

Formation of Korean Artistic Identity during the Early Years of Japanese Colonialism¹

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Abstract

The process of Western-style oil painting in Korea, although introduced by the Europeans in the late nineteenth century, was accelerated by Japanese colonialism (1910 - 1945). To be inculcated in the modern techniques of representation, young Korean artists sought training in Japan at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō (Tokyo School of Fine Arts). In spite of politicized tensions, the first group of Korean graduates, namely Ko Hui-dong, Kim Gwan-ho and Kim Chan-young, were able to successfully mediate and negotiate Western artistic concepts from Japan to Korea thereby signifying the formation of Korean Modern painting. This paper seeks to substantiate that Korean adaptation of European oil painting was not a mere mimetic process from Japan but rather a complex appropriation involving the construction of Korean artistic identity within the pluralistic framework of colonialism, nationalism and modernity².

Constraints of Aesthetic Tradition

Modern art began in Korea after 1910 when indigenous artists began executing paintings in the Western medium of oil. This change marked a deliberate departure from seven hundred years of traditional ink painting on paper and silk³. Although European and American artists had introduced the long-favored medium and with it the Western techniques of representation to Korea at the end of nineteenth century, formal transfer of formats had failed to take place⁴. Excepting for the dominant heritage of ink painting, the obvious reasons for this "failure" were lack of materials, language barrier and limited duration of stay by foreign artists which constrained artistic transformations. A more critical and fundamental reason, however, was the insurmountable obstacle of strict codified standards that defined traditional Korean literati painting⁵. Executed by Confucian scholars for the refined taste of the royal court and the aristocratic class, the venerated paintings emulated classical Chinese models. Visual symbols within the esteemed genre remained ingrained in Korean aesthetic culture that adopting Western techniques posed as severe contestation to prevailing artistic standards and practices.

Negotiating Modernity

The catalyst that prompted the emergence of Korean Modern painting was the forces of Japan's colonialism (1910-1945)⁶. With Korea situated geo-politically between China and the islands of Japan, there had historically been through both negative and positive encounters, exchanges of artifacts, culture and religion mediated between the two neighboring countries. With the signing of the 1905 Protectorate Treaty, forces of colonial rule thus had the heightened effect of escalating migration of people, commerce and ideologies⁷. Chief among this influx was European-influenced modernization in science, technology and the arts that was initiated in Japan during the Meiji Era (1868-1912)⁸. Moreover, successive military conquests by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) caused many Korean intellectuals to shift their traditional stance of *sadae* or «emulation of the Great» from China toward Japan⁹.

While Korean nationalists regarded this unprecedented shift toward Japan with ambivalence, they nonetheless recognized the significance of *munmeong gae-hwa* (civilization and enlightenment) which was necessary for Korea's own construct for a modern nation-state¹⁰. In 1906, the progressive intellectual Chang Chiyŏn (1864-1921) along with others had published the «Manifesto of the Korean Association for Self-Strengthening» in the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* (The Capital Gazette). Chang wrote, «If we strengthen ourselves, become organized and united, we may look forward to our nation's prosperity and strength and also to the restoration of our sovereign powers¹¹. » Similar desire for cultural advancement also affected the arts. Where former artists had engaged with China in the past, a new generation of Korean artists sought to depart from traditional precepts to record the realities of the physical world that conformed to Western pragmatism. In an article written for the Korean newspaper *Maeil sinbo* (Daily Newspaper), the literary nationalist Yi Kwang-su (1892-1955?) criticized that Korean ink paintings did not include a wide range of subjects and advocated artists to construct works of art that were novel and reflective of the times¹².

Upon formal hegemony in 1910, Japan's attempt to integrate Koreans through political and social measures also included cultural efforts¹³. The early years of occupation though fraught with tensions, nonetheless proved to be a period of interdependency for Korea and Japan. The colonial authorities were highly receptive of educating Korean students in Japan to promote their policy of assimilation. In September 1910, Mizuno Rentaro, the Japanese Director-General of political affairs in Korea, wrote «If suitable methods of education are adopted in the [Korean] peninsula, I should think it would not prove very difficult to promote assimilation with the Japanese¹⁴. » Although they opposed this policy, politically progressive Koreans did support sending young men to study abroad in Japan as a stabilizing factor and a gradual trajectory for reclaiming political independence¹⁵. Consequently, the ease

of securing travel approval allowed many Korean students to study in Japan such that the numbers grew almost four-fold from 187 students in 1897 to 739 by 1909¹⁶. Thus in the urban culture of Tokyo, Korean artists were able to be inculcated in Western art education and were exposed to public art exhibitions and artistic societies which were unavailable in their own country¹⁷.

