

A Genealogical and Culture-historical Approach to the *wayu* 卧游 Concept and Style in Korean Landscape Art

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abstract

Based on Korean garden landscape construction and landscape painting as well as artistic practices during the Joseon dynasty, the paper will examine how Korean scholars adapted the concept of *wayu*, derived from the Chinese word *woyou*, in their arts and rendered the space of “voyage in mind”. Especially, this essay will discuss how the idea's reception and its artistic practice affected the lifestyle of Joseon-period literati, and in what way this adaptation is apparent on a visually aesthetic level. A genealogical and culture-historical approach to analysing the Korean reception of the *wayu* idea and its development in Korea will reveal the transformative process of adopting exogenous ideas, considered from an endogenous, art- and object-specific perspective.

According to scientific studies to date, the Chinese Nan-Bei period scholar Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443) is generally regarded as the first scholar to use the term *wayu* (Chin. *woyou*) as an artistic practice and aesthetic approach to enjoying landscape painting, whereby viewers appreciate nature by wandering through the depicted landscape in their imagination. Zong Bing's passion for 'travelling in landscapes', is recorded in the *Woyoulu* 卧游录¹⁾ (A Record of Travelling in the Mind while Lying down), composed by the Song philosopher Lü Zuqian 吕祖谦 (1137-1181) and in the *Litai minghuaqi* 歷代名畫記, *juan* 4, compiled by the Tang scholar Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca 815-877). These two primary sources make it clear how he revered mountains and waters and travelled to far-off famous scenic areas like the peaks and mounts Lu 廬, Heng 衡, Qing 荆, and Wu 巫. When he

contemplated a mountain landscape, he always drew inspiration from other landscapes he had visited. And whenever he strolled amongst mountains and waters, he completely forgot about returning. One time, however, he was forced by illness to return to Jiangling and sighed:

Alas! Age and illness, both these causes have arrived at the same time. I'm afraid I will be unable to see all the famous mountains again. Hence, I wish to purify my mind, look at the *dao*, and travel in my imagination whilst lying down in my room. 嘆曰老疾俱至名山恐難徧睹唯澄懷觀道臥以游之。²⁾

The essay *Woyoulu* further reveals how he realised the idea of “travelling in the imagination while lying down”. He covered the four walls of the room with

his own paintings of the landscapes he had visited and viewed them in order to continue to enjoy the beautiful sites. He would comment: "When I stir my zither, sometimes more reservedly, sometimes more vigorously, I want to set up an echo from all the mountains."³⁾

An Introduction to Landscape Painting *Hua shanshui xu* 畫山水序⁴⁾ by Zong Bing especially emphasized that he painted the landscapes himself and used a large variety of colours to depict the cloud-covered mountain tops. And he further describes how the paintings should represent the essence of nature; and reveal features like the gentle elegance of mountains and the spirit of deep valleys. Zong Bing also defines how enjoyment will arise when looking at the image according to *wayu*:

If the response of the eye and its congruence in the mind [to nature] is considered to be a universal law, when similitude is skillfully achieved, our eyes will also respond completely, and the mind be entirely in congruence. The response and congruence will affect the spirit and, as the spirit soars, inner essence will be reached.”

夫以應目會心為理者，類之成巧，則目亦同應，心亦俱會。應會感神，神超理得。⁵⁾

The delineation by Zong Bing and his aesthetic criticism of artworks as used for *wayu* (as well as the method of *wayu* and its expected impact), have been adapted in different ways and genre styles in Korean visual art, so that many of artworks reveal the term, sometimes in collaboration with poems and essays.⁶⁾ This principal method of perceiving *wayu* is regarded as the conceptual foundation of Korean art during the Joseon dynasty.

The Zong Bing's *wayu* had already been used during the Goryeo period (918-1392) in Korea: the scholar Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-1396) mentions it in

his poetry *Hyoeum* 曉吟 (Chanting at Daybreak). This verse might be translated as follows:⁷⁾

At dawn the sunshine has a pale autumnal hue.

Wayu (travelling in the mind while lying down) is highly suitable as a cure for bodily illness.

I am sick and old, still I consider myself lucky because I have a peaceful place for treatment.

The joy I have regained allows me to forget my sorrow in this stingy heat. ...

