

Visual Nationalism and Communal Rituals: Park Saengkwang's Art and Korean Shamanism

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This paper analyzes Park Saengkwang (1904-1985)'s artwork, created in the 1980s and influenced by *Musok*, Korean Shamanism. It explores *Musok*'s thematic significance in the development of his distinctive style and the inspiration behind his stylistic changes. Park's ink paintings are done in bold and intense colors and create an intriguing, mysterious mood, inviting the viewers to the primordial visual experience and exposing its viewers to Korean Shamanism, which has endured the perception that fluctuated between positive and negative throughout Korean history. The practice became a fitting cultural emblem associated with the national identity during the 1970s and 1980s, and thus became a way for Park to explicitly articulate his cultural roots, creating a visual connotation of "Korean." His art, portraying *gut*, Korean shamanistic communal rituals, could be conceived as a pictorial rendering of the idea of *kibok*, praying for good fortune, and served as a *pujök*, talisman paper, that possesses magical healing and protecting power. By striving to overcome the stylistic conflicts between Korean and Japanese, or traditional and Western, Park's art accomplished the visual rhetoric of national aesthetic sensitivity that built on the communal thoughts and cultural experience of shamanism in the modern history of Korea.

Key words: Park Saengkwang, Korean colored ink painting, Korean Shamanism, Twentieth Century Korean Art, Korean art and shamanism, identity, visual nationalism, communal thoughts and rituals

Introduction

Park Saengkwang (1904-1985) is best known for his ink paintings with shamanism related themes mostly created during the early 1980s. He has been praised for reviving the colored ink painting tradition, and his late period art explicitly reveals the strong connection between traditional art and culture of Korea. Many of Park's paintings done in the late 1970s and the early 1980s employed traditional motifs and themes from *minhwa*, folk paintings of Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1897) and religious images of Buddhism and shamanism.

Although Park Saengkwang is currently regarded as a celebrated Korean artist, he once had been criticized in his lifetime for relating to the traditional style of Japanese painting, *Nihonga* style, due to his study and stay in Japan, thus his artistic achievement had been widely recognized over the last years of his life. Several commemorative exhibitions following his death in 1985 and anniversary exhibitions celebrating the centenary of his birth in 2004 brought huge posthumous fame to the artist.

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Park's international reputation increased when he received the invitation from the Exhibition of Le Salon in Paris as the best representative Korean artist. Among fourteen of Park's paintings included in the exhibition, "Korea: Art from the Sixteenth Century to the Present" held at the Grand Palais in 1985. His work *Shaman-3* (fig. 1) depicting a shaman practicing a ritual and images of shaman deities, was selected for the exhibition banner and the poster. It seems that the theme of Korean Shamanism, *Musok*, as a native folk religion and his vivid eye-catching colors attracted foreign viewers. Park's artwork creates an intriguing, mysterious mood that invites the viewers to the primordial visual experience.

This paper focuses on analyzing Park's art created later in life, which contains visual symbols of shamanism, to explore the thematic significance in the development of his distinctive style and the inspirational sources behind his stylistic changes. Park's pictorial representation of Korean Shamanism developed from his personal experiences, illustrating his thoughts and artistic views. This was his response to the criticism of Japanese painting styles and reflects his increasing interest in and awareness of shamanism as a part of the daily lives of Koreans. The development of his later style was also derived from social and political changes of the time, specifically changes in the reception toward shamanism in Korea during the 1970s and 1980s.

Influence of Japanese Art and Search for Korean Themes

Park Saengkwang was born in Chinju-si, Kyöngsangnam-do, South Korea in 1904 during the Japanese occupation period. He started to receive his formal art education when he went to Kyoto, Japan at the age of seventeen.¹ He studied both Japanese style painting, *nihonga*, and Western-style painting, *yōga*, at Kyoto Municipal College of Painting (the predecessor of Kyoto City University of Arts), where he met art professors and artists who belonged to the modern Kyoto School, including Takeuchi Seihō (1864-1942), who pursued the modernization of Japanese art by adapting Western art styles, as well as Murakami Kagaku (1888-1939) and Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936), who formed the Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai (Association for the Creation of National Painting). When Park moved to Tokyo in 1926, he also studied with Ochiai Rōfū (1896 - 1937), from whom he learned the innovative style of Japanese art in modern period, and, following his teacher, he joined the anti-authoritarian, experimental artistic groups.² During his long stay in Japan, Park was actively involved in many Japanese art circles, and as result, his paintings were accepted to several exhibitions in Japan, including the Meirō Fine Art Exhibition (Meirō Bijutsuten), the New Artist Association's Exhibition (Shin Bijutsujin kyōkai), and the Japanese Fine Arts Academy's Exhibition (Nihon Bijutsuinten). His art also had been selected to be showcased and recognized at the Chosōn Fine Arts Exhibition (Chosōn misul chōllamhoe) held in Korea in 1923, 1924, 1930, and 1931. Park's painting *Moonlight Night*, done in 1948, displays a close connection to Surrealism which was introduced as an avant-garde style in Japan in the 1930s.

¹ Park Saengkwang's biographical events, see "Yōnbo" 연보 [Chronological Biography] in *Park Saengkwang hwajip* 박생광 화집 [Park Saengkwang Catalogue], ed. Park Chōng (Seoul: Yōwon, 1997), 317-321.

² These artistic vanguard groups include Meirōbijutsurenmei 明朗美術聯盟, founded by Ochiai Rōfū, Shinbijutsujinkyōkai 新美術家協會, and Dainichibijutsuin 大日美術院. Ch'oe Chinsōn, "Park Saengkwangūi han'guk'hwa yōn'gu" 박생광의 한국화 연구 [A Study on Park Saengkwang's Korean Ink Paintings], *Han'guk kūnhyōndae misulsahak* 한국근현대 미술사학 [Journal of Korean Modern and Contemporary Art History] 8 (2000): 65. Park was also known to be participated in the Jiyu Bijutsuka Kyokai 自由美術家協會 in 1938. Several Korean artists such as Kim Hwanki, Yu Yongkuk, Yi Chungōp, and Mun Haksu, who studied in Japan also joined the group. Kim Youngna, "1930nyōndae Tonggyōng yuhaksaengdūl" 1930년대 동경 유학생들 [Korean International Students in Tokyo, Japan during 1930s], in *Kūndae Han'gukmisulnonch'ong* 근대한국미술논총 (Seoul: Hakkojae, 1992), 286.

Park returned to Korea in 1945 when he was forty-two years old. After the liberation of Korea, Park faced severe criticism from those in the Korean ink painting field, who disliked Japanese colored ink painting styles, such as the hazy style, *morotai* style of *nihonga*. This was based on a strong atmosphere of anti-colonialism and anti-Japanese feelings. The bitter criticism was pointed to the artists who studied in Japan and showed the influence of Japanese art and artists who were selected at the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition, which was organized by Japanese colonial government and included Japanese judges.³

Thus, Park retreated to his hometown Chinju, far from South Korea's capital and artistic center, Seoul. He started to produce conservative and traditional ink paintings using limited or toned down, neutral colors, as shown in *Pine Tree and Cranes*, done in 1956, and *Pibong Mountain*, done in 1960.