Korean Artists' Encounter with Modernity

The first Korean student to enter Tokyo School of Fine Arts was Ko Hui-dong (1886-1965)¹⁸. Born into a prominent and wealthy family, Ko was able to receive an elite education at the official *Han-seong* French School in Seoul from 1899 to 1903¹⁹. It was there that Ko witnessed oil painting for the first time when the French artist Léopold Remion painted a portrait of Ko's French teacher. Ko sought to study oil painting, but Remion returned to France when the Korean government's plan to establish a craft school never materialized. Although few Japanese art instructors had arrived in Korea as early as 1902, art instruction was still bound to conventional ink painting or basic pencil drawing. Ko's interest in art led him to study briefly in 1905 with the Korean masters of traditional ink painting Ahn Jung-shik and Jo Seok-jin. However in order to pursue the modern concept of oil painting, Ko Hui-dong in 1909 left Korea for Tokyo School of Fine Arts where he was supported in his artistic studies by a scholarship from the Japanese government²⁰.

The director of the department of *yōga* (Western-style) painting at Tokyo School of Fine Arts was the prominent and influential Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) who had returned to Japan in 1893 after residing nine years in Europe. While in Paris, Kuroda had studied under the painter Raphaël Collin (1850-1916) and came to advocate the standards of mid-nineteenth century European Realism and Impressionism as taught to him by Collin²¹. Kuroda's light-infused *plein-air* works contrasted sharply to the dark Barbizon-style oil paintings being executed in Japan by his peers at the Technical Art School and the Meiji Fine Arts Society²². When Kuroda accepted his position at Tokyo University of Fine Arts in 1896, he forged a new aesthetic foundation for Western-style painting²³. Key to this was his dynamic light palette which signified movement, volume and breadth²⁴.

Ko Hui-dong's *Self-Portrait in Blue Hanbok* executed in 1914 follows Kuroda's protocols of Impressionistic Academicism²⁵. With his forthright pose, Ko's portrait boldly meets the gaze of its viewers and acknowledges their presence like its predecessors in Japanese self-portraiture²⁶. Yet, Ko explicitly differentiated his work by portraying himself in the traditional *hanbok*, the quotidian apparel of the Korean people. The distinctive garment asserts Ko's Korean identity while the trimmed mustache, rather than the full beard conventionally worn by literati artists, signify his modern identity. In his visage, Ko has carefully and selectively constructed his national and modern self.

Ko further reasserted this modernity in his 1915 *Self-portrait* which was submitted to Tokyo School of Fine Arts [Figure 1]. It was a modernity that did not signify an erasure but rather a re-appropriation of tradition to re-interpret his indigenous cultural identity. His national past is a clear and valid continuation of his privileged status as a Korean studying in Japan. Not only does he portray himself again in the traditional *hanbok*, but he has crowned himself with the ornate head-dress called *jung-ja-gwan* worn by officials of the Korean royal court. While in Korea, the young artist had served in the capacity as a junior court official. Hence, by alluding to his former position, Ko affirms his status as a high-ranking artist of equal standing with literati artists. The liberty to execute self-portraits at Tokyo School of Fine Arts granted Ko the unique opportunity to visually express his identity as an esteemed painter which Ko could not have easily done in Korea. Within the strict genre of portraiture dictated by Confucian praxis, only the royal and venerated were commemorated as subjects.

The second prominent artist in this early phase of Korean Modern art was Kim Gwan-ho (1890-1959). Due to the fact that Kim came from northern Korea, information regarding his later works and personal life are difficult to attain. Yet, records in South Korea indicate that he, like Ko Hui-dong, came from a wealthy family and was likewise assisted by a fellowship from the Japanese colonial government when he entered Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1911²⁷. During his student days, Kim sought to distinguish his works from past Korean traditions by formulating his own visual interpretation of Western modernity. In his 1916 *Self-Portrait*, Kim intentionally defies the conventions of Korean self-portraiture by selectively eliminating the very accoutrements which have traditionally identified the sitter as the elite literati artist [Figure 2]. Here, modernity appears in the guise of self-portraiture itself.

During Kim Gwan-ho's residence in Tokyo, he was able to study works by his instructors and peers and also view contemporary art as it came from Europe. Artistic societies such as *Shirakaba-ha* (White Birch Society) formed in 1910 and *Nika-kai* (Second Division Group) established in 1914, held numerous exhibitions, some of which displayed original European paintings and sculptures acquired by Japanese collectors²⁸. Furthermore, Kim would have had access to the influential literary magazines *Shirakaba* (White Birch) as well as *Bijutsu shinpō* (Art News) that circulated in Tokyo in the 1910s and 1920s²⁹. The journals featured photo reproductions of paintings by Cezanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin and Matisse as well as translations of commentaries by these artists and many influential literary writers.