曉窓日色淡如秋。病骨欲蘇供臥遊。

衰老幸然安所遇。炎蒸得此樂忘憂 ...

When Yi Saek was physically weak and unable to leave his home, practicing *wayu* was an effective way to strengthen his mind.

The *wayu*'s aspect of spiritual healing is also revealed in the life style of the Joseon scholar Jang Hyeongwang 張顯光 (1554-1637): According to *Yeoheonjip* 旅軒集 (The Collected Works of Yeoheon) he also cured his illness by observing and enjoying the fascinating landscape from his hall. The hall was named by his disciple and son-in-law Bak Jingyeong 朴晉慶 (1581-1665) as the *Wayudang* 臥遊堂 (Hall of *Wayu*) which he also uses as his pen name (*ho* 號).⁸⁾ Here the real surrounding landscape has the same effect as the paintings on Zong Bing's four walls. It goes without saying that this kind of voyage in the mind involved more mental and spiritual effort than physical travelling, and that spiritual journeys helped the practitioner to transcend the limits of the here and now and enter into a world where *wayu* could be aesthetically experienced. Zhang argues as follows:

This is the place of *wayu*, the desire to travel in the mind; and here the spirit travels a thousand li in the wink of an eye, and our

eyes pierce hundreds of years of antiquity in a flash ...

此其臥遊之辰乎。想其遊也。神千里於瞬息之間。目萬古於須臾之頃者...

The both scholars Yi Saek and Jang Hyeongang did not mention Chinese role models in their texts, but the impact of *wayu* on mental and physical healing had already been known to Chinese literati: During the Northern Song dynasty, in the second year of *yuanyou tingmiao* 元祐丁卯 (1087), the Chinese poet Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049-1100) was ill and lying in bed. His friend Gao Fuzhong 高符仲 brought him Wang Wei's 王維 (701-761) painting *Wangchuantu* 輞川圖 (Landscape Painting with Wangchuan Villa), like this from the Art Institute of Chicago, in the expectation that he might enjoy looking at it. Qin Guan felt much better after his spiritual journey through this landscape painting.⁹⁾ The literary Yuan artist Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) also described similarly the impact of *wayu* in his poem *Gu Zhongzhi lai wen xu shengbing cha* 顧仲贊來聞徐生病差 (Gu Zhongzhi came to hear that Xu was sick) as follows:

A plot of land with *gouqi* 枸杞-wolfsberry and chrysanthemum is good to eat and drink. Walls full of paintings depicting rivers and mountains have a soothing effect on *woyou* (the journey in the mind) when lying down. 一畦杞菊為供具，滿壁江山入臥游。¹⁰⁾

The aspect “travelling in the mind “ is intertwined with the term *soyoyu* 逍遙遊 (free and unfettered strolling in and with nature) in the context of self-cultivation and in relation to Daoism and Neo-Confucianism. Joseon scholars tried to realize *soyoyu* as one of noble activities of literati ideology. They travelled to famous mountains and waterfalls

for this purpose as well as using the popular literary genre *yugi* 遊記 (records of travel, travelogues) to express their ideas and emotions. But if their physical circumstances prevented them from going outside, they tried to bring nature into their homes, and this is regarded as a primary idea behind constructing gardens. For example, the Neo-Confucian scholar Seong Im 成任 (1421-1484), a civil minister in Joseon, built a man-made miniature landscape garden in the backyard of his residence in the Mountain Inwangsan in northwest Seoul. The house was placed somewhat higher up on the mountain and offered a fascinating view of the whole capital and the river Han. Seong Im explained his reasons for building the landscape garden: he loved to travel among famous peaks and waterfalls. As he became old and sick he built a three-meter high miniature artificial mountain *seokgasan* 石假山 from natural rocks with waterfalls, ponds and bamboo grove and further flowers and trees to allow him to enjoy it within the walls of his home.¹¹⁾ The literati-painter Gang Huimaeng 姜希孟 (1424-1483) describes more accurately the reasons for building a garden within the walls of a home because they underline the concept of *wayu* :

The three mountains and five summits seem to be joined together... Junggyeong [Seong Im], because of your illness you are now thin and weak, but when you are immediately next to a garden, you can get more pleasure from a voyage in your mind and this might prove beneficial to your wellbeing.