In 1967, Park left his hometown to move to Seoul and taught art for a few years at Hongik University and Kyunghee University as a lecturer. His artistic activities during his second visit to Japan in the 1970s, this time lasting four years, appeared to turn into an opportunity for him to rethink "Korean" art, and it became an encouraging force in his efforts to re-establish his own painting style that would differ from Japanese ink painting style.⁴

After returning from Japan in 1977, he started to explore Korean folk themes such as the tiger, thatched house, ten longevity symbols, and depicted sceneries of famous sites of Korea as well as well-known local places. As seen in his work in the early 1980s include *Thatched House*, *Chinju Pukchang-dae*, and *Ch'oksŏk-ru*, Park drew intimate sceneries of his hometown using bold and free brush strokes with darker ink. His paintings well display a humble, child-like innocence which is distinguished from the detailed and sensitive brushworks or thin bright colors associated with the Japanese sentimental mood. This style is also clearly different from some of his refined colorful work done in silk during the 1950s and 1960s, such as *Peony* in the Seoul Museum of Art.

Park himself recalled in 1981 that "it is hard to be selected during the period of the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition without Japanese images. However, I did not go to Japan to be selected at the exhibitions, but to study, so I did not indulge in Japanese style paintings. As an artist, I spent twenty something years in Japan for training and growth as an artist, but I have never forgotten about our [Korean] things."⁵

Park advocated the nationalistic view more openly by signing his name or his penname, Kūdaero, literary meaning "as it is," with Korean characters instead of traditional way of signing with Chinese characters. He also

³ This criticism was discussed by Kim Yunsu in the article "Sŏnjŏnūi chanjaewa kū kūkpok" 선전의 잔재와 그 극복 [Remnants of the Chosŏn Fine Arts Exhibition and its Overcome], *Misulgwa saenghwal* 미술과 생활 [Fine Arts and Life] 2 (1977); reprinted in *Han'guk hyŏndae misurūi pansŏng* 한국현대미술의 반성 [Reflection on Korean Contemporary Arts], ed. Minjogmisul hyŏbūihoe 민족미술협의회 (Seoul: Han'gyŏre, 1988), 50-58. The book includes a round-table discussion among nine art critics and art historians include Kim Yunsu, Lee Kyŏngsŏng, Ch'oe Sunu, and Ahn Huijoon. "Han'guk misulūi Ilcheshingminchanjaerūl ch'ŏngsanhanūn gil" 한국 미술의 일제 식민잔재를 청산하는 길 [The Way Clearing Japanese Colonial Remnants in Korean Arts], in *ibid.*, 87-112. The discussion about some efforts for the decolonization in ink painting field during 1950s, see Chung Hyung-Min, *Modern Korean Ink Painting* (Seoul & Elizabeth: Hollym, 2006), 112-117.

⁴ Park's paintings, *White Rhythm*, *Garden*, *Herd* and *Old Tree* were selected at Japanese Fine Arts Academy's Exhibition (Nihon Bijutsuin-ten 日本美術院展) while he stayed in Japan from 1974 to 1977. "Yŏnbo" 연보 [Chronological Biography of Park Saengkwang], in *ibid.*, 320. The discussion on Park's painting style during his stay in Japan in 1970s, see Choi Byeongsik, "Park Saengkwang hoehwaūi shigigubun'gwa Taep'yojŏk kyŏngnyang yŏn'gu" 박생광 회화의 시기구분과 대표적 경향연구 [Study on the Periodical Divisions of Park Saengkwang's Art and its Representative Characteristics], *Chohyŏnggyoyuk* 조형교육 [Art Education Review] 23 (2004): 245-246.

⁵ "Ŏrok" 어록 [Analects], in *Park Saengkwang hwajip* 박생광 화집 [Park Saengkwang Catalogue], ed. Park Chŏng (Seoul: Yŏwon, 1997), 274.

dated his work using the Korean Tan'gun calendar, *tan'gi*, which starts from 2333 BCE, the starting date of the foundation myth of Old Chosŏn by Tan'gun.

During this period, Park explored folk symbols and motifs, and frequently drew tigers, butterflies, magpies, peonies, and ten longevity symbols. Those images are mostly derived from Chosŏn Dynasty folk painting, *minhwa*, and traditional designs on Korean lacquers. The visual motifs appearing in *minhwa* usually symbolize wishes for happiness, health, wealth, and protection from evil forces. The images in *minhwa* are often sketched by copying patterns, *pon*, to easily reproduce multiple pieces. Then the artist colors inside the outline. This technique was also adapted by Park, as seen in *Tigers and Peonies*, dated in 1984, which is considered a modern reinterpretation of Chosŏn Dynasty *minhwa*. Park's attention to *minhwa* was partly the result of a larger movement of re-evaluating and re-appreciating *minhwa* during the 1970s and 1980s in Korea, particularly due to the effort of Zo Zayong who established the *minhwa* collection at Emile Museum in 1968.⁶

Interests in Traditional Religions

Park saw the spirits and ethnical characteristics of Korea residing in Buddhism, Shamanism, and *minhwa*. These, as well as Korean indigenous motifs from traditional folk paintings and religious images, began to frequently appear in Park's paintings in the late 1970s. In the category of *minhwa*, the religious imageries are included, such as secularized Buddhist paintings, portraits of high priests, and temple wall paintings as well as many shamanism paintings of shaman gods, goddesses, and portraits of Tan'gun.⁷

During the late 1970s and the early 1980s, Park produced a window series with religious motifs. This series exhibits Park's particular interests in the traditional Korean style buildings and its architectural elements such as latticed paper doors and windows and *tanch'ŏng*, the traditional multicolored paintwork on wooden buildings. The main composition of the window series is the juxtaposition of latticed paper windows with Korean traditional symbols or religious motifs of Taoism, Buddhism and shamanism; for example, *A Window-2*, created in 1977, includes Taoist symbols such as peaches, cranes, and immortals, and *A Window and a Buddhist Image*, created in 1980, shows a bodhisattva in pensive pose.