Following the accomplishments of Meiji Restoration, Taishō Era (1912-1926) was marked by an increased freedom for the educated urban class attributing to higher intellectual and artistic culture in Japan³⁰. Due to the fact that there were less social restrictions in Tokyo than in Korea where surveillance by the colonial authorities were invariably heightened, Kim Gwan-ho was able to explore the contentious

subject matter of nudes that would have been censured in his country by both the Japanese and Korean authorities³¹.

Although painting of the female nude had been introduced by Yamamoto Hōsui (1850-1906), it was Kuroda Seiki who managed to move the controversial topic into wider circles of artistic acceptance³². With his painting *Morning Toilette* executed during his stay in Europe, Kuroda had secured the approval of Puvis de Chavannes and exhibited the painting in Paris at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beux-Arts in 1893³³. Upon his return to Japan and deriving his authority from the French master, Kuroda re-articulated the polemic nude as a construct of Japanese allegory for beauty in his three panel composition entitled *Wisdom, Impression, Sentiment* [Figure 3]. In 1900, the painting was awarded a silver medal at the Paris Exposition Universelle gaining further aesthetic legitimacy and ascendancy.

Building upon the precepts set by Kuroda Seiki, Kim Gwan-ho took up the theme of the nude for his 1916 graduation project [Figure 4]³⁴. Kim's portrayal of two standing female nudes bathing by a stream entitled *Sunset* was singled out over works by Japanese artists to receive the prestigious Tokyo School of Fine Art's graduation prize as well as a special award at the *Bunten* (the leading Japanese Imperial Art Exhibition modeled after the French Salon d'Automne)³⁵. As in his 1916 *Self-Portrait*, Kim Gwan-ho achieves a selective accommodation for his visual representation. He captures the volume and materiality of the human form not as the «ideal female nude» representing classical Asian beauty as Kuroda had done but as the agrarian female who works the land for her daily sustenance³⁶. In an interview with the Korean newspaper *Maeil sinbo*, Kim stated his inspiration for the painting. «While on a walk one evening, I was reminded of a similar scene of local women bathing in the [Tae-dong] river which flows near my hometown in P'yong-yang³⁷. » By re-appropriating the Japanese bathing women as Korean peasants and placing the scene within the context of his indigenous country, Kim was able to introduce the foreign concept of the nude into Korean art.

Due to strict censorship in Korea that completely banned the image of the nude, press coverage of Kim's award had to be carried without the accompanying photo of the winning painting³⁸. Within the highly Confucian society of early twentieth century Korea, the debate surrounding Kim's nudes generated much controversy even in the absence of the visual image³⁹. The Korean audience was concomitantly confronted by a shifting definition of art where viewers had traditionally been informed of aesthetic appreciation through long-standing iconographical interpretation by scholars. As Korea's sole daily newspaper continued to relay articles and photos of paintings by Korean students in Japan, one of the resulting effects was that the Korean society was able to form individual and personal perceptions about art which marked a breach from its former collective reverence for literati paintings.

The third Korean artist who entered Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1912 was Kim Chan-young (1893-1960)⁴⁰. His 1917 *Self-Portrait* submitted to Tokyo School of Fine Arts presents a visual dialogue of dichotomous tensions that resist reconciliation [Figure 5]. The modeling and shading of the face emerges as a solid presence while the non-descript attire is only alluded to with loose brushstrokes. The brooding and omniscient clouds in the background resonates the inner apprehension and anxiety that prevail in the visage of the artist. By 1917, the same year Kim Chan-young executed his self-portrait, many Koreans were facing the harsh rule of martial suppression by Field Marshal Hasegawa Yoshimichi who replaced Terauchi Masatake in 1916 as the second Governor-General of Korea. Realizing he was leading a normalized life in Tokyo while his country faced political and social turmoil, Kim Chan-young was able to use his self-portrait as a platform to express his personal tensions. As early as 1910, Japanese artists such as Takamura Kōtarō had written in *Shirakaba* stressing the need for internalization in art and literature⁴¹. He emphasized the importance of the artist's individual and authentic self-expression as a crucial facet of artistic achievement. Kim Chan-young's subjective self-portrait thus follows Takamura's dictum that creativity must spring from a unique and personal response to one's relationship with the physical world.