如三山五岳萃為一塊... 重卿氏今把清羸必能對此而益酣臥遊之興矣。¹²⁾

Seong Im's artificial miniature mountains with waterfalls and ponds are no extant today. According to the drawings made by Korean researchers Yoon Young-Jo and Yoon Young-Hwal,¹³⁾ a rectangular

pond was built in front of a rock mountain and the two parts were connected by waterfalls and streams (figure 1).¹⁴⁾

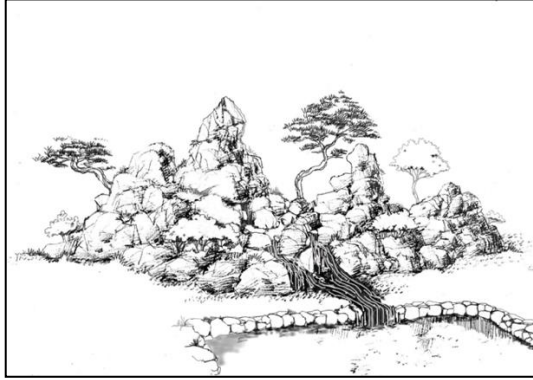


Figure 1. Drawing of the Seong Im's Garden, after Yoon Young-Jo & Yoon Young-Hwal 2012, figure 2.

Joseon scholars applied Zong Bing's perception of *wayu* for evaluating and enjoying paintings. The literati Yun Gyedong 尹季童 (?-1453), for example, considered himself even better than Zong Bing in the *wayu* method of contemplation. If he looked at the painting *Mongyudowondo* 夢遊桃源圖 (Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land) (figure 2) by the eminent painter An Gyeon 安堅 (active 1440s-1470s) he would boast of his ability:

How much spiritual effort do we have to make for a distant journey. Looking at this painting, I can arrange my mind better than Woyouweng [Zong Bing].

遠遊何必勞精神 對此頓勝臥遊翁。



Figure 2. An Gyeon: *Mongyudowondo* (Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land), 1447, ink and light colour on silk, 38,7 x 106,5 cm, Tenri University Central Library

The scholar Yi Jeonggu 李廷龜 (1564-1635)

was able to visualize his secluded life at the idyllic river Seomgang by using the *wayu* method: During the politically turbulent period of the reign of King Gwanhaegun 光海君 (1575-1641), Yi Jeonggu tried in vain to escape from the court and live a secluded life in the river landscape far from the capital. In 1622, the 14th year of the reign of King Gwanhaegun, his friend Jeong Chungsin 鄭忠信 (1567-1608) had the *Seongangdo* 蟾江圖 (Painting of the River Landscape Seomgang) painted by the master Yi 李畫師. He showed him the finished result to enable him to embark on a dream journey into the painting. Yi was able to visualize his idyllic secluded life at the river Seomgang and wrote his poetic feelings as follows:

A bamboo grove in the rain and sailing boats in the mist, both these scenes are in front of me,

While lying down I can dream of travelling there all day long, and feel that they could be my home.

雨竹煙帆森在眼。臥遊終日亦吾廬。¹⁵⁾

Through the introduction of *Woyoulu* by Song scholar Lü Zhuqian and travel records made in the Ming dynasty (like the *Mingshan cenggaiji* 名山勝槩記 around the 17th century), travelling into famous landscapes became more fashionable and travelogues were widespread.¹⁶⁾ Regardless of whether people had already travelled to the mountains, they used both paintings and travelogues (*sansuyugi* 山水遊記) simultaneously to enable them to perceive *wayu* more efficiently. Like paintings, travel records and poems were even written on panel screens and used as preferred objects for *wayu* in literati studios.