A Window and Shamanism -2 dated 1984 (fig. 2), portrays a female shaman deity wearing a Korean traditional headdress, *hwagwan*, decorated with jewels and a butterfly design. A shaman deity occupies one half, and a latticed paper window occupies the other half. The image was drawn in thick orange lines and sections divided by outlines are filled with vivid colors. Visual tensions are created by dynamic orange lines and complimentary colors - the yellow on the back canopy and the bluish-violet color of her dress contrast with the calm, simple green grid patterned on the white and gray paper window. The frontal image of a woman is possibly inspired by a devotional image of a shaman deity placed in the altar space. This painting could be seen as the viewer looking in a shaman shrine which has wooden green grid paper windows and doors. (fig. 3) Opening a window also implies the appearance of the deity, the invitation to the shrine, and the experience of the religious

⁶ Zo Zayong published numerous articles and books on *minhwa* and organized both domestic and international *minhwa* exhibitions. His biography see, Yun Yölsu, "Han'guk minhwaüi chungshijo, Zo Zayongüi saengaewa palchach'wi" 한국 민화의 중시조, 조자용의 생애와 발자취 [The Re-founder of *Minhwa*, Zo Zayong's Life and his Marks], *Han'guk minhwa* 한국민화 [Korean Folk Painting] 2 (2011): 157-165; Yi Yöngsil, "Zo Zayongüi minhwayön'guwa minhwaundong" 조자용의 민화연구와 민화운동 [Zo Zayong's Study on *Minhwa* and *Minhwa* Movement], *Wölgan minhwa* 월간 민화 [Monthly Journal of *Minhwa*] (2014, 7).

⁷ Yi Uhan, *Yijoüi minhwa* 이조의 민화 [Chosŏn Dynasty *Minhwa*] (Seoul: Yörhwadang, 1977), 33.

wonders of shamanism. In his paintings, elements of shamanism are introduced as a symbolic image of the native religion.

The development of Park's new painting style using exuberant colors is partly influenced by Korean traditional religious paintings. For example, shaman paintings mostly use the intense colors similar to those of *tanch'öng* applied on the religious architecture and *saektong*, the multi-colored stripes found on Korean traditional clothing. Park's colored ink painting was an antithetical approach to the dominant artistic trends in the Korean contemporary ink painting field that centered artists who experimented new possibilities of ink by adapting Western Enformel and Abstract painting styles from late 1950s and 1960s, and artists who pursued Monochrome art, or *tansaek-hwa* (single-color painting) from the 1970s to the early 1980s.⁸ His art, with colorful and abstract imageries, is also different from the trend of ink paintings by artists who tried to revive the Korean topographical real-view landscape painting tradition in the 1970s.⁹

Religion was one of the key sources for Park's art. His interest in Buddhism had naturally developed through his life-long friendship with his elementary school classmate Yi Ch'anho (1902-1971), who later became a Buddhist high priest, Ch'öngdam. Park portrayed his friend Ch'öngdam several times and drew many Buddhist images. In *The Sunrise at the Mount T'oham* done in 1984 in the collection of Seoul Museum of Art, he reproduced the Buddha, a bodhisattva, and guardian figure Vajrapanis in the Sökkuram, which is the best representative Korean Buddhist sculptural work from the Unified Silla Period (676-935).

Park made a Buddhist pilgrimage trip to India, the origin country of Buddhism and Hinduism, in 1982, and the trip seemed to have inspired him to express a more profound and primordial religious realm in his paintings that usually combined religious images with Korean traditional motifs. His religious experience in India seemed to naturally lead to the development of his interest in Korea's native folk religion, which blends shamanism with Buddhism.

Korean Shamanism and Shaman Art

The prototype of Korean Shamanism, *musok* or *mugyo*, is a belief in a world inhabited by spirits. It existed in Korea before the tenth century BCE and had been recorded in the historical texts since the Three Kingdoms Period (57 BCE-668 CE). Korean Shamanism has developed by encompassing various indigenous religious beliefs and other imported religions, particularly Buddhism and Taoism. Shamanism was prosperous during the Unified Silla Period and Koryö Dynasty (918-1392).¹⁰ However, during the Chosön Dynasty, when Neo-Confucianism became a state ideology, shamanism was officially suppressed, lost national and imperial support, and was mainly practiced among women and commoners.¹¹ From the late nineteenth century, Christian missionaries regarded shamanism as primitive and superstitious and demonized the followers of shamanism.

⁸ About the discussion on Korean Enformel and Abstract painting, see Kim Younga, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea* (Seoul & Elizabeth: Hollym 2005), 30-31, 35-40, 45-52.

⁹ Yi Chöngchin, "1970nyöndae Han'guk shilgyöngghwa yön'gu" 1970년대 한국 실경화 연구 [The Real-Scenery Landscape Painting in the 1970s of Korea], *Han'guk künhyöndae misulsa'hak* 한국근현대 미술사학 [Journal of Korean Modern and Contemporary Art History] 29 (2015): 207-238.

¹⁰ Kim In-hoe, "Korean Shamanism- A Bibliographical Introduction," in *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea*, ed. Richard Guisso and Chai-shin Yu (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press. 1988), 12-13, 16.

¹¹ The discussion on the negative attitude and the governmental controls toward shamanism during Chosön Dynasty, see Boudewijn Walraven, "Our Shamanistic Past: The Korean Government, Shamans and Shamanism," *Copenhagen Papers in East and Southeast Asian Studies*, 8 (1993): 5-8.

The painting of shamanistic deities and spirits, *mushindo*, is devotional religious art that is placed over the altar in a shrine for worship and used for shamanistic rituals.¹² Some of the oldest extant *mushindo* are housed at Kuksa-dang (fig. 3), an important shaman shrine designated as the National Folklore Cultural Heritage of Korea No. 28, now located on the foothill of Mount Inwang in Seoul. *The Paintings of Shamanistic Spirits in Kuksa-dang Shrine (Kuksa-dang mushindo)* were re-evaluated for its cultural importance and designated as Important Folklore Cultural Heritage of Korea No. 17 in 1970. From the late 1970s and 1980s, *mushindo* started to be studied and received public attention.

The shaman and the shamanistic ritual, *kut*, were often depicted in genre painting, *p'ungsok'wa*, during the Chosŏn Dynasty. As seen in *The Dance of a Shaman*, painted by Sin Yunpok (1758-?) in the collection of the Kansong Art Museum, and *A Shaman Performing a Kut*, painted by Kim Chunkŭn (act. 1886-1900) in the collection of the Korean Christian Museum at Soongsil University, the ritual practiced by the shaman is an important part of the commoner's life.

The scene of the shamanistic ritual was also included in Buddhist paintings such as *Kamnodo* [Nectar Ritual Painting or the Buddhist Painting of King of the Sweet Dew Saving Hungry Ghost], which was produced in the hopes that the deceased would be reborn in the Pure Land, *Chŏngt'o*. While the top section of *Kamnodo* renders Buddha Amitabha's Western Pure Land and the middle section describes an altar table filled with foods for the Buddhist ceremony, the bottom section portrays hell scenes with suffering and the life cycle. Secular genre scenes showing the daily lives of the common populace started to appear in *Kamnodo* created in the late nineteenth century.¹³ Among these human activities, a colorfully dressed shaman performing *kut* accompanied by musicians was included in the *Kamnodo* hung in the altar spaces of the Buddhist temples, such as the Hŭngguk-sa and the Pongŭn-sa.