Mobilizing Korean Modern Art

In their desire to construct a new visual framework which marked a divergence from stagnant conventions that had mostly served the royal and aristocratic sphere of Korean society, artists Ko Hui-dong, Kim Gwan-ho and Kim Chan-young appealed to Western art to re-formulate an operative sense of Korean self-hood within the constraints of colonialism. Thus, the elite education received by the Korean artists in Japan was both a privilege and a responsibility. Upon their return to Korea, with their newfound knowledge, all three artists engaged in pivotal roles to establish the structural basis for Korean Modern art by informing and mobilizing public consciousness.

Ko Hui-dong was instrumental in forming the Society of Painters and Calligraphers which established the nation's first annual fine arts exhibition called *Hyeopjeon* in 1921⁴². The inception of *Hyeopjeon* proved to be more radical than the newspaper for it created the first democratic space for cultural consumption of art work in Korea for the rising industrial class at Gyeong-seong (colonial name for Seoul)⁴³. As literati paintings had exclusively been available for private viewing by the upper class, the exhibition opened the forum and made accessible to the public the latest oil paintings executed by Korean artists returning from their overseas studies alongside works by indigenous ink painters. The formation of a cohesive site for Eastern and Western-styles of art also provided a challenge to Korean ink painters who, while adhering to the traditional medium, engaged in the use of wider

ranges of color as well as single point perspective to create depth and realism in their works⁴⁴.

That same year, Ko also published the first Korean art journal entitled the *Bulletin of the Society of Painters and Calligraphers*. Although short-lived, it served as a significant endeavor in the promotion and exchange of artistic discourse by Korean artists and an attempt to disseminate Western artistic concepts to the reading public. For Kim Gwan-ho and Kim Chan-young, their return to northern Korea was marked by the formation of *Sakseong* Painting Group. Kim Gwan-ho taught oil painting and served as a precursory force to students who furthered their studies at Tokyo School of Fine Arts while Kim Chan-young wrote about recent developments in European art for the Korean newspaper *Dong-a ilbo* (East Asian Daily)⁴⁵.

Colonial Artistic Relationship

In his later years, Ko Hui-dong, the first Korean to graduate from Tokyo School of Fine Arts, penned a personal account in 1954 of his association with the artistic society he had established in Korea⁴⁶. Korean art historians have dominantly interpreted Ko's silence during his years in Tokyo as anti-Japanese sentiment. The justification for this interpretation is that Japanese colonialism precipitated nationalistic fervor for many Koreans while also arousing fears, both real and imagined, of being perceived as Japanese collaborators⁴⁷. However, evidence of published accounts by Taiwanese scholars, most notably Wang Hsiu-hsiung and Yen Chuan-ying, elucidates the benefaction of Japanese and Taiwanese artistic interaction during Formosa's subjugation which occurred about the similar time of 1894 to 1945⁴⁸. Both scholars have also concurred that Japanese faculty were instrumental in guiding and assisting not only Taiwanese students in Japan but also the artists on the colonized island.

Furthermore, during the years from 1924 to 1931, Korean and Taiwanese students were granted special exemptions that imposed fewer restrictions than Japanese students for gaining admittance to Tokyo School of Fine Arts⁴⁹. From 1930 to 1940, Tokyo continued to serve as a fertile ground for the outgrowth of various artistic avant-garde societies and movements providing further creative impetus to Korean students⁵⁰. This process of negotiation exemplified that in spite of ensuing political frictions between the Japanese government and colonized Korea, the number of Koreans enrolled at Tokyo School of Fine Arts continued to increase each year as artists looked to Japan for latest artistic trends derived from Paris, Germany and Russia⁵¹.

Conclusion

When European techniques and concepts crossed cultural boundaries into Japan, they were articulated as a different discourse that diverged from their original meaning and culture. Likewise, this process was replicated when it crossed

within Asia from Japan to Korea, creating an additional layer of divergence from its originating intent. Exposure to European art introduced but did not bring about Modernism in Korean art in the late 1800s; rather the transformation of traditional Korean artistic production was ultimately achieved, albeit under the politicized circumstances of colonialism, by the Korean graduates of Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Being subsumed in the urban culture of Tokyo allowed exposure to art exhibitions, artistic societies and art instructions, all of which provided the young Korean artists the means to syncretize their national sentiments with Western modalities to construct Korea's own paradigm of modern aesthetics. Adapting and appropriating European artistic concepts mediated through Japan, Ko Hui-dong, Kim Gwan-ho and Kim Chan-young paved the path for Korean painting to merge into the transformed sphere of twentieth century Modern art.