Furthermore, through the development of *jingyeong sansuhwa* 眞景山水畫 (True landscape painting)

in the 17th and 18th centuries, the *wayu* method also expanded into further dimensions. On the one hand, the Joseon literati desired paintings of famous landscapes for *wayu*: For example the scholar Jo Yusu 趙裕壽(1663-1741) very politely asked Yi Byeonghyeon 李秉淵(1671-1751) for four paintings of Mountain Geumgangsán by the highly sought literati Jeong Seon 鄭叡 (1676-1759), because Jo was too ill to travel to the mountain himself. Therefore, he had no other recourse than to use Jeong Seon's paintings to travel in his mind when he was lying down.¹⁷⁾

Another scholar Won Gyeongha 元景夏 (1698-1761) already possessed a desirable painting by Jeong Seon and used it for his *wayu* as follows:

I already possess both Yeon-ong's [Kim Changeup 金昌翕, 1653-1722] poem and Jeong Seon's painting. This enables me to effortlessly step across and climb into the high summit within my mind. The fortress Junghyangseong and the waterfall Manpokdong are spread out in front of my eyes. Shut away in my home, I am experiencing all the points worth seeing, and formulating poems. As a result, I have a feeling that I am always amongst the fascinating peaks with their red autumn leaves. I'm simply travelling into the famous mountains whilst lying down, so I'm not really jealous at all of the people in previous times.

盖嘗得於淵翁之詩 鄭叡之畫 不費凌躡
登頓之勞 而衆香萬瀑森然眼前 閉戶隱
几 諷詠指點 而此身常在於楓嶽 卧遊名
山 眞不羨古人也。¹⁸⁾

Following the order of King Jeongjo 正祖 (regn. 1776-1800) the famous court painter Gim

Hongdo 金弘道 (1745-1806) also depicted in the year 1788 the *Geumgang saguncheop* 金剛四郡帖 (Albums of the Diamond Mountain located in four Districts) which included the whole Geumgangsán and eight famous landscapes of the East coast (Gwandong palgyeong). The complete version of the original albums no longer exists but some copies partly remain. However, in 2010 a later copy 1816/1853 by anonymous court painters was presented at an auction in Seoul. This includes the complete version containing 75 leaves in nine albums, and also the records of travel in the poem *Oheon wayurok* 寤軒臥遊錄 (Record of Traveling in Mind while Lying down by Oheon) by Gim Gyeon 金季溫 (1773-1823). This rediscovery attracted major attention in educational and broadcasting circles.¹⁹⁾

An album of 16 paintings entitled *Songdo gihaengcheop* 松都紀行帖 (Album of the Journey to Songdo) from the National Museum of Korea by the scholar painter Gang Sehwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791), who is regarded as the most influential 18th century connoisseur and critic, offer the culmination of this form of *wayu* in the context of travel and art.²⁰⁾

During hot summer the 45-year-old Gang Sehwang left his residence Ansan 安山 to visit the city of Songdo in the province of Gyeonggi-do, at the invitation of his friend and head of administration (*yusu* 留守) O Suchae 吳遂采 (1692-1759). Here he went on a sightseeing tour of the famous scenes in the city and its surroundings and after returning home he probably created the album. The intention behind the album ultimately lies in showing how to perceive *wayu*. He painted for his younger friend and O Suchae's grandson O Eonsa 吳彦思 (1734-1776) who was physically incapable of travelling. As the inscription (*hubal* 後跋) indicates:

The younger O [O Eonsa], loved the many paintings and albums collected by his family. For he knew that travelling to landscapes was extremely difficult for him, ... But there were many depictions of water and rocks in his collection. And this enabled him to enjoy the scenery without leaving his house.

吳弟爲人多畫癖 家藏畫帖殆連屋 見得
行看山水難, ... 所畫蓋多好水石 臥遊不
出戶庭間.

A special feature of this album is that the artist Gang Sehuang tried to reveal his painting practice. To catch the spirit of the landscape, on the 11th leaf entitled *Taejongdae* 太宗臺 (The Plateau Taejong) Gang presents himself in a personal and intimate way (figure 3). He is sitting almost in the middle of the painting at the bottom, as an artist on a plateau considering his concept with his paintbrush in his right hand in front of a square empty sheet of paper, whilst looking at gentlemen and their servants across the river. The two gentlemen have made themselves comfortable in the summer heat: the one on the left has taken off his robes and the other one is plunging his left foot into the cold mountain water. Here Gang's exemplary representation in the painting is perhaps making it clear that he has seen the landscapes directly before transforming the spirit of nature into his personal "travel album".

