalog of Jackson Pollock's Library' (10 June 1963) <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/container/viewer/Preliminary-Catalog-of-Jackson-Pollock-s-Library-unitdate--286008> (accessed 23 May 2012)

Clarke, D. *The influence of oriental thought on postwar American painting and sculpture* (New York, 1988). PhD Thesis

Han, S. D. '야나기는 진정 조선예술했을까: A review of Yanagi Muneyoshi's Double Faces', Hangeore (2007 September 28)

<http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/book/239196.html> (accessed 15 Aug 2011)

'Museum Appoints Hyunsoo Woo as New Associate Curator of Korean Art', <http://www.philamuseum.org/press/releases/2006/489.html> (accessed 20 Oct 2011).

Smith, H. 'Guze Kannon Mystery? Prince Shōtoku's Temple: The Riddles of Hōryūji', <http://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/asuka-art.html> (accessed 19 Oct 2011).

Published Primary Sources

Allen, H. N. *Korean tales* (New York, 1889).

Allen, H. N. *Things Korean: A collection of sketches and anecdotes, missionary and diplomatic* (New York, 1908).

Allen, J. M. 'The Price of Identity: The 1923 Kantō Earthquake and Its Aftermath', *Korean Studies*, 20 (1996), 64-93.

Alloway, L. *Jackson Pollock*, exh. Cat. (London, Marlborough Fine Art Ltd, 1961) J. (1964). Jackson Pollock. Exhibition: Jan.-Feb.

Best, J. W. '5000 Years of Korean Art': Hitory and Art History, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 40 no. 3 (May, 1981), 559-65.

Brant, Kim. *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk art in imperial Japan* (Durham, 2007).

Burglnd, J.M. *Painters as Envoys: Korean Inspiration in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Nanga* (New Jersey, 2004).

Bynner, W. *The way of life according to Lao Tzu*. (New York, 1944).

Clarke, D. 'Contemporary Asian Art and its Western Reception', *Third Text*, 16 no.3 (2002), 237- 42.

Close, U. 'Europeanization and the Ancient Culture in Pacific Asia', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 122 (November 1925), 174-80.

Collins, M. *Light on the Path* (Boston, 1888).

Cooke, J. Evans, K. and Bragg, M. *Jackson Pollock*. Chatsworth, CA, MM Image Entertainment, INc. (1987).

- Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'A Chinese Buddhist Water Vessel and Its Indian Prototype', *Artibus Asiae*, 3, no. 2/3 (1928 - 1929), 122-41.
- Culin, S. 'American Indian Games (1902),' *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 5 no. 1 (January-March 1903), 245-52.
- Culin, S. *Korean games with notes on the corresponding games of China and Japan* (Philadelphia, 1895).
- Eastman, A. C. 'A Brief Review of the Asiatic Galleries', *Parnassus*, 5, no. 5 (October 1933), 20-21.
- Ernst, M. L. 'If I were a (Constitutional) Dictator,' *Nation*, 134 no. 3471 (January 13, 1932), 36-39.
- Fenollosa, E. *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (1912; San Diego, 1912).
- Flower, B. 'Korea The Last Hermit,' *Christian Advocate* (24 Jan 1889) 64.
- Firestone, E. R. 'Jackson Pollock's The Magic Mirror: Jung, Shamanism, and John Graham,' *Modernism/modernity*, 15 no. 4 (November, 2008), 703-24.
- Gelburd, G. and Paoli, G. D. *The Trans Parent Thread: Asian Philosophy in Recent American Art: Asian Philosophy in Recent American Art* (New York, 1990).
- Graham, J. and In Allentuck, M. *System and dialectics of art*. (Baltimore, 1971)
- Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch", *Partisan Review* (Fall 1939) Republished in O'Brian, J. (ed.) *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, 1939-1944*, (Chicago, 1986): 5-22.
- Greenberg, "Modernist Painting" *Forum Lectures* (Washington, D. C.: Voice of America), 1 960 Republished in O'Brian, J. (ed.) *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, 1957-1969* (Chicago, 1993): 85-93.
- Greenberg, "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture" *Horizon* (October 1947). Republished in O'Brian, J. (ed.) *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, 1945-1949*, (Chicago, 1986): 160-70.
- Greenberg, C. "American-type" *Painting*, 1955/1958 *Partisan Review* (Spring 1955) Republished in Republished in O'Brian, J. (ed.) *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, 1950-1956*, (Chicago, 1993): 217-36.
- Greenberg, C. "Review of Exhibitions of Mark Tobey and Juan Gris" *Nation*, (April 22, 1944). Reprinted in O'Brian, J. (ed.) *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, 1939-1944*, (Chicago, 1986): 205-6.
- Greenberg, C. 'Towards a Newer Laocoon' *Partisan Review* 7 (July-August 1940), 296-310. Republished in O'Brian, J. (ed.) *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, 1939-1944*, (Chicago, 1986): 23-38.
- Griffing, R.P. *The art of the Korean potter: Silla, Koryŏ, Yi* (Seoul, 1968).