Figure 1



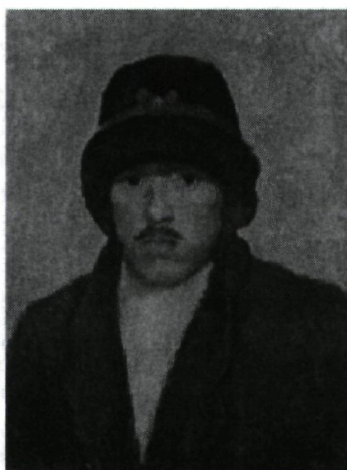
Ko Hui-dong

Self-Portrait, 1915

Oil on canvas 73 x 53 cm

Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, Tokyo

Figure 2



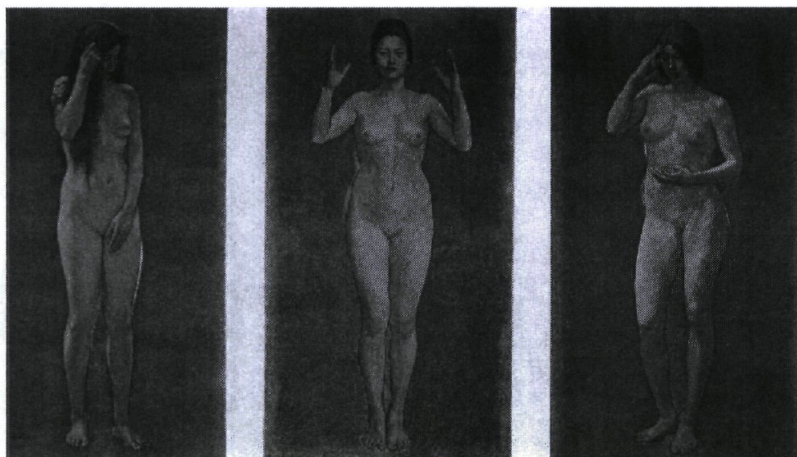
Kim Gwan-ho

Self-Portrait, 1916

Oil on canvas, 60.5 x 40 cm

Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, Tokyo

Figure 3



Kuroda Seiki

Wisdom, Impression, Sentiment, 1899

Oil on canvas, each panel 180.6 x 99.8 cm

National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo

Figure 4



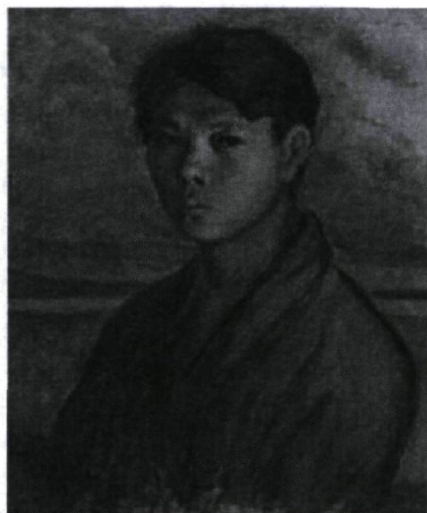
Kim Gwan-ho

Sunset, 1916

Oil on canvas, 127.5 x 127.5 cm

Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, Tokyo

Figure 5



Kim Chan-young

Self-Portrait, 1917

Oil on canvas, 60.8 x 45.7 cm

Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, Tokyo

Notes

- 1 Throughout this essay, Asian names will appear surname first except for Asian-Americans and those who have reversed this order for Western language publications. Macrons are used for Asian words except those that have entered English usage
- 2 I use the term colonialism, nationalism and modernity as defined by Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson in «Rethinking Colonial Korea», Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (eds.), *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Asia Center, 1999, p. 1-18.
- 3 For a survey of traditional Korean painting and its developments see Hwi-joon Ahn, «Traditional Korean Painting», in Young-ick Lew (ed.), *Korean Art Tradition: A Historical Survey*, Seoul, Korea Foundation, 1993, p. 83-140.
- 4 A list of Western painters who arrived in Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be located in Kim Yoon-su (ed.), *Hanguk miseul 100 nyun (100 Years of Korean Art)*, Seoul, National Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005, p. 111.
- 5 Literati painting refers to paintings by scholars using the traditional medium of ink and light color

on silk or paper encompassing formats such as folding screens, fan paintings, hanging scrolls with subject matters of landscape, *sagunja* (four plants symbolizing the dignity of the gentlemen which are plum blossom, orchid, chrysanthemum, and bamboo) as well as calligraphy. For a further discussion of Korean literati paintings and painters, see *Traditional Korean Painting*, The Korean National Commission for UNESCO (ed.), Seoul, Si-sa-yong, 1983, p. 6-53.