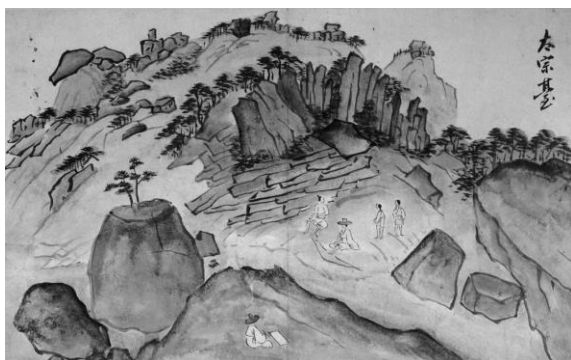


Figure 3. Gang Sehuang: *The Plateau Taejong*, the 11th leaf, *Songdo gihaengcheop* (Album of the Journey to Songdo). Ink on paper, 32.8 × 54 cm. Donated by Dongwon Yi Honggeun, The National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

In the European painting tradition, it is not uncommon for a painter to put himself in the scene deliberately. Professional painters portrayed themselves in their studio or in natural surroundings, as the oil painting by French landscape painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808) entitled *Ancient Temple: The 'Maison Carree' at Nimes*, from the Hermitage collection in Sant Petersburg shows the artist himself (see the white circle) as an example (figure 4).²¹⁾

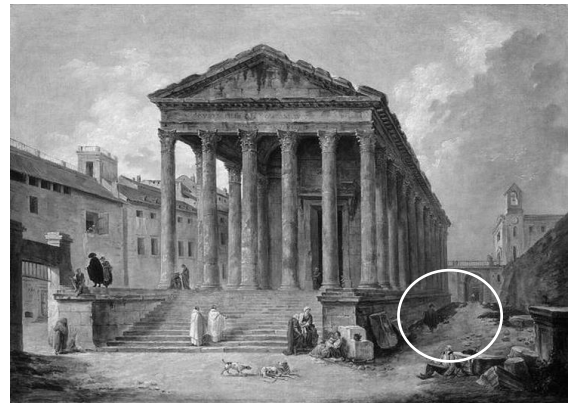


Figure 4. Hubert Robert: *Ancient Temple: The 'Maison Carree' at Nimes*, 1783, oil on canvas, 102 x 143 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

This even applied to the great scholar J.W. Goethe (1749-1832), who also learned drawing and whose theory of colours (published on May 16th, 1810), documented his holistic approach to nature and his powers of observation. In his painting *The Frankfurt Office* (1769/72) (figure 5) he depicts himself as a draughtsman sitting at a table writing or drawing. But behind the chair is an easel holding his painting.



Figure 5. J.W. Goethe: *The Frankfurt Office*, 1769/72. Pencil, gray washed and watercolored, on white paper. 17x11 cm. Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Museen

In Korea neither professional painters nor any literary painter would have painted themselves in that manner. In Gang Sehwang's painting, the viewer could identify with the painter during *wayu* as well as discovering the spirit of the landscape.

The scholar painter Gang Sehwang who applied the Zong Bing's *wayu* idea in his *Songdo gihaengcheop* (Album of the Journey to Songdo), also composed an album with the interest title *Wayucheop* 卧游帖 (figure 6) which includes four leaves in collaboration with Choe Buk 崔北 (1712-ca.1760) and Heo Pil 許泌 (1709-1761); orchids with other auspicious motives by Choe Buk (figure 6-1), a depiction of trees with autumnal colour by Heo Pil (figure 6-2), and a river landscape and a calligraphy work with four characters *seol wol pung hwa* 雪月風花 by himself (figures 6-3, 6-4).