- Guilbaut, S. *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris and Montreal 1945-1964*, (Massachusetts, 1995).
- H, H. G. 'Korean Ceramics', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 22 no. 6 (June 1927), 172-75.
- Hallgren, M. A. 'Japanese Imperialism,' *Nation*, 134 no. 3471 (January 13, 1932), 49-50.
- Henderson, H. G. 'On the Reading of Haiku, Especially in Translation', *New England Review (1990-)*, 25 no.1/2 (Winter-Spring, 2004) 186-89.
- Herrigel, E and Hull, R. F. C. *Zen in the art of archery*. (New York, 1953).
- Hinton, H. B. Panay crisis Poses the Neutrality Issue Anew: Effect in the House Why Congressmen Hold Back Congr...New York Times (Dec 19, 1937), 65.
- Howe, W. E. 'The Museum of Eastern Asiatic Art in Cologne', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 9, no. 8 (Aug 1914) 172-74.
- Jayne, H. F. 'The Charles H. Ludington Memorial Exhibition', *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum*, 23, no. 121 (May 1928), 2-7.
- Jung, C. G. 'Commentary' in Wilhelm, R. (Baynes, C. F. trans.). *The secret of the golden flower: a Chinese Book of Life* (1931; London, 1942), 75-151.
- Jung, C. G. 'Examples of European Mandalas' in Wilhelm, R. (Baynes, C. F. trans.). *The secret of the golden flower: a Chinese Book of Life* (1931; London, 1942), 137.
- Jungmann, B. *Painters as Envoys: Korean Inspiration in Eitheenth-Century Japanese Nanga* (Princeton, 2004)
- Karmel, P. and Varnedoe, K. *Jackson Pollock: Interviews, articles, and reviews* (New York, 1999b).
- Kehshaw, F. S. 'Korean Pottery', *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 9 no. 54 (December 1911), 63-64.
- Kehshaw, F. S. 'The Minor Arts' in *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1916)
- Kim, W. Y. 'Bronze Mirrors from Shih-erh T'ai Ying-tzu, Liaoning', *Artibus Asiae* 26 no. 3/4 (1963), 207-14.
- Kim, W.Y. and Ahn, H.J. *한국 미술의 역사: 선사시대에서 조선시대까지* (Seoul, 2003).
- Kim, Y.N. *Twentieth-Century Korean Art* (London, 2006).
- Kuhn. C.L. 'German Paintings in the National Gallery: A Protest', *College Art Journal*, 5 no. 2 (January 1946) 78-82.
- Landau, E. G. *Jackson Pollock* (London, 1989)
- Langhorne, E. 'The Magus and the Alchemist: John Graham and Jackson Pollock.'