In the early twentieth century during Korea's colonized period, the Japanese government was interested in Korean folk culture, *minsok*, and folk religion, *musok*, to impose the idea of a culturally undeveloped colony.¹⁴ The studies on Korean Shamanism by leading Japanese scholars, Torii Ryūzō (1870-1953) and Murayama Jijun (1891-1968), conveyed imperialistic viewpoints and justified Japanese colonization.¹⁵ Their studies also tried to connect Korean Shamanism with Japanese Shinto, so that Korean Shamanism could be replaced, promoting Korean assimilation into Japanese culture.¹⁶ Opposed to the Japanese scholars' colonial intentions, Korean

¹² Around 130 shaman paintings were collected and studied by Kim T'aekon in the book he edited, *Han'guk mushindo* 한국무신도 [The Paintings of Korean Shaman Gods] (Seoul: Yŏrhwadang, 1989).

¹³ This change of adding the secular scenes of humans in their everyday environment is discussed in the article by Kim Sŭnghŭi, "19segi *kamnodo*ŭi inmulſange poinŭn saeroun yangsang" 19세기 감로도의 인물상에 보이는 새로운 양상 [Iconographic Changes in the 19th Century *Kamnodo*: New Human Figures in Nectar Ritual Paintings], *Han'guk munhwa* 한국문화 [Korean Culture] 49 (2010): 99-121.

¹⁴ Song Hwasŏp, "Minsokkwa sasang - yugyo, pulgyo, togyo, p'ungsujirisŏl yŏn'gusŏnggwarŭl chungshimŭro" 민속과 사상-유교, 불교, 도교, 풍수지리설 연구성과를 중심으로 [*Minsok and Ideas - focusing on the Studies on Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Geomancy*], *Han'guksaron* 한국사론 [Journal of Korean History] 29 (1993): 343.

¹⁵ The studies on Korean Shamanism by Japanese scholars during early 20th C, see Ch'oe Sŏkyŏng, *Iljeha Musokron-gwa sikminji gwonryeok* 일제하 무속론과 식민지 권력 [The Studies on Shamanism during the Occupation of Japan and its Colonial Power] (Seoul: Sŏkyŏng muhwasŏ, 1999). Murayama Jijun's *Chousen no senboku to yogen* 朝鮮の占卜と豫言 [The Divination and Prognostication of Chosŏn] published in 1933 was criticized as "the indirect approaches viewed the subjects with eyes of the Imperialistic ideologies" by Kim Mant'ae, "Murayama Jijunŭi Chosŏn chŏmboksae taehan pip'anjŏk koch'al" 무라야마 지준의 조선 점복사에 대한 비판적 고찰 [Critical Review on the Survey of Murayama Jijun upon Divination of Chosŏn], *Han'guk minjokmuhwa* 한국민족문화 [Journal of Koreanology] 66 (2018.2): 245-272.

¹⁶ Ch'oe Sŏkyŏng, *ibid*, 169-170.

scholars Ch'oe Namsŏn (1890-1957) and Yi Nŭnghwa (1869-1943) studied and published articles on shamanism with a nationalistic perspective and suggested that there was a connection between Korean Shamanism and that of Siberia of Northeast Asia. Ch'oe also suggested that the founder of the Old Chosŏn, Tan'gun, was a shaman ruler.¹⁷

After Korea's Liberation in 1945, the President Park Chung-hee (1917-1979) criticized shamanism, believing that it was a non-scientific, irrational superstition or a cult preventing the modernization and industrialization of Korea. He promoted the "Movement to Destroy Superstition" along with the New Community Movement (Saemaül undong) in the 1970s, which prohibited indigenous worship and destroyed many traditional shaman shrines.¹⁸

However, as an appeasing cultural policy, after May 18, Kwangju Democratization Movement, President Chŏn Tu-hwan (1931-2021) sponsored "Kukp'ung 81," a large-scale cultural festival held at Yŏui-do Plaza, Seoul from May 28th to June 1st of 1981.¹⁹ The program of the festival included twelve performances of regional shamanistic rituals from eight provinces of Korea, *P'al-do kut*.²⁰ Although it had a political purpose of the Chŏn government, to mute public criticism against the regime, this cultural event drew huge positive reviews for national cultural awareness, and Korean Shamanism received special attention as a part of national folk culture.

In 1985, a special edition of a postage stamp with the image of a shaman surrounded by village people during the early twentieth century was issued as a part of the Postage Stamps for Modern Art Series II. The stamp design was based on Kim Chunghyŏn's (1901-1953) painting, *Shaman*, dated in 1941, which is currently in the collection of National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea.

Due to the live stream aired on television of the five days of Kukp'ung 81 festival by the national public broadcaster, Korean Broadcasting System as well as collected and circulated the commemorative postage of the shaman image from the artwork, the prejudice and the feeling of antipathy toward shamanism lessened and the idea of perceiving shamanism as a part of the roots of national culture became accepted among the Korean populace during the early 1980s.

Against the Chŏn's Fifth Republic of South Korea (1981-1988), when military officials seized the power, the participants of the Minjung Cultural Movement also recognized Buddhism and Korean Shamanism as the

¹⁷ Walraven, "Our Shamanistic Past: The Korean Government, Shamans and Shamanism" (1993): 10-11; Roger Janelli, "The Origins of Korean Folklore Scholarship," *Journal of American Folklore*, 99 (1986): 31-34.

¹⁸ The article about the destruction of *sŏnangdang* village shrines are found in the newspaper Chosun Ilbo dated April 28, 1972 and the newspaper Dong-a Ilbo dated May 6, 1972. The newspaper articles are cited and discussed in Nam Kŭnu, "Han'gugŭi Saemaül undonggwa saenghwal pyŏnhw" 한국의 새마을 운동과 생활 [New Community Movement in Korea and the Change on Life Style], *Ilssanggwŭa Munhwa* 일상과 문화 [Journal of Daily Life and Culture] 5 (2018.3): 153-154.

¹⁹ The discussion on the political intension and ideology behind the Kukp'ung 81, see Han Yangmyŏng, "Ch'ukche chŏngch'i'ui tu p'unggyŏng: Kukp'ung 81kwa taehaktaedongje" 축제 정치의 두 풍경: 국풍 81 과 대학대동제 [Two Scenes of Festival Politics: Kukp'ung 81 and Campus Festival], *Pigyo minsokhak* 비교민속학 [Journal of Asian Comparative Folklore] 26 (2004): 469-498. Also, see Lee Hana, "1970-1980nyŏndae 'minjongmunhwa' kaenyŏmŭi punhwawa chaengt'u" 1970-1980 년대 '민족문화' 개념의 분화와 쟁투 [Divisions and Struggles over the Concept of 'National Culture' in 1970s and 1980s South Korea], *Kaenyŏmgwa sot'ong* 개념과 소통 [Concept and Communication] 18 (2016): 189- 191.