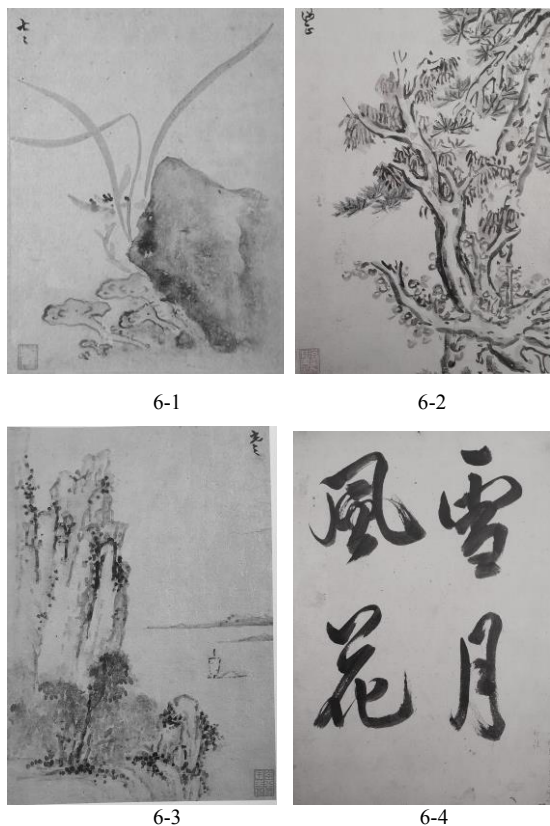


Figure 6. Gang Sehwang, Choe Buk, and Heo Pil: *Wayucheop*. Ink and colour on paper, each leaf: 17,3 x 23,5 cm. Privat collection

It is assumed, that they met to enjoy the paintings in terms of *wayu*, after which they finished the album *Wayucheop*.²²⁾

Unlike his album documenting the *Journey to Songdo*, the *Wayucheop* does not represent the result of a journey nor does it have any relation to actual travels. This is also not a representation of an unforgettable place that one wants to visit, but rather a compilation of individual miscellaneous motifs from nature. In other words, three gentlemen simply met to enjoy all the paintings in the studio without leaving it. This reflects a more general aspect of *wayu*, which was already practiced by the Chinese Ming literary painter Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509).

By declaring Zong Bing's idea, in his 1506 dated album *Woyoutu* 卧游圖 (Paintings of Travelling in the Mind while Lying Down) in the Peking Palace Museum²³⁾ the literary painter Shen Zhou claims that his *wayu* method could be much better than Zong Bing's, because he could enjoy the paintings even in a much smaller album format captured by hand, lying or sitting on bed (*chuang* 床) whenever he wanted to look at it, whereas Zong Bing's method of *wayu* needed many more paintings to fill four walls. The 17 album leaves preserved to this day also show all the different motifs including a landscape in style of Yunlin (Ni Zan), an apricot flower, a hollyhock, a hibiscus, a pomegranate (figure 6) and a chick etc., and each piece has its own poem. Shen Zhou may have experienced or been impressed by these themes at some time or other, but they have no relation to any particular journey. As such they represent a variety of painting methods that express Shen's own interests, his diverse artistic style and his rich mental world.

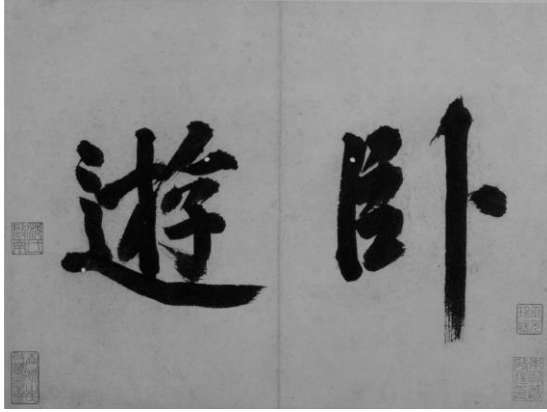


Figure 7. Shen Zhou: A leaf with the title *Woyou* and a leaf with *A Pomegranate*. *Woyoutu* (Paintings of Travelling in the Mind while Lying Down). Ink and colour on paper, each 27.8 x 37.3 cm. The Peking Palace Museum

To sum up, the term *wayu* in Korean art is generally used in two ways which may be applied to various styles. On the one hand, it is primarily used according to the idea of Zong Bing: someone is prevented by their physical surroundings from going outside and tries to connect with nature at home using gardens and paintings. This sense of *wayu* with its spiritual healing aspect is even expanded to include physical benefits to the life style of Joseon scholars. From the 17th century onwards, thanks to the development of *jingyeong sansu*, travelling into well-known landscapes became more fashionable and travelogues were widespread. Regardless of whether people had already travelled to the mountains or not, paintings and travelogues grew simultaneously to enable *wayu* to be efficiently perceived.