- 6 Although Japanese colonialism formally began in August 16, 1910 with Korea forced into signing the Annexation Treaty, many scholars and historians view Japanese occupation having begun from November 17, 1905 with the signing of the Eulsa (or Protectorate) Treaty after Japan's success in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). See C. I. Eugene Kim and Han-kyo Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism 1876-1910*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967, p. 121-135. See also Michael Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea 1920-1925*, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1988, p. 37-38.
- 7 Regarding migration of Japanese and Koreans during colonialism, see Richard M. Mitchell, *The Korean Minority in Japan*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1967, p. 1-58. For a discussion of colonial commercial relationship, see Peter Duus, «Economic Dimensions of Meiji Imperialism: The Case of Korea, 1895-1910» in Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (eds.), *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 128- 171. For a discourse on the universal political ideologies which prevailed in Japan and Korea in the late nineteenth century, see «The Universalizing Winds of Civilization» in Andre Schmid, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002, p. 23-54.
- 8 See Shūji Takashina, «Eastern and Western Dynamics in the Development of Western-style Oil Painting During the Meiji Era», in Shūji Takashina, J. Thomas Rimer with Gerald D. Bolas, *Paris in Japan: The Japanese Encounter with European Painting*, Tokyo, Japan Foundation and St. Louis, Washington University, 1987, p. 21-31. See also Emiko Yamanashi, «Japanese Encounter with Western Painting in the Meiji and Taishō Eras», in Christine M. E. Guth, Alicia Volk, and Emiko Yamanashi, *Japan & Paris: Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and the Modern Era*, Honolulu, Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2004.
- 9 For a full discourse on the «de-centering the Middle Kingdom» regarding Korea's shift from China to Japan, see Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 55-100.
- 10 For a discussion of the rise of Korean nationalism, see Robinson, 1988, *op. cit.*, p. 14-47. Although the title of the book states 1920-1925, the first chapter recounts the history of modern Korean nationalism which began in the late 1880s, p. 14-47.
- 11 Chang Chiyōn and others, «Manifesto of the Korean Association for Self-Strengthening» from *Imperial Capital News* (also referred to as *The Capital Gazette*), April 2, 1906, trans. by Han-Kyo Kim in Peter H. Lee (ed.), *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization: From the Seventeenth Century to the Modern Period*, vol. 2, p. 415.
- 12 Yi Kwang-su, «Dongyeong yusin, munbuseoung Jeollamhoegi (News from Tokyo, after seeing the Bunten)», *Maeil sinbo* (Daily Newspaper), 31 October and 2 November 1916. *Maeil sinbo* was the only newspaper in Korean vernacular *hangūl* allowed by the Japanese government after August 1910. As a result of the Colonial Enlightenment Policy in 1920, two additional Korean newspapers *Dong-a ilbo* (East Asian Daily) and the *Joseon ilbo* (Korea Daily) were authorized by the Japanese colonial government, Ki-baik Yi, *A New History of Korea*, Edward W. Wagner and Edward J. Shultz (trans.), Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 331.
- 13 The important role Japan had in preserving and classifying Korean cultural material heritage has been adroitly argued by Hyung Il Pai in, «The Colonial Origins of Korea's Collected Past», in Hung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini (eds.), *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, Berkeley,

Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1998, p. 13-32.