²⁰ *P'al-do kut* performances during Kukp'ung 81 festival included Ssitkim-kut from Chin-do, Taedong-kut and Taet'aek-kut from Hwanghae Province, Tang-kut from Kyŏnggi Province, Yŏngdŭng-kut and Ch'ilgŏmŏri-kut from Cheju Island, Tano-kut from Kwangnŭng, and P'ungi-kut from East coast. The program of Kukp'ung 81 festival see, *Maeil kyŏngje* 매일경제 [Maeil Business Newspaper] (May 28, 1981), <http://m.mk.co.kr/onevs/1981/595958>.

nationalistic religions for commoners and the oppressed populace.²¹ They used the visual images from Buddhism and shamanism to express their nationalistic spirit and displayed the life and power of people resisting the autocratic government. Symbols of shamanism were often used to convey their criticism of the government and dramatize the protests.²² As seen in the prints by O Yoon (1946-1986) and Hong Söngtam (1955-), the shaman dance and shamanistic rituals were employed as subject matter among the Minjung Art artists from the 1980s and early 1990s. Emphasizing the social function of art, they recorded the lives of common people and researched the traditional Korean art of commoners such as folk artistic traditions and religious art.²³ The mass-produced woodblock prints were able to create a powerful image that delivered the social and political messages of reformation against the military regime.

Artistic Inspiration: Shaman and Shamanistic Rituals

One of the highlights of the Kukp'ung 81 events was the performances of shamanistic rituals, *kut*, by a celebrated shaman, Kim Kümhwa (1931-2019), who was designated as a keeper, *pojuja* of a National Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 82-2 in 1985. Her life as a shaman was also filmed in a movie titled *Manshin: Ten Thousand of Spirits* in 2014.²⁴ Her famous shamanic ritual dance performed on top of the sharp blades of chaff cutters, *chaktu t'agi*, was broadcasted on television which brought her national recognition. Park Saengkwang first met Kim Kümhwa at Kukp'ung 81, and he was fascinated by her shaman dance, to the point of feeling as though she was actually possessed.²⁵ The meeting with her became a decisive turning point in Park's interest toward Korean Shamanism. Since then, he kept a close companionship with Kim Kümhwa and often traveled to observe shamanistic rituals. As a shaman, Kim Kümhwa became an important artistic inspiration to him and resulted in the creation of many series of paintings titled the *Shaman* or *Shamanism*.²⁶ He also specifically portrayed Kim Kümhwa as a representative shaman as seen in *Shaman-1*. (fig. 4)

The *Shaman-1* is composed by arranging the visual symbols of shamanism such as a shaman, a fan, a set of five color flags, a snake, and architectural parts of a shaman shrine. Ignoring the perspective, these symbols are done in a flat, abstract, and design-like manner, similar to a collage, which also easily can be found in the stylistic references from Korean folk art, *minhwa*.

The shaman in the center is modeled after Kim Kümhwa, as evidenced by the inscription that says "Shaman Kim Kümhwa *kut*" on the bottom of the painting, next to his signature. She holds a shaman fan with one hand

²¹ About the Korean Minjung Cultural Movement and the relation to the shamanistic rituals, see Choi Chungmoo, "The Minjung Culture Movement and the Construction of Popular Culture in Korea," in *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence*, ed. Kenneth m. Wells, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 105-118.

²² Walraven, "Our Shamanistic Past: The Korean Government, Shamans and Shamanism," (1993): 20.

²³ Yi T'aeho, "80nyöndaehyönjangmisurüi palchö'n'gwa kö'lgægü'rim" 80년대 현장미술의 발전과 걸개그림 [The Development of Field Art and Paintings in Hanging Format in 1980s] in *Minjung misul 15nyön 1980-1994*, 민중미술 15년 1980-1994, ed. Ch'oe Yöl and Ch'oe T'aeman (Seoul: Samkwa kkum, 1994), 119; Ch'oe Yöl, *Han'guk misul undongsa* 한국미술운동사 [The History of Korean Art Movement] (Seoul: Tolbaege, 1991), 198, 236.

²⁴ The documentary film on the life of Kim Kümhwa as a shaman, *Manshin: Ten Thousand of Spirits*, directed by Park Chan-kyong in 2014 was based on her autobiography, *Pidankkot nömse*, and she also played the role of the aged herself in the film.

²⁵ Ch'oe Pyöngsik, "Park Saengkwang hoehwaüi shigigubun'gwa taep'yojök kyönghyangyön'gu" 박생광 회화의 시기구분과 대표적 경향연구 [Study on the Periodical Divisions of Park Saengkwang's Art and its Representative Characteristics] (2004): 249.

²⁶ Six paintings belong to the *Shaman* series and sixteen paintings belong to the *Shamanism* series. Around thirty paintings show the shamanism theme. Kim Ihwan, *Minjok'onüi hwaga, Park Saengkwang iyagi: Suyu-ri kanün kil* 민족혼의 화가, 박생광 이야기: 수유리 가는 길 [An Artist of National Spirit, the Story of Park Saengkwang: On the Way to Suyu-ri] (Seoul: IE-Young misulgwan, 2004), 68.

and five color flags with the other. The five flags with colors of white, yellow, black, blue, and red represent the five directional divine guardian, *obang sinjang*. A shaman practicing divination picks one flag among five. The image of a shaman holding five directional flags, *obanggi*, is included in the book *Mudang-naeryŏk* [Records Related to Shamans] (fig. 5-a), edited by Nan'gok, published in the nineteenth century during Chosŏn Dynasty.²⁷ The pictures in the book illustrate the twelve different shamanistic rituals practiced in Seoul for different purposes.

A snake wrapping around the shaman represents a popular deity *Ch'ilsŏng*, or Seven Stars. The worship of *Ch'ilsŏng* was widespread in Korea since it was believed to control human affairs like health, longevity, and peace. Since *Ch'ilsŏng* originated from Taoism, and also appears in Buddhist temples, it is an example of a combination of shamanism with Buddhism and Taoism.

The other image showing the integration of shamanism with Buddhism is the three figures on the fan, known as *Sambul chesŏk*, referring to the Buddhist Trinity or the Shamanist Trinity, who govern childbearing, happiness, longevity, and agricultural prosperity.²⁸

At the top of the painting, the design of the monster mask, *kwimyŏn*, lotus design and *tanch'ŏng* is depicted horizontally, representing a wooden beam in the shrine. Colorful, grotesque appearance of *kwimyŏn* designs usually appear in the entryway of a Buddhist temple or a shaman shrine built in the Chosŏn Dynasty, for the purpose of expelling the malevolent spirits and protecting the temple or shrine. A paper door with green grids and a tablet with *tanch'ŏng* serve as a picture frame of the painting, and it also creates space inside the shrine as an architectural setting.

A hanging wooden tablet is labeled as “Kuksa-dang,” (fig. 3) a representative shaman shrine in Seoul, where people can worship many important historical figures who later became religious folk deities. Kuksa-dang houses portraits of the founder of Chosŏn Dynasty, Yi Sŏnggye; Koryŏ Dynasty General Ch'oe Yŏng; a Buddhist protective guardian, *Shinjang*; and other shaman deities that are also blends of shamanism and Buddhism.