On the other hand, the term *wayu* was generally

understood as a method of viewing an image in a studio without going outside, as presented by Shen Zhou in his album. Joseon intellectuals also practiced this concept in order to enjoy the paintings, regardless of whether they were healthy or ill, old or young, or having travelled to a landscape or not. The term was regarded as an aesthetic way to enjoy painting and a way of perceiving artworks where the viewer appreciates nature by visualizing it in the mind. From the same perspective many current exhibitions and publications on paintings use the term *wayu* as their primary conception. Here the people who view the exhibited artworks are invited to sink into their own imagination and travel to an ideal world transcending reality in order to recover from the stresses of everyday life. Finally, one can say that in both cases, the magic word *wayu* serves as the principal and fundamental access into the practice of viewing artistic images in Korea.

Notes

- 1) LÜ Zuqian, compilation, *Woyoulu*, „宗少文好山水愛遠游西陟荆巫南登衡嶽因結宇衡山有尚平之志以疾還江陵嘆曰老疾俱至名山恐難偏睹唯澄懷觀道臥以游之... “ (ctp:work:wb583314)
<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=702056> (accessed 2019-05-12).
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Ibid. “臥以游之凡所游履皆圖之於室謂人曰撫琴動操欲令眾山皆響.”
- 4) ZONG Bing, *Hua shanshui xu*. Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=722744> (accessed 2019-05-12); BUSH Susan, and SHI Xiao-yen, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Boston: Harvard Yenching Institute, 1985): pp. 36-38.
- 5) Ibid., “...於是畫象布色, 構茲雲嶺...華之秀, 玄牝之靈, 皆可得之於一圖矣華之秀...夫以應目會心為理者, 類之成巧, 則目亦同應, 心亦俱會。應會感神, 神超理得。”
- 6) In China also, like from the Xiao Xiang *woyoutu* 瀟湘卧游圖 (Travelling in the Mind into Xiao and