- 14 Mizuno Rentaro, *Japan Chronicle*, September 8, 1910. Translated by Wonmo Dong in, «Assimilation and Social Mobilization in Korea», in Andrew C. Nahm (ed.), *Korea Under Japanese Colonial Rule: Studies of the Policies and Techniques of Japanese Colonialism*, Kalamazoo, Center for Korean Studies, Institute of International and Area Studies, Western Michigan University, 1973, p. 155.
- 15 Although scholars George De Vos and Changsoo Lee are of the view that Japanese occupation in Korea consisted of totalitarian brutality, the authors nonetheless express that in the early 1900s, «educated intellectuals failing in their own movement for modernization and independence, turned to Japan as an obviously successful model of modern state», p. 20 and «Japan's dramatic victories at the turn of the century over both the Chinese and the Russians had impressed many young Koreans and had stimulated their desire to learn more from Japan as a model in whose image it would be possible to modernize the feudalistic Korean kingdom», p. 32. Changsoo Lee and George De Vos et al, *Koreans in Japan, Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981.
- 16 Schmid *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- 17 Beginning with the 1905 Protectorate Treaty, Japanese language was incorporated but not enforced into Korean education. Thus throughout the colonial rule, many educated Koreans were bi-lingual in Japanese. It was in the 1930s with Japan's growing sense of national crisis and militancy that the imposition of Japanese-only language and Korean name change was mandated in 1939.
- 18 In 1949, *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō* (Tokyo School of Fine Arts) located in Ueno Park merged with *Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō* (Tokyo Music School) to become the present day Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.
- 19 For biographical information on Ko Hui-dong, I refer to Youngna Kim, *20th Century Korean Art*, London, Laurence King Publishing, Ltd., 2005 as well as Yi Ku-yeol, *Woori kũndae miseul dwit yiyagi (Afterword on Korean Modern Art)*, Seoul: Dolbaegi, 2005, p. 157-167 and Kim Yoon-su, *op. cit.*, p. 143-149.
- 20 According to the 22 July 1910 article in *Hwangsŏng sinmun (The Capital Gazette)*, Ko Hui-dong was sent to study in Japan by the Japanese vice-minister of the Department of the Royal Household who had recognized the talent of the young Korean artist.
- 21 Factors such as the limited knowledge of European hierarchies of artistic genres and Japanese artists having studied with conservative Western painters caused modern art in Japan to lag behind the movements of Europe. See Christine M.E. Guth, «Modernist Painting in Japan's Cultures of Collecting», in Guth, Volk, and Yamanashi, *op. cit.*, p. 15-21.
- 22 *Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō* (Technical Art School) was established in 1876 as a branch of the Ministry of Industry and Technology located on the campus of Tokyo's Imperial College of Technology. The Italian artist Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1882) who had trained at the Turin Academy was responsible for introducing the French Barbizon style of painting to Japan. *Meiji Bijutsu-kai* (Meiji Fine Arts Society) was founded in 1889 by a group of Fontanesi's students after *Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō* was disbanded in 1883. See Yamanashi, *loc. cit.*, p. 30-32. For a survey of modern oil painting in Japan, refer to Minoru Harada, *Meiji Western Painting*, Akiko Murakata (trans.), Tokyo, Shibundo, 1974.
- 23 For a discussion on the rise of *yōga* and its challenges, see Mayu Tsuruya, «The Ascent of *Yōga* in Modern Japan and the Pacific War», in Hiroshi Nara (ed.), *Inexorable Modernity: Japan's Grappling with Modernity in the Arts*, Lanham, MD, Lexington Books, 2007, p. 69-78.
- 24 Images of Kuroda's paintings can be viewed on the Kuroda Memorial Hall website: Kuroda Seiki, *Kuroda Memorial Hall*, http://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/index_e.html (Page consulted 2 November 2008).

- 25 Image of Ko Hui-dong's 1914 *Self-Portrait* can be located in Yi Ku-yeol, p. 162 as well as on the website: Jane Portal, *Open Democracy*, http://www.opendemocracy.net/arts-commons/art_northkorea_3690.jsp, picture #6. (Page consulted 2 November 2008). Please note that Ko's self-portrait on this website is incorrectly attributed to the year 1910.
- 26 Images of self-portraits by Japanese artists who graduated from Tokyo School of Fine Arts can be viewed on the website of 26 April to 30 June 2002 exhibition entitled «Graduation Works and Self-Portraits», University Art Museum, *Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music*, http://www.geidai.ac.jp/museum/exhibit/2002/selfportraits/portraits/portraits_en.htm (Page consulted 2 November 2008).
- 27 For information on Kim Gwan-ho was obtained from Yi Ku-yeol, «Yanghwa chôngchak-üi paekyông kwa kü kaechökjadül (The background of Western-style painting and its pioneers)», in *Han'guk kândae hoehwa sônjip (Selection of Modern Korean Paintings)*, Volume I, Seoul, Kumsông Chulpan-sa, 1990, p. 97 and Yi Ku-yeol, 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 168-179.
- 28 For a full discourse regarding Japanese acquisition of European art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, refer to Guth, Volk, and Yamanashi, *op. cit.*, p. 13-27 and p. 59-179 respectively.
- 29 For a brief discussion regarding the significance of *Shirakaba*, see Alicia Volk, «A Unified Rhythm: Past and Present in Japanese Modern Art», in Guth, Volk, and Yamanashi, *op. cit.*, p. 43-45. See also, Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde 1905-1931*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2002, p. 20-24.
- 30 For a discussion of artistic culture during the Taishô period see Donald F. McCallum, «Three Taishô Artists: Yorozu Tetsugorô, Koide Narashige, and Kishida Ryûsei» in Takashina, Rimer and Bolas, *op. cit.*, p. 80-95.
- 31 Korean students faced less social restrictions in Japan than Korean migrant laborers, see Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 1-58. For a discussion of police management and enforcement in colonized Korea and Taiwan, see Ching-chih Chen, «Police and Community Control Systems in the Empire» in Myers and Peattie, *op. cit.*, p. 214-239.
- 32 The figure of the nude did not have the classical precedence in Japan as in the West with its long standing European paradigm of Greek and Roman sculptures. As Christine Guth has noted, «In the eyes of Japanese artists and collectors the nude was an emblem of modern expressivity». Guth, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.
- 33 Kuroda Seiki's painting of *Morning Toilette* (1983) was destroyed by fire during World War II but a reproduction of the image can found on Rimer, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.
- 34 All students at Tokyo School of Fine Arts were expected to produce an original work in their graduating year.
- 35 *Bunten* is derived from the annual *Monbusho Bijutsu Tenrankai* (Ministry of Education Art Exhibition) inaugurated in 1907. The juried section consisted of Western-style painting (*yôga*), Japanese-style painting (*nihonga*) and sculpture. For further information regarding the *Bunten*, see Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 114-134.
- 36 The strong relationship of Korean ethnic identity to peasantry is discussed in Clark Sorensen, «National Identity and the Category "Peasant"», in Shin and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p.288-310.
- 37 The translation is my own from Yi Ku-yeol, 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
- 38 *Ibid*, p. 173-175.
- 39 The consecutive news of Kim Gwan-ho's awards served as repeat cover page stories for the Korean newspaper *Maeil sinbo*. Kim Yoon-su, p. 147.