The purple face of the shaman represents her ability to move into trance states. During the trance, the shaman's soul leaves her body and travels to other realms. Practicing shamanic rituals, the shaman provides physical, psychological, and spiritual healings.

While *Shaman-1* (fig. 4), depicting Kim Kŭmhwa, is a collage of the symbolic motifs of shamanism, *Shaman*, dated 1983 (Fig. 6), is a narrative depiction of the shamanistic ritual, *kut*. A shaman practices a ritual for obtaining good fortune or to cure illnesses by exorcising negative spirits that cling to the client. The close-up seems to drag the viewer into the center of the shamanistic ritual. By placing an offering table in foreground and using a bird's eye view, it lets a viewer become a participant looking down onto the scene. On the offering table, special foods such as a pig head, fruits, and colorful *sanja*, a Korean traditional snack, are prepared with lighted candles. The shaman is wearing a colorful Korean traditional costume with its sleeves decorated with *saektong*, multi-colored stripes. She holds a fan while doing *kut*, and the image of a shaman with these ritual tools appears in *Mudang-naeryŏk*. (fig. 5-b)

Between the shaman and the offering table, a nude woman lies down. The shaman fills two thirds of the screen without any empty space, making the shaman look very powerful. By widely opening her arms, it seems

²⁷ *Mudang-naeryŏk* is a valuable source for studying the origin of Korean shamanism and various types of shamanistic rituals. Two different editions of *Mudang-naeryŏk* are in the collection of Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.

²⁸ Kang Ŭnhae, “Han'guk mushindo, chŏmbok'waŭi tongashiajŏk konggamgwa tokchasŏng,” 한국 무신도, 점복화의 동아시아적 공감과 독자성 [Uniqueness and the Shared Value of Korean Paintings of Shamanic Deities and Divination in the Context of East Asia], *Han'guk'ak nonjip* 한국학 논집 [Kyemyŏng Korean Studies Journal] 62 (2016): 205-208.

like the shaman has put a spell over the woman who is lying down in front her. The woman's skin is purple which implies she is possessed by an evil spirit that may have caused her to fall ill. While the shaman tries to expel the ill spirit, the shaman god appears behind the fan. A snake is coiled on the table, implying that the ritual is healing the woman. Here, the role of the shaman as an intermediary between spirits or gods and human beings is well described.

Park's paintings depict intriguing subjects while catching the viewer's eyes with exuberant colors. In Park's art, color is a very important feature, and the orderly arrangement and harmony of colors are always calculated by the artist. By juxtaposing the complementary colors, such as red next to green, blue next to orange, and yellow next to purple, he creates paintings full of spirits and visual tension. Bold, vivid colors are associated with the five traditional hues -black, red, blue, white, and yellow, known as *obangsaek* or five directional colors.²⁹ This color scheme is also derived from *tanch'öng*, used in Buddhist temples and Taoist and shaman shrines.

Shamanic Healing: Pujök, Changsüng and Cheungch'igi

Curing illness by practicing an exorcism is one of the most important roles of a shaman. When an illness was believed to have been caused by evil spirits, a shaman was invited to perform rites that chase away spirits. Sometimes shamanic rituals were sponsored by the court when epidemics spread. The specific rituals for the smallpox spirit, called *Hogugöri* is illustrated in the nineteenth century book, *Mudang-naeryök*. (fig. 5-b)

Several paintings done in Park's last two years of his life are associated with the folk remedy function of shamanism. Many of his paintings in the *Shaman* and *Shamanism* series describe the shaman as a healer and the client as a possessed sick person. *Shamanism-15* (fig. 7), done in Park's last year alive, well describes the transition into trance states of the shaman. Under the big red hat, two faces are juxtaposed - a shaman's purple face and a woman's white face. In the *Shaman*, dated 1983 (fig. 6), the shaman's face is white, and the face of the woman who is lying down is purple. The woman with a snake wrapped around her neck is under the shaman's hat, possibly meaning that she is under the shaman's control. Next to the two faces, the third face of the shaman god appears. The shaman holds a blue folding fan, which is decorated with a red dragon, which seems to be coming alive. Next to the fan, there is the shaking blue light of a candle, wavy and bold lines as well as ambiguous space enhancing the mood of a supernatural phenomenon. A pair of blue *yönwöltö*, crescent moon shaped knives, is upright. At the bottom, a pig head and fruit are prepared on the offering table. Toward Park's last years, his paintings became more ambiguous, abstract, surrealistic, and looks magical. Along with the shamanistic scene of exorcism, a yellow paper amulet, *pujök*, is attached, repelling evil.

Many of Park's paintings done in 1984 and 1985 contain *pujök*, which functions as a magic charm that has the power to ward off negative energy or evil spirits. *Shamanism-14*, dated in 1985 (fig. 8), also has a yellow talisman paper written in red ink, *pujök*, attached. Different from *Shamanism-15* which has a shaman in the center and accompanied by a profiled woman on one side and a half face showing a shaman god on the other side, in the *Shamanism-14*, a shaman goddess is in the center with a shaman and a woman on each side of her.

The visual reference of an intriguing image of the shaman deity in *Shamanism-14* can be traced back to the *Mushindo* at the shaman shrine, Naewat-tang. The Naewat *Mushindo* was designated as Important Folklore Heritage in 2001, and the remaining ten shaman paintings are now housed at the Cheju National University

²⁹ The study on *obangsaek* in Park Saengkwang's art, see Kim Hyechu, "Park Saengkwangüi hoehwae nat'anan obangsaegüi t'ükching" 박생광의 회화에 나타난 오방색의 특징 [Five Directional Colors in Park Saengkwang's Paintings], *Yesul yön'gu* 예술연구 [The Arts and Modern Culture Research Journal] 12 (2006): 219-240.

Museum in Cheju Island, a center of Korean Shamanism.³⁰ One painting from Naewat *Mushindo* portrays a female shaman deity (fig. 9) wearing a traditional dress, a red skirt and green jacket and a headdress decorated with dangling red, yellow, and green circular jewels, is almost identical with the deity in Park's *Shamanism-14*. Several images of shaman deities in his paintings with *Pujök* done in 1984 and 1985 are identifiable as the deities portrayed in the Naewat *Mushindo*. For example, as seen in his *Shamanism-10* and *Shamanism-12*, both dated 1985.

The female shaman deity in *Shamanism-14* is depicted between a person and a shaman, both in purple, lying down diagonally. The shaman's face turning purple implies the image of the deity here is not a devotional portrait, but the deity coming into view when the shaman enters trance state for the ritual. The closed eyes showing the transcendental status connecting to the shaman deity. The shaman wears a *saektong* dress with colorful stripes that occupies almost half of the background of the painting, which seems to serve as a backdrop for the shaman. The architectural setting on the top part of the painting displays a shaman shrine; a tablet attached reads "Kuksadang," written upside down; and a horizontal wooden beam decorated with a complimentary color pair, red and green.