- American Art*, 12 no. 3 (October 1998), 46-67.
- Lee, D.J. 고려불화 [*Goryeo Bulhwa*, Goryeo Buddhist paintings] (Seoul, 1981).
- Lee, J.H. 일본 근현대 미술사 (Seoul, 2010).
- Lee, S.B. 'The Japanese Imperialists Destruction of Korea's Cultural Heritage' in Northeast Asian History Foundation. *The Foreseen and the Unforeseen in Historical Relations between Korea and Japan* (Seoul, 2009), 335-46.
- Leja, M. *Reframing abstract expressionism: Subjectivity and painting in the 1940s* (New Haven, 1997).
- Levin, E. and Indych, A 'Chronology,' in Karmel, P. and Varnedoe, K. *Jackson Pollock* (New York, 1999a), 315-29.
- Mack, J.A. 'Korean Art in Gallery X', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 8 no. 8 (October 1921), 121-22, 127.
- Magyar, L. II. 'War is Here: From the Anti-Imperialist Review, Bimonthly Organ of the League against Imperialism,' *The Living Age* (August 1932), 342-49.
- Mansfield, H. 'The Charles Stewart Smith Collection of Chinese and Japanese Paintings', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 9 no. 9 (Sep 1914), 187, 196-201.
- Motherwell, R. and Terenzio, S. *The collected writings of Robert Motherwell* (New York, 1992).
- Mooney, J. 'Myths of the Cherokee,' *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, 19 part 1 (1897-98).
- Munroe, A. *The Third Mind: American Artists Contemplate Asia, 1860-1989* (New York, 2009)
- Naifeh, S. W. and Smith, G. W. *Jackson Pollock: An American saga*. (New York, 1989).
- National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, Korean Art Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Daejeon, 2004), 26-33.
- National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage. Survey history of Korean antiquities housed in foreign institutions in *Korean Art Collection in the Brooklyn Museum, New York, U.S.A.* (Daejeon, 2006), 30-33.
- N.Y.T, 'Art of Far East A Museum Feature: New Department Include the Treasures of China, Japan, Korea, and Tibet', *The New York Times* (June 18, 1915).
- O'Connor, F. V. *Jackson Pollock* (New York, 1967).
- O'Connor, F. V. 'Methodologies for the Interpretation of Abstract Expressionism,' *Art Journal*, 47 no. 3 (Autumn 1988), 222-28.
- Panofsky, E. *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago, 1955)

- Panofsky, E. (trans.). 'The Concept of Artistic Volition' *Critical Inquiry* (1920; Autumn 1981), 17-33.
- Patel, V. 'Guggenheim Exhibition: 130 Years of Asian Influence on American Art,' *Span* (July/August 2009), 52-58
- Peffer, N. 'Japan drives on, deaf to world opinion: Japan holds to her course in China despite condemnation, even though, paradoxically, she is sensitive to criticism,' *New York times* (17 October 1937), 142.
- Pleynet, M. *Robert Motherwell*. (Paris, 1989).
- Pollock, J. Pollock, F. Pollock, S. W. and Pollock, C. *American letters, 1927-1947: Jackson Pollock & family* (Cambridge, 2011).
- Poster, A. G. 'Korean Art at the Brooklyn Museum' in *Korean Art Collection in National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage. The Brooklyn Museum, New York, U.S.A.* (Daejeon, 2006), 10-21.
- Read, H. *A Concise History of Modern Painting* (London, 1990).
- Reitz, S. C. B. (ed.). *Early Chinese Pottery and Sculpture*, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, exh. Cat. (New York, the Metropolitan Museum, 1916).
- Reitz, S. C. B. 'A Buddhistic Painting from Corea', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 13, no. 12 (December 1918), 290.
- Reitz, S. C. B. 'An Early Buddhistic Painting', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 16, no. 6 (Jun 1921), 124-26.
- Rhodes, B. D. *Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data* (Westport, 2001).
- Richard, N. N. (ed.). *A History of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1964; 1988)
- Rosenberg, H. *The anxious object: art today and its audience* (New York, 1964).
- Ross, C. ed., *Abstract Expressionism: Creators and Critics: An anthology* (Boston, 1991).
- Rushing, W. J. 'Ritual and Myth: Native American Culture and Abstract Expressionism', in Tuchman, M., Freeman, J. and Blotkamp, C. *The Spiritual in art: Abstract painting 1890-1985*. (New York, 1986), 273-95.
- Rushing, J. 'The Impact of Nietzsche and Northwest Coast Indian Art on Barnett Newman's Idea of Redemption in the Abstract Sublime,' *Art Journal* 47 no. 3 (Autumn, 1988), 187-95.
- Salmony, A. 'Chinese Art: The First Exhibition of the Friends of Far Eastern Art', *Parnassus*, 6, no. 7 (December 1934), 14-16.
- Saunders, F. S. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York, 1999).
- Smith, W. *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, 4, no. 3/4 (Summer - Autumn 1990), 22-45.