- 40 Kim Chan-young also came from a wealthy family background in northern Korea. *ibid.*, p. 225.
- 41 Takamura Kōtarō's famous manifesto which describes the expressionistic nature of art is expounded in his essay «Green Sun» written in 1910. Translated in Rimer, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.
- 42 The following year in 1922, the Japanese colonial government instituted the Joseon Art Exhibition which lasted from 1922-1944. *Hyeopjeon* (Society of Calligraphers and Painters) came to an end in 1936 after fifteen exhibitions. Kim Yoon-su, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
- 43 For a reassessment of the emergence of the Korean working-class during colonialism, see Soonwon Park, «Colonial Industrial Growth and the Working Class» in Shin and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 128-160.
- 44 Works by ink painters such as Lee Sang-beom (1897-1972) and Kim Un-ho (1892-1979) executed during the 1920s can be viewed in Kim Youngna, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- 45 Yi Ku-yeol, 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 141 and p. 270.
- 46 Ko Hui-dong, «Na wa Joseon Seohwa Hyeop-hoe Sidae (Society of Calligraphy and Painting and Me)», *Sin Cheonji (New World)*, Feb. 1954.
- 47 "Internal Development" theory (*Najae jok Paljon non*) was established by national historians in an effort to refute Japan's "Stagnation Theory" and to challenge Japanese colonial historiography. For historians who uphold this view in their writings, see M. J. Rhee, *The Doomed Empire: Japan in Colonial Korea*, Brookfield, VT, Ashgate, 1997 and Changsoo Lee and George de Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1981. For writings by Korean art historians who also adhere to this view, see Kyong-song Yi, *Modern Korea Painting*, Seoul: Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1971, p. 11-17; Hwi-joon Ahn, «Painting: A History of Painting in Korea», in *Korean Art Guide*, Seoul, Yekyong Publications, 1987, p. 58-67; and Yongwoo Lee, *Information and Reality: Korean Contemporary Art*, Edinburgh, Fruitmarket Gallery, 1995, p. 15.
- 48 Although colonial rule varied between Korea and Taiwan, I believe that comparative art historical studies will endorse that beneficial aesthetic interaction was possible under colonialism. For a discourse on Taiwan artists' interaction with Japan, see Hsiu-hsiung Wang, «The Development of Official Exhibitions in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation», in Mayo, Rimer and Kerkham, *op. cit.*, p. 92-120 and Yen Chuan-ying «The Art Movement in the 1930s Taiwan», in John Clark (ed.), *Modernity in Asian Art*, Broadway, NSW, Australia, Wild Peony, 1993, p. 45-59. See also Edward I-te Chen, «Japan: Oppressor or Modernizer? A Comparison of the Effects of Colonial Control in Korea and Formosa», Nahm, *op. cit.*, p. 251-260.
- 49 Youngna Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 128 and also Yen, *loc. cit.*, p.51.
- 50 See «Korean Avant-Garde Groups in Tokyo in the 1930s» in Youngna Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 124-151.
- 51 During the 1920s, there were sixteen Korean art students enrolled at Tokyo School of Fine Arts. By 1944, there were forty-five Korean students in the Department of Western-style painting and nine Korean students in the Department of Sculpture. Yi Ku-yeol, 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 177.