- Xiang Landscape while Lying down) Song master (see Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, “The Poetic Structure of a Twelfth-Century Chinese Pictorial Dream Journey”. *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (June 1994), 257-278. Accessed May 15, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3046022>), via *Woyoutu* 卧游圖 (Paintings of Travelling in the Mind while Lying down) by Shen Zhou, *Jiangnan woyoutu* 江南卧游册 (Album of Travelling in the Mind into Jiangnan Landscape while Lying down) by Li Liufang 李流芳 (1575-1629), and *Qishan woyoulu* 溪山卧游錄 (Record of Travelling in the Mind into Mountain Streams while Lying down) by Sheng Dashi 盛大士 (1771-1839) all the way to the modern painter like as *Shanchuan woyoujuan* 山川卧游卷 (Handscroll of Visualizing of Traveling in Landscape while Lying) by Huang Binhong 黄宾虹 (1865-1955) etc. The *wayu* concept was also used for travel guides like the 17th century *Jinling tuyong* 金陵圖詠 (Illustrated Odes on Nanjing) which presented 40 portraits of the scenery around Nanjing. (See FEI Siyen, “Ways of looking: the creation and social use of urban guidebooks in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century China.” in *Urban History*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2010/8): pp. 226-248. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44614272> (accessed 2019-05-12); See also, OGAWA Hiromitsu, *Gayū: Chūgoku sansuiga, sono sekai* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2008). Furthermore the term was also used as a learning method in philosophy, whereby the Neo-Confucian scholar Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077) could even find a direct way to the essential principle of universe without leaving his home, see ZHANG Haiou, *Beisong shixue* (Zhengzhou: Henan Daxue Chubanshe, 2007): p. 235.
- 7) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Mokeunjip, Mokeunsigo ji* 24.
 - 8) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Jang Hyeongwang, Yeoheonjip, Yeoheon seonsaeng munjip gwon ji* 8, *Japseo, Wayudangseol*.
 - 9) ZHOU Weiquan, *Zhongguo gudian yuanlinshi* (Beijing: Qinghua Daxue Chubanshe 1989): pp. 164-65.
 - 10) ZHANG Jiaji, *Zhongguoyuanlin yishu dajitian* (Taiyuan: Shaanxijiaoliu Chubanshe, 1997): p. 222.
 - 11) *Han-gukmunjip chonggan* DB: *Seo Geojeong Sagaminjip gwon ji 1/gi, Gasangi a011_197d*.
 - 12) YOON Young-Jo & YOON Young-Hwal, “Joseoncho Seong Imui Seokgasane jomyeongdoen sangjingseonggwa hyeongtaejeok guhyeon,” in *Han-guk jeontong jogyeong hakhoeji* Vol.30. No.1 (2012/3): pp. 159-69.
 - 13) See *Ibid*, figure 3.
 - 14) Further descriptions of artificial gardens in different textual sources like *Gasangi* (A Record on a Man-Made Mountain) by Seo Geojeong (1420-1488) and *Sekgasan pokpogi* (Records on Man-Made Mountains and Waterfalls) by the scholar Chae Su 蔡壽 (1449-1515) etc. reflect the *wayu* concept from similar perspectives, while Yi Yik 李穡 (1681-1763), on the contrary, argues in his inscription on *Wayucheop* 臥遊帖 that there is no objects are needed for the aesthetic experience of *wayu*, and puts more emphasis on the power of the spiritual voyage. His verse might be translated thus: “*Wayu* means the voyage of the spirit while the body is lying down. The spirit is the mind of the soul, and the soul can reach everywhere. Because, like a ray of light, it travels ten thousand miles in a second, one should not consider oneself to be dependent on any object.” 卧遊者。身卧而神遊也。神者心之靈。靈無不達。故光燭九垓。瞬息萬里。疑若不待於物。 See *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Chae Su, Sekgasan pokpogi, Najaejip*; Yi Jongmuk, “Joseonsidae wayumunhwa yeon-gu,” in *Jindanhakbo* 98 (2004): pp. 88-89.
 - 15) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Seo Seomgangdo, Wolsajip*.
 - 16) GIM Yeongjin. “Joseonhugi ‘Wayurok’ ibon yeon-gu,” in *Gojeonmunhak yeon-gu* 48 (2015/12): pp. 221-257.
 - 17) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Hugyejip gwon jip* 8, *gandok, dap Yi Ilwon* : 弟入秋病甚。放衙塊處。湖海咫尺。絕未命駕。不得已爲移畫卧遊之計。殊可憐也。而兄能爲之勸迫。恕先得其下筆。始知用苦心者。非獨畫工也。 See also CHOE Wan-su, *Korean True-View Landscape. Paintings by Chong Son (1676-1759)*, edited and translated by Youngsook Pak & Roderick Whitfield. (London: Saffron, 2005): p. 43 and 45; GO Yeonhui. *Joseonhugi Sansu gihangyesul yeon-gu; Jeong Seon gwa Nongyeon geurupul jungsimeuro* (Seoul: Iljisa, 2001): p. 195.
 - 18) *Han-guk munjip chonggan* DB: *Yun Gyeongha, Changhajip gwon ji* 7, *song Yi Saho*

- sijungwangyupungak seo*.
- 19) See the reports by newspapers, for example “200nyeonjeon Jeongjoga bon ‘Geumgangsangeurim’ geudaero,” in *Chungang Ilbo*, 2010-03-17.
 - 20) LEE-KALISCH Jeong-hee, „Vibrant Colors and Unique Shapes: Reassessment of the Double-Album Leaf Image ‘Entrance to the Yeongtong Valley (Yeongtongdong gu 靈通洞口)’ by the Joseon literary painter Gang Sehwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791) at the National Museum of Korea in Seoul. It will be published by Hangzhou: Zhejiang Daxue Chubanshe 2019/20.
 - 21) See <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digitalcollection/01.+Paintings/38115> (accessed 2019-7-30).
 - 22) *Hosaenggwan Choi Buk* (Jeonju: The Jeonju National Museum 2012): pp. 98-101, 165.
 - 23) The Inscription: „宗少文四壁揭山水 圖 自謂臥遊其間 此冊方可尺許 可以仰眠匡床 一手執之 一手徐徐翻閱 殊得 少文之趣 倦則掩之不亦便乎 手揭亦為勞矣！真愚聞其言，大發笑。沈周跋。”

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