If a *pujök* is for personal protection, the village guardian is *changsüng*, a sacred Korean totem pole. *Changsüng* is a wooden pole carved with a grotesque face, its eyes bulging and smile eerie, wearing a traditional headdress for officials. It is found in the entrance way of villages, temples or shrines, and is believed to protect the village people from evil spirits, natural disasters and diseases. Park Saengkwang created a series of *changsüng* paintings in his last years alive. In *Changsüng*, dated 1985 (fig. 10), a pair of *changsüng* is inscribed with the name "Female General Under Heaven" and wrapped with a straw rope, *kümjul*, with bells and white clothes around her neck. By winding a straw rope around its neck, it is believed that *changsüng* becomes sacred, purified, and protected from any polluted things or evil spirits. Village people prepared rituals periodically showing their devotion to the spirit of guardian poles, particularly during the first lunar month of the year to ward off any evil spirits or diseases. A paper amulet, *pujök*, attached to the tombstone reads, "Prevent from impinging the ghost." Near the tombstone, food - such as white rice, soup, and fish - are offered along with traditional female dresses, *hanbok*. Other colorful traditional female dresses hang from the branches of a *tangsan* tree.

A *tangsan* tree standing on a village shrine is a deified tree worshipped as the village guardian. It sometimes serves as a shrine itself and becomes a center of communal worship, which is related to the animism widely practiced in ancient times of East Asia. The five color clothes - red, blue, yellow, white, and green (or black) - hanging on a sacred tree represent the offerings of good clothing to gods. These colors are related to the five directional flags, representing the five directional colors in shamanism. (figure 5-a)

In front of the *changsüng* and *tangsan* tree, a white straw effigy, *cheung*, has a knife in the chest. *Cheung* is used in a shamanistic village ritual to eradicate evil forces or prevent bad fortune. It is most notably used as part of a seasonal custom called *cheungch'igi*, or dumping ill-fated puppet. The straw effigy for exorcism is held on the eve of the first full moon on the first lunar month. During the ritual, the straw effigy is condemned and burned

³⁰ The record of *Mushindo* in Naewat-tang appears in 1466 *Chosön wangjo shillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [Veritable Records of the Chosön Dynasty]. The remaining ten paintings are dated before 1882, which were based on the original works dated before 1466. The original set is believed to be twelve paintings, but now only ten paintings remain include six paintings of male deities and four paintings of female deities. The study on Naewat *Mushindo* see, Kim Yuchöng, "Chejuüi mushindo- hyönjonhanün naewattang mushindo 10shinwi yön'gu" 제주의 무신도- 현존하는 내왓당 무신도 10 신위 [Shamanic Paintings of Cheju: A Study of the Ten Surviving Portraits of the Shamanic Paintings of Naewat-tang], *T'amna Munhwa* 탐라문화 [T'amna Culture] 18 (1997): 183-214.

as a punishment to prevent all kinds of bad fortune falling upon the village. In this case, *cheung* is a symbol of bad luck or disease, so it is thrown in the ground, hit, shot with an arrow, or stabbed with a knife. The killing of *cheung* implies the killing of bad luck and disease. *Cheung* is also depicted in *Shamanism-14* (fig. 8), next to the face of the shaman deity.

Park's paintings depicting shamanistic themes seem to contain a magical meaning, especially after he was diagnosed with laryngeal cancer in 1984. A few years before his death, *pujök*, *changsŭng*, and *cheung* were frequently depicted in his paintings, possibly containing the wish to dispel his own disease. He was known to try shamanistic treatment, too.³¹ As many other Koreans do, Park may have wanted to find a peace of mind in shamanism and rely on the shamanistic magic to relieve his pain or seek a magical cure.

Conclusion: Shamanism as Communal Healing Rituals of Korea

Park's monumental painting, *The Range of History*, done in his last year alive, well represents his vision of religions as an important part of history of Korea, by employing religious motifs such as a shaman, shamanistic ritual, amulet, and the image of Buddha along with traditional motifs and historical figures. By depicting shamanistic themes with intense traditional colors, Park achieved primitive vitality and articulated his cultural roots.

In 1984, when he mostly focused on the theme of shamanism, he confessed that "the colors and images of shamanism, shamans, Buddhist paintings, and temple *tanch'öng*, all of them are directly related to the lives of commoners, in such way, it is naturally becomes my religion."³² This might be the key to understanding the relation between shamanism and his art.

Park's rather personal, nationalistic approach to shamanism can be compared to socially and politically engaged Minjung art in 1980s, who tried to draw visual references from traditional art, particularly those of marginalized popular art forms from the Chosön Dynasty that include Buddhist paintings and shamanism images. Although Park was never actively involved in the Minjung Art Movement during the 1980s, his vision of shamanism as a national spirit and an important part of history was shared with and influenced many contemporary artists. In 1994, almost ten years after his death, one of Park's paintings, *Shaman* (fig. 6), was included in the first government sponsored retrospective art exhibition of Minjung art, titled "Korean Minjung Arts Fifteen Years (1980-1994)," held at the National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea.³³

Shamanism in Park Saengkwang's art is a visual connotation of "Korean" or "Korean being." Instead, emphasis the aspect as devotional images, Park visualized the images of shamanism in a narrative way, close to a genre painting that depicts ordinary people's everyday life and their activities. He perceived shamanism as a way of life and a custom of Korean. His art is a pictorial rendering of the idea of *kibok*, praying for good fortune, which is a function of shamanism fulfilling common people's practical needs such as improving health, acquiring wealth, and wishing for good luck. This view is not limited to Park; there are many other Koreans who conceive of shamanism in the same way. Sharing the mutual understanding of shamanism, his art is able to be communicated and appreciated with intimate and empathetic feelings.

³¹ Lee Söku, *Yösul honül sarüda kan saramdül* 예술 혼을 사르다 간 사람들 [The Artists Who Have Dedicated Their Lives to Creating Art] (Seoul: Gana Art, 1990), 321.

³² "Örok" 어록 (Analects)," in *Park Saengkwang hwajip* 박생광 화집 (Park Saengkwang Catalogue) (Seoul: Yöwon, 1997), 276.

³³ In the exhibition catalogue, Park's *Shaman* dated in 1983 is included. The National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea ed., *Minjungmisul 15nyeon 1980-1994* 민중미술 15 년전 1980-1994 [Korean Minjung Arts for 15 Years 1980-1994] (Seoul: Salmgwa ggum, 1994), 55.

Shamanism has been looked upon favorably or unfavorably to promote cultural and political ideologies by different groups throughout history, such as the Buddhists of Koryŏ Dynasty, the Confucian ruling class of Chosŏn Dynasty, the commoner class, Christian's missionaries, the colonial government of Japan, anti-Japanese and anti-American nationalists, modernists, traditionalists, the military autocratic government, or the politically progressive Minjung Art movement. It has endured the fluctuation of positive and negative perceptions and evaluations, making it a fitting cultural symbol associated with the national identity.