- Solomon, M. 'Stewart Culin Dies,' *New York Times* (9 April 1929).
- Starr, 'Korean Games,' *The Dial; a semi-monthly Journal of Literary Criticism, Discussion, and Information*, (May 16, 1896), 302.
- The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Presents 'The Third Mind – American Artists ContemplateAsia',
<http://www.artknowledgenews.com/guggenheimmuseumpresentshethirdmindhtml.html>
 (accessed 23 January 2012).
- Takehu, T. (trans.). 잃어버린 전기[The lost biography] (1981) in Yi, G.J.(trans.). 조선과 그 예술[Joseon and her art] (Seoul, 1994), 339-54.
- Tarp, F. S. 'Korean Game,' *The Dial* (16 May 1896) 238-40.
- Tweed, T. A. *The American Encounter with Buddhism, 1844-1912: Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent* (1992; North Carolina, 2000).
- Thorp, R. L. and Vinograd, R. E. *Chinese Art & Culture* (New York, 2001).
- Tomita, K. 'A Korean Statue of the Healing Buddha, Eighth Century', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 31, no. 185 (June 1933), 38.
- Unknown writer, 'Art of Far East A Museum Feature: New Department to Include the Treasures of China, Japan, Korea, and Tibet', *The New York Times* (June 18, 1915).
- Varnedoe, K. and Karmel, P. (ed.). *Jackson Pollock: New approaches* (New York, 1999c).
- Walker, J. A. *Cultural Offensive: America's Impact on British Art Since 1945* (London, 1998).
- Warner, L. 'Bronze Korean Trinity', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 7 no. 6 (June 1920), 79-80.
- Warner, L. 'Korean Bronze Spoons of the Korai Dynasty', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 4 no. 6 (August 1917), 99-101.
- Warner, L. D. 'Korean Grave Pottery of the Korai Dynasty', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 6 no. 3 (April 1919), 46-52, 57-58.
- W.P. 'Koreans and Alaskans,' *The Washington Post* (9 April 1905), E12.
- W.P. 'Cures Effected By Magic' *The Washington Post* (1, September 1907), M2
- Whang, J. H. and Whitfield, R. 'The Prehistoric Period' in Gopper, R. and Whitfield, R. *Treasures From Korea: Art Through 5000 Years* (London, 1984).
- Winther-Tamaki, B. *Art in the Encounter of Nations: Japanese and American Artists in the Early Postwar Years* (Hawaii, 2001).
- Worringer, W. *Abstraction and empathy: A contribution to the psychology of style* (New York, 1953).

Wu, T. 'A Brief History of the Korean Art Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston' (2004) in *Korean Art Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* in National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage. (Daejeon, 2004), 26-33.

Yanagi, M. '高麗瓷器と朝鮮瓷器', 工藝 111 (October 1942) in Yi, G.J.(trans.). 조선과 그 예술[Joseon and her art] (Seoul, 1994), 234-58.

Yanagi, M. 朝鮮とその藝術 (Tokyo, 1922) in Yi, G.J.(trans.). 조선과 그 예술 (Seoul, 1994).

'Yanagi Muneyoshi', http://www.mmca.go.kr/engN/engNExhibition.do?_method=exhView&exhId=201304030000082&cur_page_name= (accessed 16 August 2013)

Yi, H.G and Yi, G.H. 코리아 루트를 찾아서 [Searching for the Korean root] (Seoul, 2009).

Yu, H.J. 한국 미술사 강의 [Korean Art History] (Seoul, 2010).

민족문학사연구소[Ethnic Literature Research Institute]. 춘향이 살던 집에서, 구보씨 걸던 길까지[From Chunhang's House to the road where Gubo walked]: 한국 문학산책 (Seoul, 2005).

한국 국제 교류 재단. Korean Cultural Heritage: Fine Arts (Seoul, 1997).

Secondary sources

Alfieri, B. 'Piccolo discorso sui quadric di Jackson Pollock (con testimonianza dell'artista),' *L'Arte Moderna* (8 June 1950).

Jung, C. G. and Dell, S. M. *The integration of the personality* (New York, 1939).

Laufer, B. 'Review of *Korean Buddhism. History-Condition-Art: Three Lectures* by Starr, F', *American Anthropologist*, NS 21, 1919, p.84.

Starr, F. *Korean Buddhism, History-Condition-Art: Three Lectures*, Boston 1918, p.33.