By striving to overcome the stylistic conflicts between Korean and Japanese, or traditional and Western, Park Saengkwang's art accomplished the visual rhetoric of national aesthetics sensitivity that built on the communal thoughts and cultural experience of shamanism in the modern history of Korea. Park's last words in July 1985 were, "Every national art stands on its own national tradition," summarizing his reason for creating the images of shamanism, as the emblematic images of nationalism.³⁴ In addition, his art portraying shamanism themes delivers the wish that all people, including himself, who suffer from misfortune and disease could be healed through collective rituals. Thus, his paintings could be conceived as a talisman paper, *pujŏk*, that possesses magical healing and protecting power.

Illustrations



Figure 1. Park Saengkwang (1904-1985), *Shaman-3*, 1984. Ink and colors on paper, 136x136cm. IE-YOUNG Contemporary Art Museum, Yongin, Korea (private collection).

³⁴ "Örok" 어록 [Analects], 276.



Figure 2. Park Saengkwang (1904-1985), *A Window and Shamanism -2* 1984. Ink and colors on paper, 47x52cm. IE-YOUNG Contemporary Art Museum, Yongin, Korea (private collection).



Figure 3. *Kuksa-dang* Shrine of Inwangsan, Korean National Folklore Cultural Heritage No. 28, Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1897), relocated in 1925. Seoul.



Figure 4. Park Saengkwang (1904-1985), *Shaman-1*, 1982. Ink and colors on paper, 136x137cm. IE-YOUNG Contemporary Art Museum, Yongin, Korea (private collection).



Figure 5-a, 5-b. *Mudang-naeryeok* 巫黨來歷 (Records Related to Shamans), Godoseobon, edited by Nangok, 19th C, Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1897). Manuscript, ink and colors on paper, 20.8x16.9cm. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul, Korea.

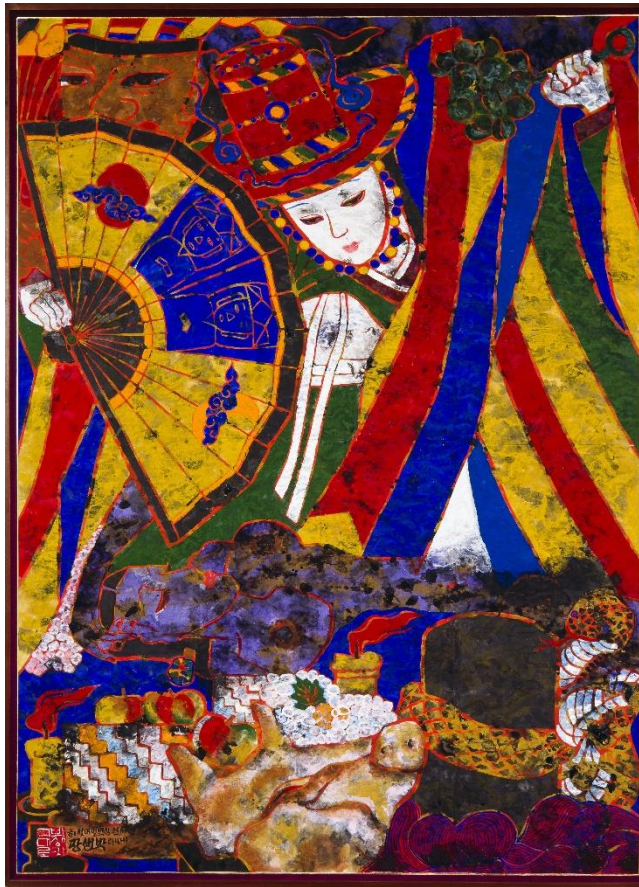


Figure 6. Park Saengkwang (1904-1985), *Shaman*, 1983. Ink and colors on paper, 130x70cm. National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea.

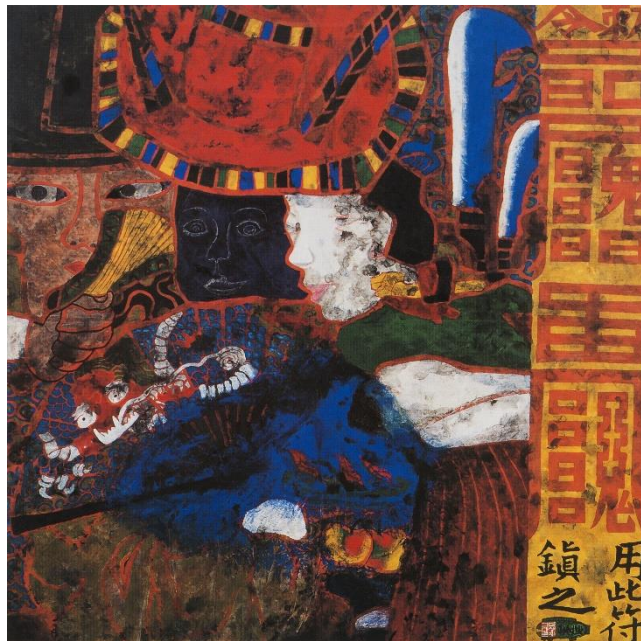


Figure 7. Park Saengkwang (1904-1985), *Shamanism-15*, 1985. Ink and colors on paper, 136x137cm. IE-YOUNG Contemporary Art Museum, Yongin, Korea (private collection).



Figure 8. Park Saengkwang (1904-1985), *Shamanism-14*, 1985. Ink and colors on paper, 133x134cm. Seoul Museum of Art, Seoul, Korea.



Figure 9. *Musindo*, Naewat-dang shrine, before 1882, Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1897). 39.5x63cm. Cheju National University Museum, Cheju Island, Korea.

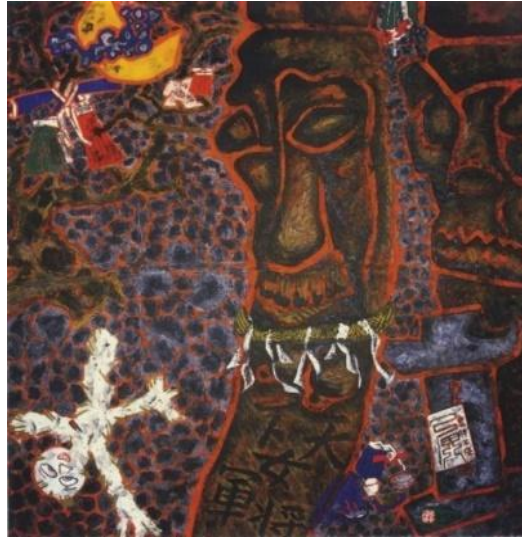


Figure 10. Park Saengkwang (1904-1985), *Changsŭng*, 1985. Ink and colors on paper, 134x134cm. IE-YOUNG Contemporary Art Museum, Yongin, Korea (private collection).

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